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MORES CATHOLICI.

Digby, Sir Kenelm Henry,

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

VOLUME THE FIRST,

CONTAINING

BOOKS I, II, III, IV, & V.



London:

C. DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET;

LIVERPOOL: BOOKER & CO., 37, RANELAGH STREET.

MDCCCXLV

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BOOK I.



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MDCCCXLIV.

SUMMARY.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

IN the third stage of this mortal course, if midway be the sixth, and on the joyful day which hears of the great crowd that no man could number, I found me in the cloister of an abbey, whither I had come to seek the grace of that high festival. The hour was day's decline; and already had "Placebo Domino," been sung in solemn tones, to usher in the hours of special charity for those who are of the suffering Church. A harsh sound from the simultaneous closing of as many books, cased in oak and iron, as there were voices in that full choir, like a sudden thunder-crash, announced the end of that ghostly vesper. The saintly men one by one slowly walked forth, each proceeding to his special exercise. Door then shutting after door gave long echoes, till all was mute stillness, and I was left alone under cloistered arches, to meditate on the felicity of blessed spirits, and on the desire which presses both the living and the inmates of that region in which the soul is purged from sinful stain, to join their happy company. Still methought I heard them sing of the bright and puissant angel ascending from the rising of the sun, and of the twelve times twelve thousand that were signed; and of the redeemed from every nation and people and language; and of the angels who stood around the throne in Heaven. It seemed now as if I heard a voice like that which said to Dante, "What thou heardest was sung, that freely thou mightest open thy heart to the waters of peace, that flow diffused from their eternal fountain." What man is there so brutish and senseless to things divine, as not to have sometimes experienced an interval like that which is described by him who sung of Paradise, to whom the world appeared as if stretched far below his feet, and who saw this globe,

So pitiful of semblance, that perforce
It mov'd his smiles; and him in truth did hold
For wisest, who esteems it least; whose thoughts
Elsewhere are fix'd, him worthiest call'd and best?*

But soon the strained sense will sink back to it; for the human spirit must perforce accomplish in the first place its exercise in that school which is to prepare it for the home that it anticipates above. Yet I felt not disconsolate, nor forgetful, of the bright vision. My thoughts were carried backwards to ages which the muse of history had taught me long to love; for it was in the obscure and lowly middle-time of saintly annals that multitudes of these bright spirits took their flight from a dark world to the Heavens. The middle ages, then I said, were ages of highest grace to men; ages of faith; ages when all Europe was

* Cary's Dante.

Catholic; when vast temples were seen to rise in every place of human concourse to give glory to God, and to exalt men's souls to sanctity; when houses of holy peace and order were found amidst woods and desolate mountains, on the banks of placid lakes as well as on the solitary rocks in the ocean: ages of sanctity which witnessed a Bede, an Alcuin, a Bernard, a Francis, and crowds who followed them as they did Christ: ages of vast and beneficent intelligence, in which it pleased the Holy Spirit to display the power of the seven gifts, in the lives of an Anselm, a Thomas of Aquinum, and the saintly flock whose steps a cloister guarded: ages of the highest civil virtue; which gave birth to the laws and institutions of an Edward, a Lewis, a Suger: ages of the noblest art, which beheld a Giotto, a Michael Angelo, a Raffaelo, a Dominichino: ages of poetry, which heard an Avitus, a Caedmon, a Dante, a Shakspeare, a Calderon: ages of more than mortal heroism, which produced a Tancred, and a Godfrey: ages of majesty, which knew a Charlemagne, an Alfred, and the sainted youth who bore the lily: ages too of England's glory, when she appears not even excluding a comparison with the eastern empire, as the most truly civilized country on the globe; when the Sovereign of the greater portion of the western world applied to her schools for instructors; when she sends forth her saints to evangelise the nations of the north, and to diffuse spiritual treasure over the whole world; when heroes flock to her courts to behold the models of reproachless chivalry, and Emperors leave their thrones to adore God at the tombs of her martyrs! as Dante says,

> No tongue
> So vast a theme could equal, speech and thought
> Both impotent alike.

In a little work which embodied the reflections, the hopes, and even the joys, of youthful prime, I once attempted to survey the middle ages in relation to chivalry; and though in this we had occasion to visit the cloister, and to hear as a stranger who tarries but a night the counsels of the wise and holy, we never were able to regard the house of peace as our home; we were soon called away from it to return to the world and to the courts of its Princes. Now I propose to commence a course which is more peaceful and unpretending, for it only supposes that one has left the world, and withdrawn from these vain phantoms of honour, and of glory, which distract so often the morning of man's day. Thus we read that in youth many have left the cloister, dazzled by the pomp and circumstances of a wild, delusive chivalry, who after a little while have hastened back to it, moved by a sense of earthly vanity, there

> To finish the short pilgrimage of life,
> Still speeding to its close on restless wing.*

Yes, all is vanity but to love and serve God! Men have found by long experience that nothing but divine love can satisfy that restless craving which ever holds the soul, "finding no food on earth:" that every beauty, every treasure, every joy, must, by the law which rules contingency, vanish like a dream! and that there will remain for every man sooner or later, the gloom of a dark and chaotic night, if he is not provided with a lamp of faith. Those men, who, reasoning, went to depth profoundest, came to the same conclusion; they found that the labours of the learned and the visions of the poet were not of their own nature different in this respect, from the pleasures of sense:

> 'Tis darkness all; or shadow of the flesh,
> Or else it's poison.

This was their experience. That labour of the mind, or that fond ideal extasy, did not necessarily secure the one thing needful, the love of Jesus. In a vast number of instances it led to no substantial good; its object was soon forgotten, or the mind recurred to the performance with a sense of its imperfections. Still the heart cried, Something more! What said they can be given to it? What will content it? Fresh labour? fresh objects? Ah, they had already begun to suspect how little all this would avail; for in hearkening to "the saintly soul, that shows the world's deceitfulness to all who hear him," they had learned to know that it might indeed be given to their weakness to feel the cruel discord, but not to set it right; to know that it was but a vain delusive motive which would excite them to exertion from a desire of pleasing men; for men pass rapidly with the changing scene of life, and the poor youth who mistaking the true end of human labour, had fondly reckoned upon long interchange of respect and friendship, at the moment when his hopes are the brightest and his affections warmed into extasy, wakens sud-

* Dante, Purg. XX.

denly from his sweet protracted dream, and finds himself without honour, without love, without even a remembrance, and virtually in as great solitude as if he were already in his grave! Well might they shudder at the thought of this eternal chillness, this spiritual isolation, this bitter and unholy state! Truly it was fearful, and something too much for tears! Sweet Jesus, how different would have been their state if they had sought only to love and serve thee! for thy love alone can give rest and comfort to the heart, a sure and lasting joy:—

——— other good
There is, where man finds not his happiness;
It is not true fruition; not that blest
Essence of every good, the branch and root.

Changed then be the way and object of our research, and let the converse to that which formerly took place hold respecting our employment here; and if we shall again meet with knights and the world's chivalry, let it be only in the way of accident, and as it were from the visit of those who pass near our spot of shelter, and let our place of rest from henceforth be in the forest and the cell. Times there are when even the least wise can seize a constant truth, that the heart must be devoted either all to the world, or all to God. When they too will pray, and make supplications urged with weeping, that the latter may be their condition in the mortal hour, that they may secure the rest of the saints for eternity.

Returning to that cloistral meditation, how many, thought I, throughout the whole world have heard this day the grounds and the consummation of the saints' felicity! how many have been summoned onward! and told that the steps were near, and that now the ascent might be without difficulty gained? and yet,

A scanty few are they, who, when they hear
Such tidings, hasten. O ye race of men!
Though born to soar, why suffer ye a wind
So slight to baffle ye?*

But for those who seemed to feel how sweet was that solemn accent, eight times sung, which taught them who were blessed! would it not be well, when left alone, and without distraction, if they were to take up histories and survey the course which has been trod by saintly feet, and mark, as if from the soul-purifying mount, the ways and works of men on earth, keeping their eyes with fixed observance bent upon the symbol there conveyed, so as to mark how far the form and acts of that life, in ages past, of which there are still so many monuments around them, agreed, not with this or that modern standard of political and social happiness and grandeur, but with what by heaven's suffrance gives title to divine and everlasting beatitude? Such a view would present a varied and immense horizon, comprising the manners, institutions, and spirit of many generations of men long gone by: we should see in what manner the whole type and form of life were Christian, although its detail may have been often broken and disordered; for instance, how the pursuits of the learned, the consolations of the poor, the riches of the Church, the exercises and dispositions of the young, and the common hope and consolation of all men, harmonized with the character of those that sought to be poor in spirit; how, again, the principle of obedience, the constitution of the Church, the division of ministration, and the rule of government, the manners and institutions of society, agreed with meekness and inherited its recompense; further, how the sufferings of just men, and the provisions for a penitential spirit were in accordance with the state of those that were to mourn and weep, then how the character of men in sacred order, the zeal of the laity, and the lives of all ranks, denoted the hunger and thirst after justice: again, how the institutions, the foundations, and the recognised principle of perfection proclaimed men merciful: moreover, how the philosophy which prevailed, and the spiritual monuments which were raised by piety and genius, evinced the clean of heart; still further, how the union of nations, and the bond of peace which existed even amidst savage discord, wars, and confusion; as also how the holy retreats for innocence which then every where abounded, marked the multitude of pacific men: and, finally, how the advantage taken of dire events, and the acts of saintly and heroic fame, revealed the spirit which shunned not suffering for sake of justice.

But very lately a distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris, admitted, in the course of his lessons upon history, that it would be in vain to deny the present tendency of the public mind to recur with pleasure to the traditions, manners, and monuments of the middle age. He

* Dante, Parad. XII. Cary's translat.

proceeded to point out the advantage of nourishing that taste for the poetical history of his country, which would result from mere historical impartiality. "Is it not something," he asked, "to have a new source of emotions and pleasure opened to the imagination of men? All this long period, all this old history, where men used to see nothing but absurdity and barbarism, becomes rich for us in grand memorials, noble events, and sentiments which inspire the most lively interest. It is a domain restored to those who feel that need of emotion and sympathy which nothing can stifle in our nature. Imagination plays an immense part in the life of men and of nations. To occupy it, to satisfy it, there must be either an actual and energetic passion, like that which animated the eighteenth century, and the revolution, or else a rich and varied spectacle of remembrance; the present alone, the present, passionless, calm and regular, cannot suffice to the human soul. Hence the importance and the charm of the past, of those national traditions, and of all that part of the life of nations, when the imagination can wander through a space far wider than the limits of real life. The school of the eighteenth century was guilty more than once, of this error, in not understanding the part which the imagination performs in the life of men and of society. It attacked and decried all that was ancient, and all that was eternal—history and religion—that is to say, it wished to rob men of the past and the future, to concentrate them in the present;" so that, conversely to what was prescribed by the Church, they should neither "meditate on the days of old, nor have in mind the eternal years."

The justice of this estimate of the present tendency of men's thoughts would also be admitted by Lamartine; who, however, it must be remembered, is the poet of hope—for he has said that Dante is the poet of our epoque. But however this may be, it is impossible to deny that, even to men of secular learning, there is an immense source of interest and admiration, connected with their own studies, in the history of the middle ages; for all the discoveries to which the present race of men owe their superiority in those material acquirements, of which they are so proud, date from these ten centuries, which are accused of intellectual apathy, barbarism, and ignorance. Then it was, says a French writer, that a new spirit was breathed into the ancient world—all social relations were changed—vassalage, a kind of modified servitude prepared the way for the abolition of slavery. The principle of association began to operate; corporations were formed. The stage of life presents great personages and sublime actions. Deeds of eternal fame were done; deeds which tell of Charlemagne, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis; Alfred and Canute; Richard the Lion-hearted, and the Black Prince: Gerbert and Hildebrand; Alcuin, Bede, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon. What names! what men! Who is not seized with astonishment at beholding the architectural monuments of these ages? such as the Gothic vaults of Cologne and Westminster, of Amiens and Jumiège, which had been preceded by others, the destruction of which had made men weep! Then too hospitals arose for the first time, asylums for all kinds of human misery, and innumerable establishments for the poor. Would we enter into still lower details, it was in the eighth century that paper was invented: in the tenth that the monks invented clocks; in the eleventh that the Benedictines raised the first windmills; and that a citizen of Middlebourg invented the telescope. In the same age was disclosed the loadstone, or the polarity of the needle, though there is a still earlier mention of it in the Romance of the Rose: and, during this period, the greatest problems of mechanics were defined. Linnæus even shows the successful labours of the monks in the cultivation of useful plants and vegetables, many of which were now, for the first time, introduced into Europe. Engraving dates from the fourteenth century, when a multitude of arts were invented, which in these times seem indispensable to domestic life. So that, upon the whole judging merely upon these principles, no ten other ages can be produced, which had results of greater importance, and contributed more to the happiness of mankind.

Frederick Schlegel divides the middle and later ages into the scholastic-romantic, which was a period essentially Christian, notwithstanding the horrors which occasionally appear in history; for from these Christianity never promised to free the world; then the heathen-antiquarian, the spirit of which extended to literature and to political theories; and then the barbaro-polemic, which included the seventeenth century.* When we speak of the middle

* Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 190.

ages as barbarous, we should be understood, he says, as referring to this latter period, which was really barbarous, which was distinguished by the change of religion, and the religious wars.* To the first of these periods, the learned Danish Professor Grundtvig alludes, saying, in particular reference to England, "the fact that there once existed a civilized world, limited to the shores of the Mediterranean sea, is not more unquestionable than that a new one arose out of the chaos of those barbarous tribes, who destroyed the western empire." Indeed, the most superficial reader must have occasionally been struck at the startling manner in which the charges, so generally brought against these times of grossness and absurdity, are often disproved. Thus a French critic of our time, speaking of Petrarcha, says, "How can we convey an idea of that form of imagination, perhaps too delicate for us, though it dates from the middle age?" "In these ages, called dark," says St. Victor, "men possessed every one of these maxims, founded on good sense and morality, which belong to the most civilized society of these times."† But it is in their character of Christian and holy ages, that, in accordance with the proposed course, we are invited to consider them: and here a far richer prospect will be found to open before us. Thus the seventh century was, to the eye of Mabillon, a golden age, in which men of the greatest innocence and sanctity spread the rule of St. Benedict to the farthest regions of Europe; "for the truth of Christ did not preach that only wise and learned men were the salt of the earth and light of the world, but also included under that title holy men who opposed the salt of integrity and the light of justice to corrupt manners and darkened minds."‡ Neander points out a new path to lead us through the labyrinth of history, where he says that "it is impossible to despise an age, over which a man like St. Bernard was able to exercise such an influence, by the sole empire of his character and of his sanctity."§ From a multitude of remarks of this kind, founded upon facts which cannot be questioned, we should be led to take a very uncommon, though judicious view, of this period. The ancient chronicle of Ely affirms of the time when the blessed Ædelwold rebuilt that monastery, "These were golden ages of the world, when pure faith, peace, and true love flourished. Fraud, pride, and perjury were unknown. Then liberty had for itself sure seats.

Tunc et libertas sedes habuit sibi certas.

Then Martha and Mary shone equally in the Church."* Sentences of this kind may indeed be commonly received with a certain degree of abatement, from ascribing something to the rhetorical tone which prevades them: but in the present instance the writer describes a period not greatly remote from his time, and of which the most exact tradition must have reached him. He does not make the remark angrily, for the sake of contrast, but in order to edify and stimulate his contemporaries, who, let it be observed, considered these evangelical qualities, which he ascribed to their fathers, as the highest virtue for which a nation or an age could be illustrious. Throughout all this long period, there would have been nothing startling or questionable in a proposition like that which was assumed by St. Ambrose in writing to the Emperor Valentinian, when he said, "This is worthy of your times, that is, of Christian times."† Men would not have been instantly struck with an intimate sense that a falsehood was proposed to them. Still, indeed, was fulfilled the sentence of infallible wisdom, that the world cannot receive the spirit of truth:‡ but so was also fulfilled the divine prediction respecting the kings and princes of the earth. The Christians were sufficiently numerous and powerful to imprint a character upon society, protect the institutions of meek and holy men, and to sanctify the whole form of the political state, by founding it upon the principles of revealed wisdom.

Such a view of history, I am aware, is widely different from that which is generally proposed by modern writers, who follow one another in representing these ages as a period of the greatest misery and degradation: but before their testimony is received, would it not be of some importance to ascertain whether their opinions respecting misery and degradation agree with those which must necessarily be entertained by Christians; because, if

* Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 214.
† Tableau de Paris, Tom. I. 353.
‡ Præfat. in II. Sæculum Benedict.
§ Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter. Berlin, 181.

* Hist. Eliensis apud Gale, Hist Brit. Tom. III.
† Epist. XXX. ‡ John XIV.

it should prove the case, that what they regard as misery is happiness in a Christian sense, and that their standard of happiness is that of evil in the same, it would only follow from their censure, that there is an additional evidence in favour of our proposition respecting the peculiarly Christian character of these ages! Now, in fact, this would be the result from such an inquiry. For if we consult these teachers of the modern wisdom, who are so full of vile disdain for Christian antiquity; and if we consider what are the ends proposed in their speculations respecting political and domestic economy, and national happiness, we shall find that they are all foreign from those which are comprised in the beatitudes; that in many instances they are exactly opposed to them; and that, in fine, that terrible væ is pronounced by truth itself upon those who attain to their standard of excellence. To be rich, to be filled, or in the phrase of the economists, to have capital, to secure a life of luxury, ease, and dissipation; to be praised and extolled by men; to be the first in rank; to raise oneself to an eminent situation; what, they ask, is more lawful than to desire this? Well—woe to all who attain to this, says Christ.* Now, it is from this celestial wisdom, opposed to that of these modern sophists, that the principles of action were formed, which were admitted and recognised during these ages, of which I shall soon attempt to unfold the moral history. I shall not fear to be contradicted in stating, that during that period religion, with all the apparently new and remarkable peculiarities of the doctrine of Christ, was uppermost in the thoughts of men, and even adopted universally as the basis of civil government, and of their whole domestic customs and manners: the justice of which proposition is so certain, that Guizot could not avoid observing that "the religious society played a grand part in the history of modern civilization." So that, in fact, notwithstanding the number of evils and abuses which then prevailed, in consequence of human passions, these entire ages might be described in the words of the great Apostle, as exhibiting themselves to our view;—"In much patience and tribulation, by glory and dishonour, by evil fame and good fame, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things:"—words, which might be received as almost a literal description of the precise interval which the moderns have affirmed to be the darkest in the annals of mankind. For, as the learned author of the "Perpétuité de la Foi" says of the tenth century, which even Baronius himself was tempted to concede to them, from limiting his view to one country,—"we must conclude that this tenth age, vulgarly so reviled, was one of the most fortunate times of the church, since the vices which are ascribed to that age, are common to it with others; whereas the fact is otherwise respecting the good which recommends it." He proves this position by showing, that there flourished then, in various parts of the Western Church, a multitude of bishops, eminently illustrious for piety and sound doctrine: many theologians, deeply versed in ecclesiastical matters; many holy men, who restored decayed discipline in monasteries; and many princes, of eminent and saintly virtue. But above all, he observes, that it was in this century that the Danes, Bohemians, Poles, Hungarians, Normans, and other people, were converted to the Christian Faith by the labours of holy missionaries: facts which sufficiently clear it from the charge of ignorance, superstition, and corruption;"* and which could hardly be summed up in more precise language than that used by St. Paul, in alluding to the qualities which should belong to the apostolic character. The truth is, from a fixed law and a principle inherent in nature, which the reason of Plato was able to expose clearly, it is with nations and with whole ages as with men individually—their energies must be devoted either to religion or to the world; they must adopt the views and perform the service of either the one or the other; and on their choice depends the whole order of life, and all that gives a character and peculiar expression to their spirit, manners, customs, and institutions.

As the subject which is here to be proposed, is full of interest, so is it one that may be applied to the most important purposes of life. There was a book in the middle ages called "Universale bonum." This was nothing but a collection of edifying accounts of holy men, and, if we reflect upon the great end of all education, and the admirable force of examples in the instruction of ingenuous minds, it must be admitted, that the author evinced excellent judgment in choosing that title. It is to the effects of such a study, that a

* Luke VI.

* Perpétuité de la Foi, Tom. I. part iii. c. 6, 7.

modern poet seems to allude, in saying :—

> ——— a man so bred,
> (Take from him what you will upon the score
> Of ignorance or illusion,) lives and breathes
> For nobler purposes of mind: his heart
> Beats to the heroic song of ancient days.*

As to instrnction hy examples generally, its importance has always been felt hy wise men. Quinctilian thought it of essential use, that boys should even learn hy heart the sayings of the illnstrious men,† with whose lives they were to be familiar. St. Augustin says, that men can more easily follow things themselves, than the precepts and discipline of those who would teach them in a scientific manner; that if any one were to give lessons in walking, he would have to specify many things which men would not so easily learn from him, as they would practise them withont his instruction; and that generally the spectacle of truth itself more delights and assists us, than the process hy which rhetoricians would teach it. "Perchance, indeed," he adds, "such exercises may render the mind more expert, though they may also render it more malignant and inflated."‡ "The philosopher setting down with thorny arguments, the bare rule is so hard of utterance, and so misty to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide hut him shall wade in him, until he be old before he shall find sufficient cause to be honest; hnt as for the poet," continnes Sir Philip Sidney, "he cometh with a tale, forsooth he cometh unto yon with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner."§ Moreover, books, especially those connected with history, instruct the great when no one hut flatterers can approach them. Books instruct and wound not. Therefore Don Alphonzo, king of Arragon, heing once asked who were the best counsellors, replied,—"The dead, (meaning books,) because we learn easily from them what we wish to know."‖ But above all, it is to Christians that a stndy of this kind is most important and delightful. "Quidnam dulcius," as William of Malmeshury says, "qnam majorum recensere gratiam ut eorum acta cognoscas, à quihus acceperis et rudimenta fidei et incitamenta bene vivendi."¶ "Who would not wish to know," says a learned Dane, who has directed his stndies to Anglo-Saxon literatnre; "Who would not wish to know how those patriarchs of the new Christian world preached and reasoned, what lessons they tanght, what examples they referred to, in what manner they attuned the minds of their heathen converts to the doctrines they commnnicated, whether these doctrines were instilled in hnmble prose, or to gain their holy ends, they thought it needful to huild the lofty rhyme, or called in the aid of mnsic, married to immortal verse?" And, to draw a reflection still more immediately suggested hy what is passing around us, which will lead ns to the same result, hy showing that which is opposed to the experience of such stndies, what is it which renders the minds of many of the moderns, among whom assnredly is many a soul of mighty worth, so gloomy and apprehensive; why do they appear at times so lonely and disconsolate, amidst the wastes of their interminahle speculstions, afflicted like those spirits seen hy Dante, who lived "desiring without hope," variahle as if they felt ntterly lost on the way, jonrneying on, and knowing not whither, as if they had no track of any that had gone before to guide their feet, no prospect of rejoining any, with whom the thonght of meeting might cheer their present path; looking hackwards to ages gone hy with disdain, and forwards to the future with dismay, if it he not that the magnificent chain of Christian history and ecclesiastical tradition has been broken to them, and that notwithstanding the outward professions which may be made in reliance upon the resources of genins and learning, they inwardly feel the impossibility of forming, with the hroken fragments thrown to them hy mere poetic fancy or literary taste, that happy clue which might lead them throngh the lahyrinth of life to a peaceful and joyons end.

In all ages of the world, religion has had regard to history. Dionysius says, that with the Romans there was no ancient historian or writer of legends, who did not compose his work from ancient narrations which were preserved on sacred tahlets.* And Plntarch, in his treatise on the means of perceiving the progress made in virtue, makes allnsion to the effects of its moral application, saying that there is no more effectual mode of advancing in virtne, than for a person to have always before his eyes those who are, or have been good men, and to say to himself, "What would Plato have

* The Excursion. † Instit. Lib. I. II.
‡ De Doctrin. Christ. Lib. II. chap. 37.
§ Defence of Poesy.
‖ Æneas Sylvius de dictis Regis Alphonsi.
¶ De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Prolog.

* Dion. Halicar. Lib. I. cap. 73.

done in this case? What would Lycurgus or Agesilaus have said?" "But with Christians," as Voigt observes, "there is no knowledge so holily connected with religion as history."* They are of the number of those of whom it is written, that "their hearts live in all the generations of ages."† It is a divine precept which the church sings at lauds of Saturday, "Memento dierum antiquorum: cogita generationes singulas."

The facts which show the consequence of neglecting this counsel are most striking. Thus we behold men who seem to know the whole Bible by heart, without appearing to be conscious of the inconsistency of modern manners and modern ways of thinking with what is required of all that would follow Christ; for though they read what the duty is, it exists only in their mind as a grand abstraction, because they never see in what way men can actually reduce it to practice, under the real circumstances of life. Still less have they a desire to imitate that perfection which they regard as a thing beyond their reach, and without the wish to do so, as St. Chrysostom says, in his treatise on compunction, it would not have been possible even for the saints to have led the life of angels as they did. "The wish of these men," as John à Kempis, the brother of Thomas, used to say, "is that they may be humble but without being looked down upon, patient but without suffering, obedient but without restraint, poor but without wanting any thing, penitent, but without sorrow."‡ They are, in fact, perfectly reconciled to themselves, by concluding that one command was only figurative, and another solely applicable to the times of the apostles, and that others could not be performed without incurring the charge of extravagance and fanaticism. Such persons are always found to turn in unutterable disgust from the lives of the saints, and the books which describe the holiness of antiquity; they affirm that they will never read these books, adding with unguarded sincerity, that it gives them painful emotions to look into them; and, in fact, they go away from them sorrowful, like the young man who left Christ, and not only from the same unwillingness to comply, but also from being forced to see that there were others better than themselves; and this discovery is painful to that latent pride which desires to be singular even in goodness. Besides, they are taught to believe that faith was lost in the middle ages, and that they are the best judges of what should be the form and course of a Christian life. Whereas, other men, by merely turning to the old Christians, are filled with a desire to follow them.

And their most righteous customs make them scorn
All creeds besides.

Then they hear themselves addressed as if by the poet of Christians:—

——— Why dost thou not turn
Unto the beautiful garden, blossoming
Beneath the rays of Christ? Here is the rose
Wherein the Word divine was made incarnate,
And here the lilies, by whose odour known
The way of life was followed.*

Father Mabillon says, in his Treatise on Monastic Studies, that one of the greatest geniuses of that age, who had been born in heresy, was converted to the Church by means of studying ecclesiastical history.†

Needful to all, we may observe, that to those engaged in what Lord Bacon calls the narrow and confined walks of natural science, this study is especially important; for such persons, in tracing the history of natural philosophy, become accustomed to reflect upon the errors of men in successive ages, the absurd fancies which were discarded for opinions that following ages deemed equally fanciful, and thus they gradually and unknowingly become incapable of believing in the constant transmission of the same religious truths through a long lapse of ages, of which certain fact, an acquaintance with the learning and customs of Christian ages would have convinced them.

On the use of historical study to theologians, in order to supply them with arguments, and examples, and means of avoiding error as to popular or vulgar reports, Melchior Canus discourses at large.‡ But that I may not seem presumptuously to offer information to those from whom it would become me rather to learn, I pass on to observe, in the last place, that the whole scope and matter of this book may be regarded as peculiarly interesting and useful to persons who inhabit countries separated from Catholic communion, and at a distance from the traditionary customs and manners of the Christian life. In such lands, the faithful may be said to live and

* Voigt Hildebrand und sein Zeitalter vorrede.
† Psalm xxi. 27.
‡ Joan. Buschius de Vir. Illust. cap. 32.

* Hell. xxiii.
† Traites des Etudes Monastiques, Part II. chap 8.
‡ De Locis Theologicis, Lib. XI.

converse principally with the spirits of former times, with their saintly and heroic ancestors, who lived in ages of faith. No men of cultivated minds and delicate susceptibility suffer such privations there as Catholics: for the sense of the beautiful and the just is nourished continually in their minds, and refined and sublimated, while the matter on which it might be externally exercised is withdrawn. Excluded from the august temples, which stand as monuments of ancient faith, they have none of those local resources which the wisdom of religious ages had provided for souls like theirs; they cannot continually behold gracious and ennobling objects to be the defence of holy thoughts against the impressions of vanity. To summon them to holy rites, no solemn tower sends forth its mighty peal; the outward form of things ceases to be divine, for they behold no places of public state and grandeur, sanctified by the emblems of their religion; confined, and fettered, and thwarted in desire, theirs are but maimed rites. For them no night is now with hymn or carol blest. Even nature's beauties are cut off and appropriated, in a manner, from the holy purpose for which they know them to have been originally intended. Every pleasant site, every hill and gentle shore is claimed for uses of luxury or secular profit, (for the new sects seem conscious that there is no connection between them and the divine harmonies of the natural and material world;) they who are of the eternal fold can possess only some new and frail edifice, in the meanest and obscurest recess of a distant suburb, for the sanctuary of the Lord of Glory. For them, therefore, books, and especially the annals of Christian ages, are a principle of life almost essential. It is to them that a Bede and an Alcuin are dear and precious, and that there can be no higher enjoyment than to stray along the sea beaten shores of Lindisfarne and amidst Iona's piles,

> Where rest from mortal coil the Mighty of the Isles.

Men say that this is the most distressing of all cases, when any one knows admirable things, but is obliged by necessity to keep at a distance from them.

> καλὰ γιγνώσκοντ' ἀνάγκᾳ
> ἐκτὸς ἔχειν πόδα.*

And these lines of Pindar may well be applied to those few faithful Christians who are found in such lands, pursuing their way alone through regions which seem deserted of God, and light, and joy.

> Ibant obscuri sole sub nocte per umbram
> Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna.

Visions of grief and care meet them at every step.

> ——————Tristisque Senectus
> Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et turpis Egestas
> Terribiles visu formæ, Lethumque, Laborque;
> Tum consanguineus Lethi sopor, et mala mentis
> Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum;
> Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens.*

They must seem insensible to all the impious deeds around them, or they will hear terrible menaces, in words like those of Charon, "This is the place of shades, of sleep, and night." It is not lawful to carry the living in the Stygian vessel,—

> Corpora viva nefas Stygiâ vectare carinâ.

Thus these nations used to cry, let there be no Catholics amongst us, it is not lawful that they should be seen here; which was as much as to say, it is not lawful to admit the living among the dead. Meanwhile, every thing serves to remind them of their saintly and mighty ancestors. Their magnificent domes and towers still remain, of which every arch has its scroll teaching Catholic wisdom, and every window represents some canonized saint.

> The spot that angels deigned to grace
> Is blessed, though robbers haunt the place.

And though their graves are yearly violated, and the stone cases which contain their venerable ashes hewn and scattered on the public ways, still does their virtue live, by a kind of vague tradition, in the memory of the people:—

> Even by the bad commended, while they leave
> its course untrod.

Towns still bear no other name but that of the saint or martyr who first gave them renown,—a St. Alban, a St. Neot, a St. Ives, or a St. Edmund. Our lonely mountain sides still have crosses, whose rude form attest their Saxon origin, and still are there pious hands among the simple people of those wild hills, to guard them from profanation. The sweet countenances of saintly kings and holy abbots, carved in stone, are still remaining over the solemn gates

* Pindar Pyth. Od. IV.

* Æneid. VI. 268.

of venerable piles; and by the side of the pompons inscription, in more than pagan vanity, the antique slab is often discernible, which humbly invokes the prayer for a soul's rest. There too still flow the same dark waters, o'er whose wave so often swept at midnight the peal of the convent bell, or was heard faintly chaunting the man of blessed order, as he hastened on the errand of charity. Lo, yonder are the shattered arches of some abbey, on a river's bank, more lonesome than the roads that traverse desert wilds. It is Croyland, and at that calm and solemn hour

When near the dawn, the swallow her sad lay,
Rememb'ring haply ancient grief, renews;
When our minds, more wand'rers from the flesh,
And less by thought restrain'd, are, as 'twere, full
Of holy divination.*

You approach and kneel upon the spot, and the long deserted walls of the ruined sanctuary wonder at the pious stranger, who seems to hear alone, through a benighted world, the torch of faith. Where is now that devout assembly for the early sacrifice: where that rich and varied order, the gorgeous vestments, and the bright gems, and all

The beauteous garniture of altars on a festal time?†

Our old historians dwell with delight upon the glory of this place. They describe at length the altars of gold, the richly painted windows, the solemn organs placed on high over the entrance, the candelabras of solid silver and the processional cross, the splendid presents of the Mercian kings, of the emperors of Germany, and princes of France, the beautiful buildings, the great hostel for the poor, and the hall for noble guests.‡ They leave us to picture to ourselves the benign countenance of meditative age, the cheerful grace of angelic youth, the innocent joys of study, the delights of unity and peace, the psalmody, the sweet entonation of sublime prayer, the silence, the charity, the faith so oft attested at St. Guthlac's shrine, the lives of the saints, and the death of the just! Alas! all are gone, and nothing remains but a desolation, the mere view of which chills the heart; some mouldering arches, which each succeeding winter threatens to lay prostrate; a line of wretched cabins, which shelter some wild people, that seem ignorant of God and Christ, untaught and sensual, like those who know not whether there was such a thing as the Holy Ghost, prepared to assure the stranger that these walls were once a gaol, or a place built by the Romans, while all around yon lies a dark and dismal fen, where a gibbet is more likely to meet your eye than a cross, the image of death and not of redemption! The very earth seems to mourn,—"Terram tenebrosam, et opertam mortis caligine, terram miseriæ et tenebrarum, ubi umbra mortis, et nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat." Alas! what remained for the sad pilgrim, but to smite his breast and continue the accustomed chaunt,—"Quid faciam miser? ubi fugiam? Anima mea turbata est valde; sed tu, Domine, succurre ei. Ubi est nunc præstolatio mea? et patientiam meam quis considerat? Tu es, Domine, Deus meus."

Yet he who hath made the nations of the earth curable* leaves no man without the sustenance which is required for the peculiar wants of his soul, and without the means of salutary exercise. In the worst of times there are redeeming features, and objects of imitation, such as what the Roman historian specifies "ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata: et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus."† And though our pomp must needs admit the pale companion, though in desiring the return of the reign of truth, we have but "wishes and tears, poor fancy's followers;" yet still are left some of those that have St. Thomas for guardian, to comfort and direct us on our way. We may not be able to enjoy the lot of Samuel, who departed not from the temple; but there are chapels on the distant hills from before whose bright altars, setting forth into the darkness of night, having the stars for companions, and no other solace but to chaunt again by the way some of the sweet melodies which seem still to linger around us, we may travel homewards, and hope that each step has been reckoned by an angel. We may not be able to frequent the assemblies of the holy people who worship in vast cathedrals, and repeat with innumerable voices the solemn hymn which marks the yearly return of some most holy time, but we can walk alone in the woods, and sing the Stabat Mater, while the nightingale will lend her long and plaintive

* Dante, Purg. ix. † Ibid.
‡ Vide Ingulphus Hist. p. 9. Hist. Croylandensis Rerum Anglic. Script. Tom. 1.

* Sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum. Sap. c. I. v. 14.
† Tacitus, Hist. Lib. I. 3.

note to deepen and prolong the tones of that sweet and melancholy strain, and then our tears will fall upon the wild flowers, and we shall feel in communion with the holy dead; with those who so oft had sung it, sad and sighing, like the Beatrice of Dante, in such a mood "that Mary, as she stood beside the cross, was scarce more changed."* Yes, beloved land, that would so smile on gentle, lowly spirits, land twice converted,† too fair to be for ever lost, thou art still dear to all thy sons, but doubly so to such of them as lament thy sad destiny; for thy sweet meadows would cover themselves with the enamel of flowers to grace the progress of Jesus Christ in the victim of the altar; thy solemn woods would give shelter to the lonely eremite, and thy bright streams would yield refreshment to the tabernacles of the just;—thy gardens would give roses to scatter before the adorable sacrament, and thy towns and hamlets would send forth their cheerful youth, children fair as the race of primal creatures, to commence their flowery sprinkling. Thou art still a noble instrument, though now mute or discordant. Ignorant and unskilful hands have played upon thee till they broke thee into a thousand parts; but though thus broken and disarranged, let but the master arise who can revive the Catholic chord, and thou wilt again send forth the sweetest music.

It is the remark of Frederick Schlegel that a love of the romantic world of the middle ages, and of their chivalry, has continued to characterize the poetry of England, even while the negative philosophy of her sophists has maintained its ground.‡ And though, at the same time, for reasons which do not require a sphinx to explain, the complaint of learned foreigners is most just, that the literature and antiquities of our ancestors have been no where throughout the civilized world more neglected than in England; yet it is equally true, and still more remarkable, that in this country several old Catholic customs of the middle ages have been transmitted down to us, as if protected in ice, to be the astonishment of other nations. It is true they have lost all the qualities of life; there is no spirit to vivify, no mind to direct them, but still the form, though dead and motionless, has something in it imposing and majestic; nay, even pleasing and amiable. Indeed, a book might be composed on the latent Catholicism of many natives of this country, where every thing solid and valuable is after all, either a remnant or a revival of Catholic thinking or institution. Methinks it would not be too much to suggest, from general principles, that youth, at least even in such a country, can never be essentially opposed to Catholicism. Cold, dry negations and that disdainful mood, however well it may suit the breasts that wear it, are not congenial with its warm and generously confiding nature. If it has heard the words of the blessed Gospel, which children can understand better than proud scholars swollen with vanity; if it has been familiarized with the paintings of Catholic artists, which a taste for the fine arts may have incautiously suffered to appear before it; if it has had on all sides the images and memorials of saints and martyrs; if it has been reared in a land abounding, in spite of fanatical and commercial Vandalism, with the ruins of sacred edifices and memorials of ancient faith; if it has visited the desolate cloister, and beheld the lofty cathedral, and heard the solemn bell; and if it has learned by accident to repeat some affecting incident connected with the sanctity and grandeur of times gone by, some beautiful passage in the wondrous lives of the meek men of God, and to feed its imagination with the mysterious lessons of sweet Christian poesy, in vain will pedagogues and worldly teachers have required it to adopt the protestations of men who doubt and deny and refuse to hear the Church. It is Catholic in heart, in genius, in modes of thinking, and even in many of its habits of life, and it must continue to be so until age and the world shall have tarnished its golden nature. These considerations again will justify my former position, that the study to which I purpose directing attention in these sheets will have a peculiarly domestic interest. Some, indeed, their conscience dimmed by their own or others' shame, may feel that parts are sharp, but notwithstanding as Cacciaguida says to Dante, the whole vision shall be made manifest,

* Purg. XXXIII.

† The priests of England bore upon their albs, on the left shoulder, "quasi socipes de panno serico super assutas," the upper closed, in sign of there being but one faith, but the lower divided, as a sign of their having been twice converted to the faith, first by the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, and secondly by St. Augustin. Chronicon Monasterii S. Bertini, cap. 1. Par. I. Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. III.

‡ Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 250.

And let them wince, who have their withers wrung.
What though, when tasted first, the voice shall prove
Unwelcome; on digestion, it will turn
To vital nourishment.*

Pindar sings truly, making allowance for the unblessed style, that "the ancient virtues recover fresh strength which had been changed with the ages of men. For neither does the black earth produce her fruit in ceaseless succession, nor do the trees send forth their oderiferous blossom in every period of the year, but only at certain intervals, and in the same manner also is the strength or virtue of mortals subjected to the government of fate."† Meanwhile, the display of the ancient virtues which belonged to ages of faith, and the diligent search into the customs and manners of Christian antiquity must be peculiarly valuable to those upon whom the iniquity of the proud is multiplied. For it is by remembering the blessed spirits

That were below, ere they arriv'd in heav'n,
So mighty in renown, as every muse
Might grace her triumph with them,‡

That they learn to feel the wretchedness of those that are on earth,

All after ill example gone astray;

I myself have found, while living in a Catholic country, that these instances taken from the middle ages, of the customs and manners of a Christian life, of charity and zeal, of holy penitence and angelic innocence, of wealth and time, beauty and service devoted to God and to the poor, lost half their interest, because they differ in nothing from what passed actually around men, and from what was as familiar as the ordinary occurrences of domestic life; but in faithless lands, unless within the walls of a college, or in some singularly favoured family, they seem to be wholly historical, if not a part of poetry, to belong to another world, or to a time gone by for ever. It is by the study which recalls the images of former sanctity, and the former prevalence of truth, that men are enabled to draw lessons from the very stones of their ruined abbeys, which will seem to dictate that solemn prayer, "Salvum me fac, Domine, quoniam defecit sanctus, quoniam diminutæ sunt veritates à filiis hominum."§ Nor is it an advantage unworthy of regard which will result from studying the history of ages of faith, that it may be made even a source of consolation and support in our last hours: for how sweet, then, will be the thought that, perhaps, through grace of highest God we may be admitted to behold the crowd of great and holy men, with whom such studies will have made us long familiar! to enter that country whither have already journeyed all who have ever been the objects of our love and reverence! There will be the princes under whose happy reign the Church had peace and freedom, there the meek confessors, and there the lowly ones who ran to follow Christ. Truly in vain will have been these studies if we cannot derive this consolation from them; for

——— What to thee is others' good,
If thou neglect thy own.*

Mabillon, in his preface to the fifth age of the Benedictines, speaks of those who had assisted him in the labour of this vast enterprise, and mentions in particular, one young man, John Jessenetus, (who had begun to furnish some illustrations,) a youth of the greatest hopes, who was cut off by a sudden death, while on a journey, returning with him from Lotharingia. Mabillon adds these affecting words, "I wish that his meditating on the glory of the saints may have been profitable to him for a better life! I wish it may not turn to my confusion, that after being occupied during so many years on the acts of the saints, I should be so far removed from their examples."

But I return to speak in general as to the course and object to be pursued in the following research. It has often been a subject of astonishment and complaint, that a direction almost exclusively classical, should be given to the studies of youth in modern times, and though it might not be difficult to detect the real cause which has operated to produce this partiality, which certainly must be sought elsewhere than in the supposed barrenness and barbarism of the ancient Christian literature, it may be sufficient here to bear testimony to the justice of such complaints. For, in fact, what can be more unreasonable than to maintain that an acquaintance with the histories and manners of the ancient Greeks and Romans is more essential to complete the instruction of Christians than the like knowledge of the habits and institutions of

* Paradise XVII. † Nem. Od. XI.
‡ Dante, Paradise XVIII. § Psal. II.

* Dante, Purg. X.

their own national ancestors and fathers in the faith; that an English student should be familiar with Livy without having ever even heard of Ingulphus, or a William of Malmesbury; that he should know by heart the sentences of Demosthenes, without being aware that St. Chrysostom was, perhaps, his equal in eloquence and grandeur; and that he should be afraid of corrupting his latinity by looking into St. Jerome, of whom Erasmus said, that if he had a prize to award between him and Cicero, he should be tempted to give it to the Christian father rather than to the great orator of Rome. Ah! could these mighty spirits of the ancient world give utterance to the conviction which now possesses them in answer to the multitude of voices which continually are raised from earth to speak their praise, they would counsel their fond admirers to place their affection upon Diviner models; they would speak in words like those of the shade of Virgil, when he first meets Dante. "We lived in times of false and lying gods; we sung of earthly conquests; but why dost thou return into this fatal region? why not scale this delicious mountain, which is the beginning and the cause of all joy?"

——— At Rome my life was past,
Beneath the mild Augustus, in the time
Of fabled Deities and false. A bard
Was I, and made Anchises' upright son
The subject of my song, who came from Troy,
When the flame preyed on Ilium's haughty towers.
But thou, say wherefore to such perils past
Return'st thou? Wherefore not this pleasant mount
Ascendest, cause and source of all delight?*

I am aware, indeed, that books have of late been written, (and how many it skills not to say), with the professed object of instructing men in the spirit and manners of the middle ages; but without wishing to delay in sounding forth my own praises, and in condemning the works of others who have already written on this subject, after the manner that we used to hear censured of Anaxilans and Theopompus, who are known to have thus launched forth in their prefaces to their histories.—I may be allowed to urge that complaint against some of our contemporary historians, which Dionysius expressed in reference to men, "who had dared," as he says, "to compose histories with the sole object of making them agreeable to barbarous kings who hated Rome, to flatter whom they wrote certain gracious books, which were neither just nor true."† For these great men of the earth, though barbarous, who so cordially hate Rome, there continues to be no want of corresponding writers, whom no reverence of the keys restrains. The ancients have left us an excellent example, in evincing a most lively interest in all that related to the antiquities of their country, and the customs of their ancestors. Cicero says that he had written an elaborate work "De moribus, institutisque majorum et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis."* Dionysius says, in the first book of his history, "I shall begin from the most ancient stories, ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιοτάτων μύθων, which former writers have omitted, and which cannot be found without great pains and difficulty;" though he speaks elsewhere of one writer who had made a collection of these ancient stories.‡ Plautus improves upon the counsel of Pindar, and says that they are wise, "qui libenter veteres spectant fabulas."‡ Now it is not certainly too much to affirm, that the customs and manners of the middle ages are deserving of quite as much attention from us, as that Homeric way of life, and those Pythagorean manners spoken of by Socrates,§ that their literature might supply most interesting variety to those who may very well think that they have heard enough of the hard Eurystheus and the altars of the illaudable Busiris, and the other verses which continue to arrest so many vacant minds; and that these our domestic antiquities would furnish ample matter to exercise, with the greatest advantage, all our diligence and research, though we had the industry of a Chrysippus, who was so curious, as Cicero says, in collecting various examples from all history.‖ St. Ambrose mentions that he had himself written a book, "De Patrum Moribus;"¶ but it would be difficult to find a work which entered into the full detail of the manners and institutions of the ancient Christian society amongst our ancestors. In the composition of these books, I shall avail myself of the interesting writings which remain to us from the middle age; of which we may say, with far greater justice than Quinctilian affirmed of the old Latin authors, "Sanctitas certe, et ut sic dicam, virilitas ab his petenda, quando nos in omnia deliciarum genera vitiaque, dicendi quoque ratione, defluximus."** The ancients, from a general principle, professed a great respect and admiration for their old authors. Cicero and Virgil both extracted

* Hell, Canto I.
† Dionysii Halicarnass. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I. 4.

* Tuscul. Lib. IV. 1. † Lib. I. 68. ‡ Prolog.
§ Plato, de Repub. Lib. X. ‖ Tuscul. I. 45.
¶ Epist. Lib. VI. 37. ** Inst. Lib. I. 8.

gold from Ennius: Horace thonght that the reading of the books of the ancients was the best consolation for the misery of the present.—

> O rus! quando te aspiciam, quandoqne licebit,
> Nunc veterum libris
> Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?*

The Romans speak with enthnsiasm of their Attius, their Pacuvins, and their Nnvins, for whom they have almost a religious respect. Thus Qnintilian, in reference to them, says, "Let ns reverse these old trees of our sacred groves, whose trunks, half-decayed, have something in them most venerahle, which even time seems to respect while it destroys them."

Without alluding to the works of a St. Thomas or an Anselm, and others, whose names shonld stand, not so much for the names of men as of wisdom and even eloquence, there are a multitnde of works which date from that begotten period of the middle ages, of whom fame has no note; in which, like an ancient temple, there is not so much grace and elegance as religion, hnt yet, which contain many hright sentences, and many things to be read for the sake of manners; whose authors do not collect the rain-water, but hurst forth into a living spring.

From these works, then, "quasi quodam sancto angustoque fonte nostra omnis manahit oratio."† They will be qnoted, hnt withont any reference to the dispntes and controversies which modern writers may have raised npon them. Mahillon, in applying himself to illnstrate the acts of the Benedictine order, found the necessity, from the first, of approachiug things so ancient with the mind of an ancient, free from the dispntes of more recent times, and anxions only to serve the common canse of Christian religion.‡ To some it will appear a recommendation, that truth is not produced here as in a work of reasoning, where, as Bonald says, it is like a king at the head of his army on a day of battle,—hnt rather, as in one of sentiment, where he compares it to a qneen on the day of her coronation, amidst the pomp of festivity, the splendonr of a conrt, the acclamations of a whole people, the decorations and perfumes, and surronnded hy all that is magnificent and gracious. And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to say, fight; so, with Lord Bacon, many will say, that they like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceahly, with chalk to mark np those minds which are capahle to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.* I shall wander on, therefore, without fearing to be led far from the matter, even though I should resemhle Isocrates in writing the praise of Helen; for I shall presume that my reader will be like the youth who dispntes with Cicero, in the first book of the Tusculans, when he replies, that he remembers the proposed object of their conversation, from which they had been led away, and adds, "Sed te de æternitate dicentem aberrare à proposito facile patiebar."‡ Bnt writers in our time affect to be more judicious in their style of disconrse than even the Minerva of Homer.‡ Nevertheless, Enripides, as a philosopher or as a poet, does not stand higher in the estimation of sensible men, because he offers to prove, in the famous contest between him and Æschylus, in the shades, that he has never said the same thing twice.§ It is Plato who is so fond of the maxim, *καλὸν δὲ τό γε ὀρθὸν καὶ δὶς καὶ τρίς.*‖ And we shall be on the soil of Catholicism;—that is, on the ground of infinity in great thonghts and gracious harmonies,—ground that is

> Enlivened by that warmth, whose kindly force
> Gives birth to flowers and fruits of holiness;

fruits, let it be remembered,

> That ne'er were plucked on other soil.

In whatever direction, on that hlessed shore, we turn our steps, we shall find inexhaustible riches of every virtne, of wisdom and learning, of beanty and grandeur; to cheer the sage, who may then detect the truth of things in an ahyss of radiance, clear and lofty; to ravish that imagination of the yonng, which is kindled hy the splendonr of eternal light; and to satisfy in all

> The increate perpetual thirst, that draws
> Toward the realm of God's own form.¶

Snch a conrse, viewed in relation to the number of material images which truth and

* Lib. II. Sat. 6. v. 66.
† Cicero, Tuscul. Lib. V. 13.
‡ Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 4.

* Of the Advancement of Learning.
† I. 33. ‡ Odyss. I. 260.
§ Aristoph. Ranæ. 1178.
‖ De Legibus, XII.
¶ Dante, Paradise, II.

love assumed on earth, does not afford a prospect of a speedy termination; it rather would prepare us for a work deserving the title of that which Christine de Pisan wrote, and styled "Le chemin de longue estude." But if a description of the armour of one hero could justly occupy so many verses as those of Homer and Virgil, in explaining that of Achilles and of Æneas, what indulgence may not be granted to him who should endeavour to place before men's eyes the grandeur and holiness of the lives and deaths of men, under the ancient Catholic state? *περὶ γὰρ τίνος ἂν μᾶλλον πολλάκις τὶς νοῦν ἔχων χαίροι λέγων καὶ ἀκούων*;* it is such things which, as Socrates says, one should learn to sing to one's self: *καὶ χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὥς περ ἐπᾴδειν ἑαυτῷ.*† They should be embodied before the mind as if on a painted tablet; that, as the poet says, "even though we lived and speculated alone, Remembrance, like a sovereign prince, might still maintain for us a stately gallery of gay or tragic pictures." Yet I shall not swell the book with those sentences which serve, like straw and wool, to pack precious objects for a rude journey. The passage here will be into quick and generous souls, to whom precious fragments may be offered as I find them, without the delay of enveloping them in this stuffing of one's own creation. Cardan shows the advantage of such a plan, saying, "Brevity of language is of excellent service to persons of competent ability and knowledge, though to stupid and ignorant persons it may be useless. To those who have the power of understanding many things comprised in few words, this style impresses the mind with more force, brings light, and prevents things from vanishing through oblivion; does not produce weariness; and while it increases the authority of the speaker, augments also in the hearer the desire of being gratified."‡ This mode of representing the lion only by showing his claws, was greatly esteemed by the ancients, who studied the utmost brevity and compression in their writings, so as to speak much in a narrow space; whereas the moderns, who can trace no connection unless it can be touched with their fingers, are unable to understand any thing unless it be drawn out at length into a continued flowing discourse. We hardly can get beyond the bark of the old authors, who wrote with the greatest art and study; so that many things still lie deeply buried in their writings, which would amply repay men for the trouble of searching, and which would render any man now admirable. This is still the remark of Cardan, who gives the instance of Plato, who, hating Aristippus and Cleombrotus, wrote that they were in Ægina when Socrates was in prison.* For it was a fact, that Ægina was only a short distance from Athens.† From many writers of the middle age also, men might learn "scholastico more presse loqui," although it is from their works that precedents may be produced to justify the frequent occurrence of poetry, with which these pages will be interspersed. Thus the Temple of Honour, by John le Maire, addressed to the Duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, daughter of Louis XI. is composed of both prose and verse, after the style of the work by Boethius on the Consolations of Philosophy;‡ as is also Pierre Michault's book, "Le Doctrinal de Conr," and "Le Verger d'Honneur," by André de la Vigne, and the Mannel Royal of John Breche, and the Life of Louis de la Tremouille, by John Bouchet; for the separation of the prose and poetry in this latter work was not made until the year 1536, when the poems were separately published.

It may be remarked in general, that the writers of that period loved to embrace the whole of wisdom in their works. Thus, in the famous Tresor of Brunetto the Florentine, which is said to be "un enchaussement des choses divines et humaines," there is an union of theology and the beauties of heathen literature. Perhaps too in this history there will be found matter to illustrate the position of Aristotle, *ὅτι χωρίζονται ἀλλήλων αἱ ἀρεταὶ*,§ and that of Plato, when he says, that our soul seems to resemble a book.‖ Its form shall not resemble that which the writers of wars give to their histories, nor such as that adopted by men who relate the separate condition of particular states, nor that of those meagre annals which are so tedious and uninviting; but it shall be a mixed style, like that proposed by Dionysius, "composed of every idea, both positive and theoretical, that it may be agreeable both to those who study the policy of nations and to those who devote themselves to philosophic speculation,

* Plato, De Repub. II. † Phædo, 114.
‡ Hieronym. Cardan. de Prudentia civili, Lib. cap. I.

* Phædo. † Ib. cap. 54.
‡ Gouget, Bibliotheque François, Tom. X. p. 70.
§ Ethic. VI. 13. ‖ Philebus.

and also to such as seek a kind of quiet delight in the reading of history."* So that the subject here proposed would reqnire a writer like the old Monk of Clnny, Udalricns, who collected with diligence the ancient customs of that place; of whom it is said, "He was a learned Father, producing from his treasury things new and old, with which he instructed many to knowledge." It may with truth be said here, referring to what I have found in ancient books,

> Ἔχω καλά τε φράσαι, τόλμα τέ μοι
> Εὐθεῖα γλῶσσαν ὀρνύει λέγειν.†

Or, as Pindar sings of himself elsewhere, "There are to me, within the qniver, many qnick arrows, sounding to the wise, though with the vulgar they may want an interpreter."

> Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς
> Δὲ τὸ πᾶν, ἑρμηνέων
> Χατίζει.‡

The whole may be styled a rhapsody, for it is made np of fragments, and from the works of men who, like Homer, flourished in an heroic age—

> Hic genus antiquum———
> Magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis.§

And the rule for such compositions wonld not be nnworthy of a Christian author, for the Scoliast on Pindar informs ns that the rhapsodists always began with the name of Jove.|| Farther than fragments collected in a spirit of reverence, nothing can be expected here.

> Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
> Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.¶

Certainly if one were ambitious of taking lofty ground in self-defence for such a mode of composition, there might be abundant precedents. Plautus and Terence took whole scenes from ancient poets, and Cardinal Bona appeals to the example of Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, and also of Plato, who transferred a great part of the work of Philolaus into his Timæus. Nay, Homer himself supplies an instance, as Eustathius shows. Apollodorus nsed to say, that if any one took from the books of Chrysippns what he had borrowed from others, there would be left only empty sheets. St. Jerome remarks, that the writings of St. Ambrose are filled with the sentences of Origen. The second part of the Somme of St. Thomas is taken almost entirely from the Speculum of Vincentius Belacensis. And such a mode is absolutely inseparable from the course of one who attempts to exhibit ancient manners and ways of thinking:—

> Veterum volvens monumenta virorum.*

Which is the object here proposed:—for,

> ———Tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis
> Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontes.†

It may be objected to the design of this work, that it engages one in the snpport of an arbitrary system, which would lead us from viewing the truth of history. Before replying to this charge, I would observe, that the expression, a system or systematic, may be taken and employed in a donble signification; in a good and praiseworthy sense, as well as in one that deserves blame and rejection. In this latter sense, it appears in those phrases which affirm that some thing is a mere system, or conformable to this or that system, in which judgment, as Frederick Schlegel remarks, "men do not intend to affirm that it stands npon no gronnd whatever, a mere creation of caprice, but rather, perhaps, that though it may contain many truths and mnch good, yet it does not extend to the whole of truth; or, in a word, that the systematic connection is only external and visible and a mere delusive contrivance; whereas, in a good and right sense, we may say that a work is a system, or that it is systematic, in allnsion to its internal connection, and to the nniform and living nnity which pervades it throughont."‡ Now, in this latter sense, every work which is written in the spirit of Catholicism must be a system: that is, it must embrace the whole of truth. However broken and imperfect its arrangement, though it be bnt a rhapsody, it must still be systematic, in this noble and just sense of the term; and, in fact, it is nothing bnt this Catholic view of things, conceived in its highest degree of clearness, which Dante describes in that nnrivalled passage, which is near the close of the Paradise, where he says that he looked,

* Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I. † Pindar, Olymp. XIII.
‡ Olymp. II. § Æneid, VI. 644.
|| Rhapsody, from ῥάπτω ᾠδή, because the Rhapsodists sung fragments from Homer. The Scoliast on Pindar, Nem. III. Od. 2, says that they were of the family of Homer, and Pindar calls them the children of Homer.
¶ Lucret. Lib. III.

* Æneid, III. 102. † Georg. II. 174.
‡ Philosophie der Sprache, p. 7.

and in the depth of the everlasting splendour

> Saw in one volume clasp'd of love, whate'er
> The universe unfolds; all properties
> Of substance and of accident beheld
> Compounded, yet one individual light
> The whole.*

Many saintly men, like St. Benedict, have reached the same pitch, in more than poetic semblance, and have described it; while its practical effects have been the support and consolation of all the just. These have been expressed in the sacred songs: "Ambulabam in latitudine, quia mandata tua exquisivi," said David; and again, "Eduxit me in latitudinem;" and again, "Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos."†

It is true that I shall not stop to take up the odious and degrading objects which may occasionally be met with on the way. We read, in Homer, that when Jove suspended the fatal balance, and the scale of Hector descended, that immediately Apollo left him—

> ———λίπεν δέ ἑ Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων.‡

The Muse should forsake all cursed and condemned things abandoned by God; not search for them and make them the subject of interminable complaints. "How have my verses injured the state?" asked Euripides. "Have I composed the history of Phædra otherwise than according to the facts?" "Nay, according to the facts," replies his accuser Æschylus. "But you should not have produced what is evil, and bring it upon the scene to pervert the minds of youth." Some are yet to be convinced of the wisdom of our modern writers, who would agree with Euripides in maintaining that it was more useful to expose on the stage, all the turpitudes of his familiar fables, than to resemble Æschylus in the lofty and superhuman grandeur of his theme.§ Let no one, however, express his alarm here on account of truth. We do not think it a pardonable offence to invent and publish falsehoods, however admirable in appearance respecting holy men, like Pindar, who says that it may be allowable for mortals to frame beautiful tales in honour of the immortals.|| Strictly speaking, however, the best history of these middle ages would be collected from a series of biographical memorials respecting the great and holy personages who flourished from the time of Charlemagne and Alfred till their close. Frederick Schlegel says, "I would rather seek to find the true quality of a Christian state during this period, in a series of portraits, representing men who were great in a Christian sense, and who governed according to Christian principles, than in any scientific definition."* But all things now are full of pedantry. History is only regarded as a mine from which men of every political school can extract the matter which can be made serviceable to the illustration of their respective theories; and even when they loudly protest against such an application of historical study, they are still like inquisitive mechanics, who, when present at the representation of a solemn tragedy, occupy themselves solely in endeavouring to discover by what wires and pullies the scenes are shifted, and the artifices of the stage conducted, without ever having one thought excited by the harmony of the heroic pageant. How much wiser and more acute are those who are sitting in ignorance of what passes behind the scenes, and only anxious to co-operate with the moral intentions of the poet, which were to instruct, to delight, and to move! Whether it be from a mere vanity, which makes men anxious to evince the powers of an analytical mind, even though it is to be misapplied, or whether it be from the deeper motive mentioned by St. Jerome, saying, "Lacerant sanctum propositum, et remedium pœnæ suæ arbitrantur, si nemo sit sanctus,"† or whether it arise from that mistaken principle which perverts the whole of modern philosophy, and which displays men as the poet says, who

> Viewing all objects unremittingly,
> In disconnection dead and spiritless;
> And still dividing, and dividing still,
> Break down all grandeur,‡

the great object of modern research seems to consist in contriving arguments which will oblige men to renounce their admiration for ancient deeds of virtue, and to come to the conclusion, that there is no one who can show them any good. Well might the poet feel it sad

> ———— to hear
> The repetitions wearisome of sense,
> Where soul is dead and feeling hath no place;
> Where knowledge, ill begun, in cold remark
> On outward things, with formal inference ends.

* Canto XXXIII.
† Ps. cxviii. 17, 30.
‡ XXII. 212.
§ Aristoph. Ranæ, 1055.
|| Olymp. I.

* Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 20.
† Epist. XXVIII.
‡ Wordsworth, the Excursion.

A distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris complains of the Germans, and says that "whenever a social state appears noble and good, seen on one grand side, they regard it with an exclusive admiration and sympathy. They are inclined generally to admire, to be impassioned; imperfections, deficiencies, and the bad side of things strike them but little. Singular contrast! In the sphere purely intellectual, in the research and combination of ideas, no people have more extent of mind and more philosophic impartiality; and when facts are concerned which address themselves to the imagination, which excite moral emotions, they fall easily into narrow prejudice and confined views; their imagination wants fidelity and faith: they lose all poetical impartiality; they do not see things under all their faces and such as they really are."* This long dogmatical censure, as far as it is intelligible, proves only the good sense and judgment which guides the imagination that it condemns. Sin and evil are only negations in the universal view of this creation, and to the person whose mind is united with the source and essence of all created things, they are as if not existing. They interrupt not for a moment his view of the immensity of that great glory for which his heart devoutly returns continual thanks.

It may be further objected to the present design, that it does not suppose sufficient attention to distinguish the peculiar character of each age in the annals of the Christian society, and that consequently it would tend to give, at the best, but a very confused idea of the history of the period. But nothing can be farther from it than to profess to give a history of these ages in any ordinary sense of the term. The object in view is to show in how many details the life and institutions of men were then inspired with the Christian spirit, and if the succession of ages are not always distinguished, it is because such a distinction would be wholly unnecessary to the proposed argument. And after all, as far as relates to the greatest part of the subjects that will here be introduced, all ages of the Church are one and the same, in like manner as when the soul is united to God,

Looking at the point whereto all times are present;

there is for her neither past nor future; she is in possession of eternity, and in the bosom of this immutable eternity, which is God; she possesses all things.

I deny not, that in some respects, there may be ground for many timid friends of truth to think that there is danger and novelty in the course which is here laid down for us. What more dangerous, they will say, than to attempt to eulogize these ancient times, which so many deem to have been buried in darkness and barbarism? And

Why dost thou with single voice renew memorial of their praise?

I admit, that in some parts we may seem to arrive at troubled and turbid waters. Convinced, however, notwithstanding the arguments of the sophists, that there is always excellent store beyond them; I only ask, in the Platonic style, "Whether I, being youngest, and having experience of many streams, may not be permitted to try first to pass alone, leaving those who would counsel me to watch in safety, and determine if it be fordable to them also who are older; that if it should prove so, they also may cross over, but if it be not passable, it will be of no importance that I should incur danger."* We shall enter on a forest where no track of steps hath worn a way, but it may resemble that forest of Colonea, the forest of the sombre destinies, yet flourishing with all the sweet verdure of a Grecian spring, within which the laurel, and the olive, and the vine, are found, and where the nightingale pours forth her ceaseless song.† I shall not find the track of many lately preceding us. For there is no chance here of discovering mines of gold and silver, or any thing that can be turned into money; nor can I hope that many will hereafter follow. I am but a lonely gleaner "through fields time-wasted;" but the weakest may do something, and as a father says, "sometimes what has been left by the perfect is found by a little boy." It will be something in our age to bring any one to renounce the style of the ignoble Capaneus, "We are much better than our fathers:"

Τῷ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίῃ ἔνθεο τιμῇ.‡

and to say not merely from devotion, but upon a ground of historical veracity, "Sufficit mihi Domine; neque enim melior sum

* Guizot, Cours d'Hist. Mod. IV. 3.

* Plato, de Legibus, Lib. X.
† Sophoc. Œdip. Col.
‡ Il. IV. 410.

quam patres mei." It will be something to make the proud world see that all were not of its train; that there were those "who faith preferred, and piety to God." But whatever be the supposed danger, or the apparent novelty, let it be well understood that the whole is written in a spirit of the most humble submission to the judgment of our holy mother the Catholic Church, and that if any thing should be in the least at variance with that judgment, I renounce, and in proportion to the degree of variance, abhor it with the utmost clearness of tongue and sincerity of heart.

In a little work that once met the eye of a few persons, whom chance or private friendship directed to it, which attempted to unfold the ways of the ancient chivalry, may perhaps be traced the commencement of this course, of which I now enter upon the last stages. Here we need a still more simple construction, and one ought to perceive already that we move in a freer sphere, as in imagination we draw nearer to the limit where all wishes end. It should be no longer that same mixture of grace and terror, as when we consorted with the offspring of earth and darkness. The burlesque and the ignoble ought to disappear. We are entering as if within that circle of hope described by Dante, which inspires temperance in sadness, and a melancholy, always gentle which has left all the misanthropy of this lower world and of hell. The haughty knight, severe and inflexible in his judgments, must disappear now or leave but few traces, and we shall seem, though some will ascribe it only to a greater degree of weakness, to have lost the memory of the agitations of the world: and though the subject of this book will be so high above me, there need be no charge of great presumption, for it will not be as priest or man of blessed order that I shall propose my thoughts, but like to those who, speaking before their betters with reverent awe,

> Draw not the voice alive unto their lips,

I shall but suggest things in imperfect sounds; coming forth as the meanest brother, that has only charge of the outward gate of the blissful enclosure, or perhaps as the last comer among the rude strangers of the common hall; and if still sometimes there should be aught of rash and intemperate observable, it will be enough to remember, that such men have long haunted the proud courts of mundane chivalry, and that time is needful no less for diseases of the mind than for those of the body. The sea itself, for a long while after the tempest, is still agitated; still its waves retire back to return again and dash themselves against the shore, and it is not till after a great interval that they become appeased, and recover their original tranquillity. Ah! truly, to lead men to consort with the spirits of the great and good of times gone by, demands a tongue not used to childlike babbling:—

> Myself I deem not worthy, and none else
> Will deem me. I, if on this voyage then
> I venture, fear it will in folly end;*

for I shall sometimes catch, even amidst the music of angelic bells, the wild measure of those tales that once charmed me:

> Rude though they be, still with the chime
> Return the thoughts of early time.

Then will begin to rise the ancient pride, and like the last minstrel in Newark's tower, he who once loved all the pomp of chivalry, will begin perhaps, (such grounds are there for suspecting the truth of Plato's notion, that names are of some importance in determining the human course,)

> ———— to talk anon
> Of good Earl Francis dead and gone,
> And of Earl Walter, rest him God!
> A braver never to battle rode.

Thus, "speaking of matters, once perhaps befitting well to speak, now better left untold;" and then going on to say—

> ———— He would full fain,
> He could recall an ancient strain
> He never thought to sing again.

For he too his legendary song could tell

> Of ancient deed, so long forgot;
> Of feuds whose memory was not;
> Of forests, now laid waste and bare,
> Of towers which harbour now the hare;
> Of manners, long since changed and gone;
> Of chiefs, who under their grey stone
> So long had slept, that fickle fame
> Hath blotted from her rolls their name.

Alas! it must indeed be admitted, in concluding this preliminary discourse, that, in alluding almost inadvertently, to this seductive power of deceitful images, and to this variety of contending themes, within the bounds of the imagination, we have laid bare a source of real danger, enough

* Dante, Hell. II.

to make us proceed tremblingly on our way of thoughtfulness and dread; for it is the connsel of the wise, as given in the words of Albert the Great, that we should abstain from the phantasms and images of corporeal things, because above all things that mind pleases God which is naked and stript from these "forms and features; since it is certain, that if the memory, imagination, and thought be at leisure often to dwell on snch things, it will follow that the mind must be entangled with new or with the reliques of ancient things, or be variously qualified, according to other objects; and the spirit of grace and truth departs from thoughts which are without understanding. Therefore a true lover of Jesus Christ ought to be so united in understanding, by a good will to the divine will and to goodness, and so removed from all phantasms and passions, that he should not observe whether he be despised or honoured, or in what way soever entreated, bnt should be in a manner transformed into the divine likeness, so as not to see any other creatnres or himself, unless only in God, and so as to love only God, and to remember nothing of others or of himself, unless in God."*

These are the thoughts which purge the world's gross darkness off, and which heal the wounds of those that weep to see "the heathen come." I would exclaim in those words of Dante to the spirit of Oderigi, who had shown the vanity of earthly ambition. True great Albert,

> True are thy sayings; to my heart they breathe
> The kindly spirit of meekness, and allay
> What tumours rankle there.†

CHAPTER II.

AND now delaying no longer through distrust, for they will assist me whose manners I record, let us advance as if we heard entoned the sentence from the mount, as if voices in strain ineffable did sing, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." Blessed the poor! Ah, how far nnlike to this the learning of those that are without. There it was said with the great Stagyrite, "We fear all evil things; snch as loss of fame, poverty, sickness, friendlessness, and death."* And here we are taught that each one of these can be the object of a Christian's love who meekly follows Christ. Aristotle insists that it is disgraceful, and indicative of the highest insolence, not to fear the want of glory. So far behind does his famed learning halt. The Athenian, with Plato, would make a law in every state to this effect, "Let there be no poor person in the city, let snch a person be banished from the cities, and from the forum, and from the country fields, that the country may be altogether pure and free from an animal of this kind."† In short, for four thousand years poverty was looked upon as a dreadful evil, a sign of malediction, insomuch that even he who was by such love inspired, that all our world craves tidings of his doom, prayed to God to deliver him from it. And such continues to be the case, for wherever the influences of the Catholic Chnrch of Christ has not become dominant, the same sentiments maintain their ground among men, and form them to action. The poor are still those vile animals against whom the Athenian proposed to make laws, banishing them from every place of public resort, that the country may be clear of them. The Bonzes of Japan, in the time of St. Francis Xavier, even taught that neither the poor nor women could be saved, and the contrary doctrine of the Gospel was what chiefly rendered the preaching of that holy missionary so strange to them.‡ The ages of faith were admirable in the contrast which they exhibited to this opinion and practice respecting the condition of poverty, as I shall proceed to show, by pointing out what were the sentiments held respecting it, and what was in fact, the practice of men during that period. The sentiments, the principles, the philoso-

* Ethic. Nicomach. Lib. III. 6.

† Ὅπως ἡ χώρα τοῦ τοιούτου ζώου καθαρὰ γίγνηται τὸ παράπαν. De Legibus, Lib. XI.

* Albertus, M. de adhærendo Deo, cap. VI.

† Purg. XI.

‡ Bouhour's Vie de St. F. Xavier, II. 67.

phy, or, in short, the religion of men, in these ages, taught expressly that since the incarnate Son of God had chosen poverty for himself, and poverty in all its hitter circumstances, and had pronounced a hlessing upon the spirit which corresponded with it, it was therefore a good and holy state to be borne cheerfully hy all, and even to be embraced voluntarily by such as aspire to perfection; and in fact many, who like St. Dominic, as Dante says, seemed messengers and friends fast-knit to Christ, showed their first love after the first counsel that Christ gave. "Let the Pagan," says St. Bernard, "seek riches, who lives without God; let the Jew seek them, who receives temporal promises; hut with what front, or with what mind can a Christian seek riches, after that Christ has proclaimed the poor hlessed?"* "Not to have the burden of poverty," says St. Augustin, "is to have the burden more than needful of riches." The rich will discover at the last day what a weight has been this burden, unless the poor shall have relieved them of it hy receiving their alms. There will remain nothing to them hut that terrible woe of the Gospel, Væ vobis divitihus. Christ in his Gospel speaks to the rich only to thunder against their pride, Væ vobis divitihus! A virgin can conceive, a barren woman can hring forth a child, a rich man can be saved; these are three miracles of which the Holy Scriptnres give us no other reason, hut only that God is all powerful. This is what Bossnet says in his discourse on St. Francis of Assisinm. St. Chrysostom says that there are always three considerations which should make a rich Christian humble: the contrast between the condition of the rich and that of Jesus Christ in poverty, the choice which Jesus Christ made of poverty for himself, and the character of malediction which he seems to have fixed upon riches. "Oh if we loved God as we ought," cries St. Augustin, "we should not have any love for money."† "The rich man speaks of his money," says St. Cyprian, "his goods, his riches, which are all to be kept for himself."‡

> ———How many from their grave
> Shall with shorn locks arise; who living, ay,
> And at life's last extreme, of this offence,
> Through ignorance, did not repent!§

How many are, even now, like the shades described by Virgil?

* Serm. I. De omnibus sanctis.
† In Joan. Tract. XL. 20. ‡ Epist. II.
§ Dante, Purgatory, XXII.

> ———Quàm vellent æthere in alto
> Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!*

Now, at least, they know, "how dear it costeth not to follow Christ."

"What have we to answer," asks St. Cyprian, "to the arguments of Satan against these wretched men, when he asserts that they have always served him and offered him their treasures? How can we defend the sonls of the rich covered with snch thick darkness?"† Woe to yon, his wretched followers! cries Dante, on beholding their distress in hell.

> Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
> Diff'ring wherein from the idolater,
> But that he worships one, a hundred ye?
> Now must the trumpet sound for you, since yours
> Is the third chasm.———

Some of the ancient sages were not withont an insight into the evil and danger of riches, however that truth was generally obscured. Plato shows that the man who would correspond in his own life to the best constituted state must despise riches from his youth.‡ The man who in his life corresponds to a state whose constitntion is mixed with good and evil, will despise riches while yonng; hnt as he grows old, he will become fond of them, because he partakes of the money-loving nature, τοῦ φιλοχρημάτου φύσεως, from not beiug devoted purely to virtue, through having lost the best guard, which consists in reason tempered with music, Λόγου μουσικῇ κερραμένου· which alone is the preserver of virtue through life to whoever possesses it. And in another place he says, "We have proved, therefore, that the very rich are not good men, and if not good, that they cannot be happy."§ And of the rich and powerful man, Socrates says elsewhere, "that he is always in want of most things, and that he appears poor indeed if any one knows how to view his whole soul."‖ In another place, he speaks as follows: "Who can qnestion the possibility of the sons and descendants of kings and despots being horn with a true philosophic nature? No one certainly. Bnt perhaps it will be said, that if such sons should be born to them, their disposition must, of necessity, be corrupted, for we have onrselves admitted that it is very difficult to save it. Bnt that in all the lapse of time there should not have been one saved, it

* VI. 436. † De Bon. Op. et Eleemos.
‡ De Repnb. VIII. § De Legibus, Lib. V.
‖ De Repub. Lib. IX.

would be absurd to suppose. If, then, you grant the possibility of one escaping, it is sufficient to justify our hypothesis and to screen us from the charge of teaching impossibilities."* This is language sufficiently discouraging to the rich, of whom there are many, and the good are rare. In truth, even according to the morals of Aristotle, such men might generally be found guilty in the two respects of deficiency in giving, and of excess in appropriating:† *τῇ τ' ἐλλείψει τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς λήψεως.* He says elsewhere, that "men who have ever so little, think that they have enough of virtue, but that they would go on to infinity adding to their wealth and possessions, to their power and glory."‡ Plato represents Socrates as laughing at men of this description, and saying, as if he had lived on the bank of Thames, "that they would regard it as the height of happiness if they could have gold even within their bodies, three talents in their stomach, a talent in their skull, and a statera in each eye; and that they envy the Scythians for having their skulls lined with gold, though it is for men to drink out of them."§

But it was only in the school of Christ that ordinary men were enabled to discover the depth of the evil, and the exceeding folly of that spirit of appropriating riches to themselves. St. Chrysostom asks, "Why does not the gold that shines in the shops of merchants give you the same pleasure as if it belonged to you personally? At least this would not involve you in such a number of torments. You reply, because it does not belong to you. Thence I conclude that it is nothing but avarice which makes you love all these treasures. What mean these expressions, this is ours, and that does not belong to us? When I examine these words to the bottom I find only vanity and nothingness. How often does a single moment cause people to lose for ever what they call theirs? All this applies equally to those vast possessions, those magnificent houses, those delicious gardens, of which the rich men of this world are so proud, and in allusion to which you will find that the words 'mine and yours' are senseless and vain. For the use of these things is common to all, only those who are called the possessors have the trouble of taking care of them."‖ St. Chrysostom does not seem here to contemplate the possibility of such a state as that in which no one but the actual possessor was allowed to enjoy the goods of life, such as may now be seen in countries where a servile war has repeatedly been on the eve of breaking out, to close the tragedy of "mine and thine," personages which have played such a part from the very first in that drama partaking of the terrible and the ludicrous, which professed to represent the downfall of superstition, and the establishment by law of the reign of primitive Christianity!

What must be the wretched state of that mind which can find delight in the solitude of pride, in the gloomy seclusion of vast parks, from which God and men are equally excluded? In the middle ages the castle of the lord was surrounded by the houses of his dependents, and yet even then it was not a secret that his elevation had no privilege as to greater happiness. Martial d'Avergne, in his Vigils of the death of Charles VII. contrasts the life of the great with that of the poor, and says

Mieulx vault liesse
L'accueil et l'adresse,
L'amour et simplesse
Des bergiers pasteurs,
Qu' avoir à largesse
Or, argent, richesse,
Ne la gentillesse
De ces grans Seigneurs;
Car ils ont douleurs
Et des maulx greigneurs;
Mais pour nos labeurs
Nous avons sans cesse
Les beaulx prés et fleurs,
Fruitaiges, odeurs.
Et joye à nos cueurs,
Sans mal qui nous blesse.*

And in a later age François Maynard could affirm in song, "that all the pompous houses of princes,"

Ne sont que de belles prisons
Pleines d'illustres misérables.†

What did a splendid palace profit Cosmo de Medicis when, after the death of John, he used to walk in sorrowful meditation through the vast apartments, observing that it was too large a house for so small a family? Yet such is mortal blindness! Our Lord never inhabited any house which he could call his own, and we must establish ourselves in castles and Louvres which are to be called ours, as if we were never to leave our present habitations.

Riches were also known to be evil in a

* De Repub. Lib. VI. † Ethic. Lib. IV. cap. I.
‡ Polit. Lib. VII. c. I. § Plat. Euthydemus.
‖ Tractatus de Virginitate, cap. 24.

* Gouget, Biblioth. Française, Tom. X. 51.
† Id. Tom. XVI. 69.

Christian sense, because of the innumerable obstacles which they evidently oppose to the spiritual life. "Ubi rerum omnium abundantia est, ibi plerumque etiam vitiorum," says Drexelius.* Fuller confesses, in his quaint style, the secret which explained many changes which had lately occurred in his unhappy country: "The possession of superfluous wealth sometimes doth hinder our clear apprehensions of matters." "Merchants," says Cardan, "and they who arrive at riches by a continued course of smiling fortune, and also the majority of nobles, are time servers."† "Avoid the great, and confer no benefit upon them, for they are by nature ungrateful; and the experience of this fact is more known than the reason is evident."‡ Nobility, when it is not bound by the chains of the Catholic religion, will generally be proud and terrible in proportion to its power; and men who have only the sentiments of nature will be found to regard it alternately with abhorrence and with a kind of superstitious awe. Children dread the approach of those great men of the earth; and even age forgets, in his presence, what is due to its own native dignity. The proud rich man shows himself to his visitors and guests, as Plutarch says, "ὑποσκελίζεσθαι προσκυνούμενον καὶ καταστολιζόμενον καὶ ἀναπλαττόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα βαρβαρικόν."§

In ages of faith, when such men did appear they were sure to hear language as bold and severe as that of St. Jerome, when he said, "Do not say to me, I am sprung from an illustrious race; I have always lived in delights, in the midst of every luxury; I cannot deprive myself of wine, nor of these exquisite meats, nor adopt so severe a mode of life. I would answer you with all the rigour of my ministry. Well, then, live according to your law, since you cannot live according to the law of God."‖ They would have been reminded, that some centuries before the very title on which they prided themselves signified a miscreant, for the méscreants and infidels were the "Gentiles." Father Lewis of Grenada was unable to take any other view of the great nobles of his age, of whom he said publicly, that almost all by pride and heaping up riches precipitate themselves and their heirs into hell.¶

* De conformit. humanæ voluntatis cum Divin. Lib. V. cap. 7.
† Prudentia Civilis, cap. VI. ‡ Id. cap. XL.
§ How to discern true Friends, XXXV.
‖ S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Eustath.
¶ In Festo alicujus martyris Concio II.

Curst be estate got with so many a crime,
Yet this is oft the stair by which men climb.*

To follow the spirit and manners of the gentle by denomination, from the times described by Spelman in his history of sacrilege to the present, one might almost suppose that the world had receded to that state during which the title passed under its heathen signification. That balance of Critolaus, of which the goods of the soul were placed in one scale and those of the body in the other,† places them in no dilemma, for they decide without deliberation. They stigmatize the choice of a Francis and an Anthony as the folly of an abject superstition; and it would be hard even to find among them an example such as that of the heathen youth Lysiteles, who says of his poor friend, "Quia sine omni malitia est, tolerare egestatem ejus volo."‡ Speak to them of "loving holy poverty, humility, and patience, following the way of Christ and of his saints,"§ like such multitudes of men of all ranks as did embrace this way in the ages of faith, and they reply, as in the words of Spencer,

——"Lett be thy bitter scorne
And leave the rudenesse of that antique age
To them, that lived therein in state forlorne.
Thou that dost live in later times must wage
Thy workes for wealth, and life for gold engage."‖

And even when their language is intended to be all disinterestedness and noble sentiment, even when these high-minded followers of reformers and patriots are for declaring their ardent desire to make every personal sacrifice to further some end which is to bear the semblance and win the honours of a holy cause, their tongues are unable to complete a sentence without providing always that there shall be "a reasonable equivalent" for themselves. Here an important reflection suggests itself. We often seem lost in astonishment at the slowness of men to comply with the loving invitations of the Church of Christ; we are amazed that unanswerable arguments should produce no effect upon the crowd of rich philosophers, who are all considered by the world as such enlightened judges. Ah! we might learn the reason of this from the Evangelist, where he says of some who heard all the things spoken by Christ, "erant avari et deridebant illum."¶ How should we expect them to answer

* Tasso, II. 58. † Cicero, Tuscul. V. 17.
‡ Plautus, Trinum. II. 2.
§ Thom. à Kempis, De tribus tabernaculis, I.
‖ Fairy Queen, II. 7. ¶ Luc. XVI. 14.

otherwise to the dispensers of his mysteries? especially in a land like that the poet speaks of, "where for lucre a 'no' is quickly made?"

"Wisdom herself," says Pindar, "is fettered by gain."

ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται.*

And Mammon wins his way when seraphs might despair!

True, such men may sometimes appear to be convinced, and even perhaps moved in their will to embrace the holy law of Catholics, but it will be only to furnish an example of a most strange and awful phenomenon in the human heart. Father Lewis of Grenada points out this, "How subtle is self-love, and how it seeks some utility for itself, even amidst noble affections. When Paul disputed concerning the judgment to come, before Felix, with such force, that we are told that Felix was filled with awe, and that he trembled, what do we find was the consequence of this terror? Truly a wonderful thing. 'At the same time,' says Luke, 'he hoped that he would receive money from Paul.' Who could have conceived this?"†

No longer, then, let any one be surprised at finding every intellectual force unavailable with the rich, or with those who love money, in poverty: with those whom Cicero describes as, "a race of men horrible and fearful, who hold their possessions embraced with such love, that rather than relinquish them, you would say, their limbs might sooner be torn from their bodies."‡

But how far have we wandered from beatitude? Beati pauperes! Ah! how deeply did these words sink into the hearts of men in faithful ages! Such is the eminent dignity of the poor in the Church, that Bossuet declares that already, even in this world, by means of the Church, God has partly fulfilled that sentence which will hereafter be fully accomplished, that the last shall be first, and the first last. In the world, the poor seem born only to serve the rich; on the contrary, in the Holy Church, the rich are only admitted on condition of their serving the poor: for those that are last in the world are first in the Church. "The Church, therefore," says Bossuet, "may be called the city of the poor, as it is the city of God." To the poor was the Saviour sent, to the poor he preached his first sermon. It was the poor who first entered into the Church; it was the poor whom God chose, that they might be rich in faith and heirs of his kingdom. St. Paul besought the brethren to pray for him, that the service which he was about to render to the poor, that is, the alms he was about to give, might be agreeable to them.* With such honour did he revere them! In the world the rich may assume and bear proud titles, but in the Church of Jesus Christ they are only recognised as the servants of the poor.† Observe how this philosophy prevailed in the middle ages. "The Church," says Jona, "wishes to have rich men, such as the Apostle describes, men rich in good works; for the Church understands, by a rich man, one who is rich is Christ; but as for others, they should have no honour among Christians. They are rich at home in gold and silver, but in the Church they are beggars."‡ It is most curious to observe how in these ages the love which men entertained for the beauty of the divine temples induced them to labour with constant diligence in order to qualify themselves for entering them; so that to this end they strove with as much care as men now seek to heap up temporal riches to support their living in the secular courts. They cared not if they were beggars in the world's eye, if they were conscious of having sent that treasure before them which they might hope to find

When that the two assemblages shall part,
One rich eternally, the other poor.§

Hereafter we shall have occasion to show in detail, how, under the influence of the Church, a multitude of institutions arose to minister both to the spiritual and material wants of the poor, founded too without gold or silver, but with prayers and fasting, and meek humility; but of these, one instance must be sufficient for the present, to give an idea of the spirit which animated them all.

In a letter of St. Theresa written to Father Dominick Bagnez, there is the following sentence: "Be assured, Father, that it is an occasion of the greatest joy to

* Pyth. Od. III.
† In Festo B. Jacobi Concio II.
‡ Pro L. Flacco.

* Rom. xv. 30, 31.
† Sermon sur l'éminente dignité des pauvres dans l'Eglise.
‡ Ionæ Aurelianensis Episcop. de Institutione Laïcali, Lib. I. cap. 20. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.
§ Dante, Pur. XIX.

me whenever I receive sisters who bring nothing with them to the convent, whom I receive for the love of God; I wish I might receive them all in this manner."* There is at present before me a task which might seem to some very difficult, to show that the influence of this philosophy was diffused in some degree even over the rude and troubled scene of civil society. There exists a long letter from Pope Gregory the Great to the sub-deacon Peter, who had been charged with the administration of the goods of the Church of Sicily, in which the Pontiff desires him to attend minutely to the interests of the rustic population, and to abolish various customs which oppressed them, and which he adds, "he detests altogether."† Guizot observes that these prescriptions of benevolence and justice will explain why the people were always so anxious to be placed under the domination of the Church, for that the lay proprietors were then very far from watching so carefully over the interest of the inhabitants of their domains.‡ This is a just observation; but yet it is no less true that the principle of respect being due to the poor, was forced by religion even upon the secular society. The famous ordinance of Louis le Hutin for the enfranchisement of the serfs began thus; "Since according to the right of nature, every one should be born free, and that by certain usages and customs, which have been introduced and kept from great antiquity in our kingdom, and that by adventure many of our common people are fallen into condition of servitude which greatly displeases us; We, considering that our kingdom is called the kingdom of the Francs, and wishing that the thing should in truth agree with the name, by deliberation of our great council have ordained, and do ordain, that generally throughout our kingdom, as far as in us lies, and in our successors, such servitudes should be abolished, and that freedom should be given on good and agreeable condition to all those who are fallen into servitude, either by origin, or by marriage, or by residence."§ Guizot says, speaking of this ordinance, that in our age the emperor Alexander would not have dared to publish a similar ukase in Russia: he would not have dared to proclaim that, according to the right of nature, all men should be born

* Vie de S. Thérèse, par de Villefore, Tom. 1.
† S. Greg. Epist. Lib. I. 44.
‡ Cours d'Hist. Mod. IV. 8.
§ Ordonnanc. des Rois, T. I. p. 588.

free.* In these ages, life was all in harmony with itself, and poetry, united with domestic manners and with social activity, was a source of consolation to the poor as well as to the rich. The greatest part of men's time was not devoted to business and speculations, and to what is now called the positive of existence, while only some rare hours belonged, as a privilege, to a select few, during which they might procure emotions by purchase, at a theatre or in a library: and how small is even this privileged number! A late French writer makes this reflection: "The immense majority," he remarks, "are delivered over to labours which nothing ennobles, to cares which nothing can console." There is no more servitude we are told; the emancipation of the people is accomplished. Well, but liberty alone is not sufficient for man; it can be only a mean, never an end. Witness the savage; he is free, and yet what is he? In the middle ages the social state was no doubt imperfect; Christianity had not terminated her work, but was it not better to be one of the people then, than to be so now in the nineteenth century? Was there not more movement around him, and did he not participate in it in a manner more immediate and direct? He was a serf, it is true, but now is he not a workman? The first held to something; a moral tie attached him to the family of his master, to the castle whose old towers protected him as they had his fathers; to the Church at whose door he assumed all the dignity of a man and of a Christian, and which offered an inviolable asylum against the power of the world. Around him all was animated; his habits, his labours, his privations, his perils, were all connected with ideas in which he had faith, and for which he would have died gladly. Behold that great sensation caused by Peter the Hermit, and by St. Bernard. Hearken to the voice of these millions of obscure priests, who are each a power, and who like Foulques de Neuilly, Martin Litz, Herloin, Eustache de Flay, &c., repeated throughout Europe the words which Rome was addressing not to kings, but to Christianity at large. It was in speaking to nations, and in stirring up all the popular convictions, that Urban II. made himself be understood at Clermont, and it was by speaking the same language that Innocent III., Innocent IV., Gregory IX., Pius II., and so many other great Pontiffs, kept alive

* Cours d'Hist. IV. 8.

the sacred fire and enthusiasm, which was to preserve the Christians of the east. It may be observed that all the negociations of Rome, purely political, to determine kings to bear assistance to the Christian colonies of Asia, and afterwards to the Greek empire, when it was menaced by the successors of Othman, were ineffectual against the rivalry of interests or the implacable enmities of courts but when the Popes, afflicted by the sad news which came from the Holy Land, showed to the Christian people their brethren of the East struggling against the sultans of Egypt and Damascus; when they endeavoured to excite their sympathy for the young colonies of Edessa, Tripoli, and Antioch, founded at the price of their fathers' blood; and, above all, when they made Jerusalem speak, Jerusalem, again polluted by the infidels, then were kings borne away by the people, and obliged to yield before the will of the devout and heroic multitude. Their political combinations could not resist the murmuring population, which demanded an account of their delays. It was not from the circle of courts, but from the heart of countries, that proceeded those cries of enthusiasm and of faith, "Jérusalem, Jérusalem! Dieu le veut! il le faut!"* So then it was not merely in the decline of the minstrel's art that the wandering harper might

———Tune to please a peasant's ear,
The harp a king had loved to hear.

For there was an union of feeling and even of taste, and a community of enjoyments among the high and low. The same poet, who devoted his genius to instruct princes and nobility, paid an equal regard to the wants of the poor, of artisans and country labourers, who are all severally addressed by Simon Bongouine, in his famous Poem of the Young Prince conquering the Kingdom of Good Renown.† John Bouchet, who wrote so many chivalrous books, in his Epistles gives instruction to all classes of men, from the throne to the cabin: the ploughman is taught with as much detail as the prince; the knightly author disdains no state, not even that of the young scholar in the University of Poitiers, nor that of the printer and bookseller.‡ The gentle Symphorien Champier also, in his "Nef des Princes et des Batailles de Noblesse," gives instruction, useful and profitable, to all kinds of people, to teach them how to live and die well.* In fact, there is no feature of the heroic character, in the middle ages, of which we find more explicit notice, than its Christian affection for the poor, and its scrupulous delicacy in defending them from injustice, as in the instance related by Don Diego Savedra Faxardo, of the king, Don Alonzo VII. who no sooner discovered that an outrage had been committed upon a poor labourer by a certain noble, than he flew in disguise with such speed to inflict punishment, that it was executed before the guilty oppressor knew that he had been discovered. Don Fernando, the Catholic, did nearly the same thing when he set out secretly from Medina to Salamanqua, where he seized Rodriguez Maldonat, who had been guilty of oppression in the fortress of Monleon.†

The very maxims of nobility had a tone of spirituality, which had been infused into them by the Catholic religion, and which tended to soften the distinction between rich and poor. "Nobility," says the knight, who argues with the clerk, in a famous book of chivalry, "proceeds at first from nobleness of manners and virtue. Richesses ne peuvent toller ne donner noblesse; car richesse sont de soy viles; et ce qui est vil ne peut aucun nobiliter;" and riches are vile, because he who hath them "est toujours angoisseux et en soncy."‡

But whatever may be thought as to the political situation in these ages of the poor, to whom is promised a spiritual, not a material recompense, there can be no doubt but that the sentence from the mount was fully verified, which pronounces them to be blessed. The moderns, indeed, would hear poverty speaking in her own defence, with far more impatience than did Blepsidemus and Chremulus. Nevertheless, her arguments, as stated in that old play, are unanswerable, even in the school of political economists. The best answer that they can make to her, would be in the unblushing confession of Blepsidemus,—"Truly, by Hercules, I wish to be rich and to feast with my children and my wife, and then, washed and adorned, proceeding from the bath, to spurn at labourers and at poverty."§ "The rich man," as is observed in the Platonic dialogue, "has power to commit crimes which the poor man is prevented from accomplishing; the powerful can com-

* Le Correspondant, 43. † Gouget, Tom. X. 169. ‡ Ibid. Tom. XI. 303.

* Gouget, Tom. X. 216. † Mariana, Hist. Hisp. ‡ Le Songe du Vergier. § Aristoph. Plutus, 613.

mit crimes which the infirm are unable to act; riches and power are therefore evils, so far as they give means of operation to the will which is inclined to evil."*

When Zeno heard that the ship was lost, in which was all his property, he said,—"You do well, O fortune, driving me to the scrip and to a life of philosophy!"† Oh, how deeply were these truths felt by Christians in ages of faith! and with what sweetness and conviction are they expressed by them! Will you harken to one of that family whom the cord girt humbly? "The falcon, when she is too full, will not know her master: so it was with the prodigal son. Riches did separate him from God, and poverty brought him home again." This is what Father Diego de Stella remarks, in his work on the Contempt of the World.‡ "Contemplate our Lord," says St. Bonaventura, "seated at the well, waiting for the return of his disciples with food, and see with what humility and condescension he speaks to that poor woman of Samaria, and contemplate his frugality; for the disciples were to return with food, but where was he to eat it? At the side of the well, or by a stream or fountain, and this you may believe was his custom, through poverty and simplicity of life. He had no exquisite dainties, no curious vessels, no delicate wine, but pure water from that fountain or rivulet."§ The ancients, even in their blind unhappy state, were yet sensible of the blessedness of the very circumstances which are now deemed the evils of poverty:—

"Yet was their manner then but bare and playne;
For th' antique world excesse and pryde did hate,
Such proud luxurious pompe is swollen up but late."

"It seemed," as Cicero says, "an evident thing, and nature herself daily taught them, quam paucis, quam parvis rebus egeat, quam vilibus."‖ There was the supper of Xenocrates, which was enough to teach men that they had no need of riches, and that bribery could not stain their souls.¶ The laws of Crete, given by Minos, or by Jove himself, and those of Lycurgus, as Cicero observes, trained youth to virtue by labour, and hunger, and thirst, and cold.** Plato introduces a speaker, who praises the discipline observed by the Lacedemonian youth, and expressly commends their practice of going barefooted in winter, and of their sleeping under the stars without a bed, and having no servants to wait upon them, wandering over the country by night and by day; and in reply to the question of an Athenian, he says that "valour and a manly spirit are not evinced merely by resisting fear and pain, but by overcoming desires, and pleasures, and luxury."*

Is it not strange that men professing to be Christians should attempt to condemn the same state of manners, when resulting from Christian discipline, poverty and simplicity? "The best discipline for the body," says Plato, "is that simple and Homeric economy, which corresponds to the tone of the simplest music, ἡ βελτίστη γυμναστικὴ ἀδελφή τις ἂν εἴη τῆς ἁπλῆς μουσικῆς; for simplicity in music produces temperance and wisdom in the soul, and in gymnastic discipline, health in the body."† The learned physicians of the middle age came to the same conclusion. Cardan describing the great importance of moderation, and even austerity as to food and drink, observes, that it is by such discipline that the manners of youth can be preserved from evil, and adds a remarkable allusion to the custom of his time, saying,—"This may be easily seen in the children of nobility so well brought up, merely on account of this spare diet, for it is not by stripes that they are restrained. I have never seen a young person abstemious in food who perished, unless through an accident; but such boys, when otherwise well brought up, generally arrive with glory at great old age."‡ These habits were called into constant exercise by the ordinary engagements of life. Thus, when Madame de Chantal used to be on a journey, she always chose the poorest houses for her lodging; she used to eat with the poor of their common hard fare, and thus found sources of spiritual perfection, in the very circumstances which fill our modern travellers with such bitter disgust.§

The sons of noble houses did not attempt to introduce the luxurious banquets of a city among the wild mountains and woods, where they loved to dwell. They would have used the words of Tityrus to their welcomed friend,—"How sweet to rest

* Eryxias. † Plutarch, de exsilio.
‡ On the Contempt of the World, by F. Diego de Stella, of the order of St. Francis; translated from the Spanish. St. Omers, 1622. Part i. 87.
§ Meditationes Vitæ Christi, cap. xxxi.
‖ Tuscul. V. 35. ¶ Ibid. V. 32.
** Ibid. Lib. II. 34.

* De Legibus, Lib. I. † De Repub. Lib. III.
‡ Prudentia Civilis, Cap. xxxix.
§ Vié de Mde. de Chantal, par Marsollier, Tom. II. 294.

here with me this night under the green boughs, and partake of fruit and milk, the fare of these goatherds. And now the smoke rises from the roofs of the distant village, and the lengthening shadows fall from the lofty mountains."

"There are some kinds of men and families," says Cardan, "which are altogether immoveable and inaccessible to any suggestion of treason. Such are the German and Helvetian nations, the Cardan family, and others, in towns which educate their children in a hard and simple manner."*

Don Diego Savedra Faxardo, in his Instruction of a Christian Prince, uses the coral growing out of the sea as an emblem of beauty and force, to be a model to kings and nobles. Sprung from the midst of the waves, beaten by the tempests, it grows hard in suffering, and impervious and fit for the most precious purposes of men, while the rose perishes at the first blast. The effect of the two modes of education was seen in the lives of Don John II. and Don Ferando the Catholic; the one educated in the palace, the other in the country; the one by women, the other among men; the one became despicable to the whole world, the other the object of general admiration. This it was which made Don Ferdinand the saint give a hard and manly education to his sons.† Ribadeneira, in his Princeps Christianus, shows that a soft and delicate education is the cause why men are not active and robust, and that the Christian discipline, as observed in Catholic states, tends to produce strong and valiant men, by commending coarse food and raiment, poverty, temperance, and labour.‡ This may now seem physically untrue, "Sed nos umbris, deliciis, otio, languore, desidiâ animum infecimus; opinionibus, maloque more delinitum mollivimus."§ In the middle ages, the greatest men did not wish, on ordinary occasions, to be distinguished in dress from the poor. It is easy now to talk of dressing according to our rank, but St. Francis said well, "It is very difficult for those who are arrayed in silk, and adorned with jewels, to put on Jesus Christ."‖ Job, David, and all the old saints, did often wear vile apparel, and Christians of old did esteem it wisdom to use it on the ordinary occasions

* Prudentia Civilis, Cap. lxxiii.
† The Instruction of a Christian Prince, Lib. I. 29.
‡ Lib. II. cap 39. § Cicero, Tuscul. V. 27.
‖ Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, ou le Paradis de la Religion du Seraphique Père St. François, par F. Elzeare L'Archer. Paris, 1614.

of life. It was this which Dante thought worthy of being remembered in Paradise, where, alluding to the simple dress of the Florentines, he says,—

I saw Bellincion Berti walk abroad
In leathern girdle, and a clasp of bone:
———— The sons I saw
Of Nerli, and of Vecchio, well content
With unrobed jerkin; and their good dames handling
The spindle and the flax.*

The great Basil had only one suit of clothes, and all the riches which were found in his possession on his death were a crucifix, as St. Gregory Nazianzen relates. St. Chrysostom lays great stress upon the danger of wearing fine apparel, and shows its inconsistency with the apostolic precept. "I admire," he says, in writing to Olympias, "that admirable simplicity in your dress, in which you have so much resemblance to the poor." The old writers of chivalrous romance are fond of that trait in the great Sir Perceval, that he would never abandon the good hempen shirt that his mother made for him, and their heroes are generally as fond of going without shoes or stockings as Socrates and his friend Aristodemus, of whom we read ἀνυπόδητος ἀεί.† Socrates would go barefoot in frost and snow, and use no other dress but his ordinary one, so that the very soldiers thought that he did it to shame them. This was the spirit of our great heroes. Charlemagne, who hated distinction in dress, used to complain of being obliged sometimes to wear a cloak made more for decoration than use. "Of what use are these little cloaks? We cannot be covered by them in bed. When I am on horseback, they cannot defend me from the wind and rain, and when we retire for other occasions, I am starved with cold in my legs."‡ If in our times there should be any one among the great like Vespasian, not distinguished in dress from persons of the lowest rank, there is too often reason to fear that it will only be as Tacitus adds, "Si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par."§ It was the same with respect to the employments in which men of all ranks were willing to engage. The sons of kings and nobles served at the table of their fathers or lords, and were ready to discharge any office, however servile. There was but one word to signify the servants who rubbed down the horses, and all young noblemen under the dignity of knight, both being

* Canto XV. † Plato Symposium.
‡ Chron. S. Gall. § Hist. Lib. II. 5.

called from the stable or the shield which they carried for their master. Albertus Magnus places it among the signs of true humility to converse with poor companions, and assist them in their work, and follow their customs.* And the sons of our great Catholic ancestors thought this no dishonour. They never forgot the discipline of their college, where no distinctions were allowed on account of birth or fortune. St. Bonaventura, general of the order of St. Francis, and the seraphic doctor, was washing the vessels of the convent when they came to present him with the hat of a cardinal; which he caused to be hung upon a hook in the kitchen until he had finished his employment.† This sounds strangely, but there is never any justice in drawing an inference from the thoughts and manners of men in these later times, when we are endeavouring to estimate the minds of Christians in ages of faith. It would be far safer to have regard to what was done by several of the wise ancients, who, as Alcibiades said of Socrates, seemed always to despise what the world most esteemed, riches and honours, so that he never appeared aware whether a man were rich, or had any public honours or privileges, for which the multitude might count him happy, but he thought all these possessions to be worth nothing, and that we ourselves were as nothing, and in this manner did he spend his whole life, always indulging in irony, and playing as it were with the thoughts of men.‡ But with our simple ancestors, possessing that spiritualized mind, which was able to put almost every thing around them in harmony with truth, there was the dispossession without the necessity for concealing it under a form of disdain. The very circumstances of affluence, of men with whom

——— life and time
Ring all their joys in one dull chime
Of luxury and ease,

could excite no envy where there existed the faculty of appreciating the beauty of spiritual good, for it is in proportion as men are imbued with matter that riches become so powerfully attractive. Amyot says in his Breviarie, "that one can know by the countenance of a man whether he loves money or not." This is, in fact, the love which makes so many countenances hideous and almost fearful to behold. In the ages of faith, to be known to love money, or even to possess it to any extraordinary degree, would have been no recommendation to love and friendship, and to all that made young and generous hearts beat high.

In truth, in a Catholic country, where the sons of the rich behold the generous and amiable manners of the rustic chivalry among whom they spend their youth; where the noble has learned to weep over the sad tale of many a poor companion, and to sing to himself those plaintive songs which are so sweet and wild, that the traveller oft stops on his road, by the meadow's side, to hearken to them, and to wonder at the melodies of the poor—the simpler and lower ranks of society are so estimable, that noble natures will often seek to be confounded with them, and to conceal even from others those very distinctions of wealth, which are brought forward with such haughtiness under all other circumstances of human society. The Catholic form of life tends necessarily to keep the hearts of men susceptible of all the innumerable, gracious, and beautiful harmonies of social relation. To Nature's unclouded eye, the manners of the rich and dissipated seem so full of affectation and selfishness, that they are wondered at as a spectacle, not admired as a model of imitation. And even by the influence of this general impression, the rich are at length delivered from the delusion of vanity, so that they would now as anxiously court community with others, as formerly they would have shunned it. Such beauty is there in the simplicity and modesty of nature. For human life, when restored and spiritualized by the Catholic religion, is full of grace and loveliness. There are a thousand expressions of goodness, which are only destroyed by the absurd vanities of the rich and haughty. There are forms of moving, even tones of voice, which breathe joyous simplicity and angelic innocence, and which young hearts would not exchange for the wealth of worlds. Hence, in relation to the fine arts, it is the poor who almost always have the feeling and the sentiment of beauty, which is the source of genuine taste, though in them it may often remain rude and imperfectly developed; whereas the rich, by luxury and pride, have often lost that feeling and sentiment, though they may vainly attempt to supply their place by assuming the conceit, the tone, and the phraseology, of the insolent connoisseur. The simple, virtuous

* De Paradis. Animæ, c. 2.
† Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, 648.
‡ Plato Symposium, 33.

poor are men of first thoughts: the sophists and people of the world, who deem themselves so knowing and enlightened, are men of second thoughts. The profound sages and learned holy Christians, are men of third thoughts, which only bring them back to the first, convinced of the vanity and emptiness of the intermediate stage in their intellectual progress. It is the poor who have the most lively sense of the beauty and solemn grandeur of the holy ritual of the Church. It is they who are sure to catch the tender mystery. Jacob, indeed, was the son of a rich man, but as St. Jerome observes, it was when he was going into Mesopotamia alone and naked, with staff in hand, and when, being wearied on the road, he lay down; and he who had been educated with such delicacy by his mother Rebecca, and now a stone for a pillow to his head; it was then that he beheld the ladder of angels;* and as an old writer says of Jacob sleeping thus on the ground, "who would not have had his hard lodging, therewithal to have his heavenly dream?" And observe too, that where such sentiments prevail, the real wants of nature are sure to be supplied. "Ubi caritas est, etiam exigua sufficiunt," says Ardo, in his Life of St. Benedict, Abbot of Ania. Love knows no distress of poverty; and let it be remarked also, as a general rule, that almost always, whatever costs the least is the most conducive to health, and even to beauty. Riches cannot procure the blessings which belong to love and innocent simplicity, in a Catholic land, where a sweet look is of more avail than a long purse. The rich are amazed on entering it, to find how indifferent men seem to their stern orders. It is not there that they would be able to quote their favourite maxim, which they seem to have learned from Bacchus, who cries out in the shades, when he hears that Charon will ferry him across for two oboli,—

Φεῦ! ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχοῦ τὼ δύ' ὀβολώ.†

Their two oboli will not go so far here as with their own unhappy people, whom they have debased, and as it were imbruted, in matter. It would be endless to produce instances of the ennobling influence of the Catholic religion upon the minds and manners of the poor. The historians of Italy, (though it is not in history that we should look for such records,) relate numerous cases of the highest generosity and heroism evinced by poor peasants, and labourers in cities, which prove how completely the humbler classes may be exalted to the highest intellectual and moral dignity.* Assuredly, in a Catholic state, Virgil would have found another term for his husbandman besides "greedy."† What pure and noble chivalry, even when extravagant, showing a root of goodness, appeared in the brave and pious peasants of the Bas-Maine, as related in the later histories of France! The brother of John Chouan dies, "because he will declare his real name to the enemy; he does not know how to lie, for he has never lied."

But if such was the condition of the poor in all these respects, which might seem earthly and temporal, how must it have been blessed in regard to purely heavenly interests, and to those that are spiritual and eternal! Beati pauperes. And here I will forget all the blessedness which we have hitherto ascribed to that condition in ages of faith, because so far it may seem allied even to the choicest goods of this present life. But let us view them even in the most extreme hereavement, as described by Dante, among the blind and poor, who

> Near the confessionals, to crave an alms,
> Stand, each his head upon his fellow's sunk,
> So most to stir compassion; not by sound
> Of words alone, but that which moves not less,
> The sight of mis'ry.‡

What a wretched state is here to the eye of flesh! Yet prejudging men, the world is blind; that world from which you come; but enter the sanctuary, and perchance

> ——That sweet strain of psalmody will give ye
> Light which may uncloud your minds.§

Perchance you will learn to see, that even this is blessedness,

> For those who live that life, which is a race
> To death.————

So thought the holy Fathers, who drew their wisdom herein from experience. For what avails it to come to the churches like the men of whom St. Ambrose speaks, who are wholly of earth, and occupied with its interests; who come now, non quia ex fide Christiani sunt, sed ne Christiani ab hominibus non putentur? who have

* Epist. XCII. † Aristoph. Ranæ, 141.

* See, for instance, Matt. Villani, Lib. X.
† Georgic, 1. 47.
‡ Dante, Purgatory, XIII. § Id. XXVIII.

always an excuse for themselves on account of the season or circumstances of their life, not to obey the Church. For when a fast is appointed in the summer months, they say, "The day is long; we cannot bear thirst;" and in the winter, "The cold is severe; we cannot endure hunger." Thus these rich men, whose soul is always bent upon dining, seek reasons for themselves why they should always dine, and to excuse themselves from fasting, accuse the seasons of the Creator. In like manner, when you ask them to give any thing to the poor, immediately they object to you that their necessities are infinite; they cannot pay the taxes; and they become so eloquent, that you seem to be almost a culprit for having wished to admonish them; so little do they understand that the greatest of all necessities is that of salvation.* With what a different mind do the poor frequent the divine courts! The poor! to behold whose sweet and saintly countenances, at moments of devotion, the artists, as at Rome, repair to the churches! For in the churches, before the divine altars, or following those that walk and sing solemn litanies, in the delight and transport with which all their senses minister to the soul, is already partly fulfilled the promise from the mount, that theirs is the kingdom of heaven. To the church they repair humbly at morning and at eve, enjoying that privilege which was felt to be so great by David, that he said, in allusion to it, "One thing I have asked from the Lord, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and visit his temple." Here they were inebriated with the fatness of his house, and were given to drink of the torrent of his pleasure.† And where were the rich and lofty ones the while? What was their felicity? Restless and in want, they were driven abroad to the theatre, to the proud assembly; they were at home in their palaces, satiated and weary with splendour and dissipation, saying, like Theseus in Shakspeare,—

> Where is our usual manager of mirth?
> What revels are in hand? Is there no play
> To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?‡

And remark too, with St. Chrysostom, that "it is the rich and prosperous who condemn Providence, in affected pity for the sufferings of innocence."

* Serm. XXXIX. † Psalm xv.
‡ Midsummer Night's Dream, V. 1.

Strange to observe, the French sophists of the last century confessed this of themselves. "It is from the midst of voluptuous prosperity," said Bernardine de Saint-Pierre, "that these murmurs against Providence issue. It is from these libraries, so filled with light, that the clouds rise up which have obscured the hopes and the virtues of Europe."* "It is not Lazarus," says St. Chrysostom, "that pronounces such blasphemy. He would have shuddered at the thought of it. Is it not revolting, then, that while those whom God has visited with all kinds of misery, bless him and give him thanks, you, who are only bare spectators of the combat of humanity with suffering, should thus blaspheme against Providence? For if the sufferer should for a moment give way to grief, and utter some guilty words, there would seem to be some excuse for him; but that another, who is a stranger to the sorrows of life, should lose his soul and outrage his Creator, condemning things which are regarded by those who endure them as benefits, and a subject of gratitude,—this certainly is inconceivable, and undeserving of pardon."† Nor let it seem rhetorical, to ascribe such sentiments to those who suffer the extreme of poverty. A great theologian discovered a master of theology in a poor beggar who sat at the door of a Church. This poor afflicted man assured him, upon being interrogated, that he was always prosperous, that he was never unfortunate; that he never had an enemy; and that every thing happened to him exactly according to his wish. Omnia fiunt ut volo. The secret consisted in his being contented with his lot; in feeling assured, that whatever came from God was good for him; that no man could injure his soul; and that whatever event befel him, was conformable to the divine will. "Et hoc unum volo quod vult Deus," said he, "ita omnia fiunt ut volo." Therefore this theologian drew a general conclusion, saying, "Verè sub sordido palliolo sæpe magna latet sapientia."‡

The father of Thomas à Kempis was a poor rustic labourer.§ John Aumont, a poor simple peasant of the valley of Montmorenci, composed a treatise on prayer, which was approved of by the doctors of Paris: he died in the middle of the six-

* Etudes de la Nature, Tom. I. 158.
† Hom. IV.
‡ Drexelius de Conformitate Voluntatis Hum. cum Divina, Lib. II. cap. I.
§ Vita ejus, cap. 5.

teenth century, in the odour of sanctity.* The parish of Stains, near Paris, produced a peasant named John Bossart, of a very ancient family in that place, who died at an advanced age in Paris, in 1752; he was of such piety and goodness that the curate of the village wrote his life. Persons of the first quality used to visit him out of respect to his virtue.†

The ingenious tenderness of divine Providence does not even exclude the poor from the full benefit of making offerings to God. The widow's mite was received and applauded. "O thrice happy woman, and covered with glory!" cries St. Cyprian, "to have deserved even before the day of judgment to be praised by the mouth of the Judge."‡ "Who knows not that the offerings of the lowest persons are most grateful to God?" said Gerson. The self-called reformers, those enemies of the poor, as the result quickly proved, were so absorbed in matter that they overlooked this. Fuller cannot consent to go the whole length of their profaneness, but says, "the Magdeburgenses, out of a spirit of opposition to the Papists, do in my mind, on the other side, too much decry St. Peter, causelessly caviling at his words to our Saviour, 'Ecce reliquimus omnia:' what say they had he left?" St. Jerome would have taught them, that though the Apostles, as we read, did only leave their ships and nets, yet did they leave all things to follow Christ, because they offered themselves, which was an offering beyond all the treasures of Darius and Crœsus.§

"Abraham was rich in gold and silver, in flocks, possessions, and raiments: he had such a household that on a sudden emergency he could produce young men to form an army which was able to rout the host of four kings; and yet in his exercise of hospitality he did not give orders to his servants and maidens to minister to the guests, but, as if he had found a treasure, he applied himself alone with Sara to waiting upon them: he stood as a servant to serve supper to the strangers. Hence it was taught that we also should learn not to be content with offering money, but to offer ourselves to Christ, and imitate the Son of Man, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister." This is what St. Jerome says.‖

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. p. 392.
† Id. III. 320. ‡ De Bon. Op. et Eleemos.
§ Epist. XCII. ‖ Epist. LIV.

So great, indeed, and numerous, are the spiritual advantages of poverty, that it might even be argued that the general influence of religion during the ages of faith was in some measure owing to the varied and constant application of that moral power which, though it may not have found a place in history, was most certainly exerted by the people, that is, by the vast majority of men who lived in a comparative state of poverty. The poor common people have often been the protection of the saints, as they were of John the Baptist from the fury of Herod, for we read, "timuit populum: quia sicut prophetam eum habebant."* How often would the foul crew of rich sophists and greedy plunderers of ecclesiastical property, who hold their counsel on the Seine, have overthrown whole churches, but that, like Herod, they feared the people? It is the poor common people too who have the quickest and most judicious sense of admiration for heroic virtue in distress. This is shown in Homer, when he says, that, "when Telemachus, at the close of his address, wept and threw his sceptre to the earth, all the people were moved to pity, but that Antinous, who represented the proud suitors, began to accuse him."† Nay, the holy poor have often exerted a direct influence upon the manners of the great. At Florence, after the defeat and execution of the conspirators, the people, who remembered the blasphemies to which old James Pazzi had been addicted, began to murmur publicly at his having been buried in holy ground. At length a multitude of country peasants repaired to Florence, and required that his body should be removed from the sacred place: it was dug up and thrown into the Arno.‡ Of a still more remarkable instance there is a monument yet existing, if we give credit to what is reported by some historians of Normandy, for there is a place on the banks of the Seine, opposite Jumièges, which is called Heulerie, or Jolerie, and it is said that the origin of the name is to be traced from the inhabitants having been accustomed to assemble there frequently in order to express their detestation of immorality, by hissing Agnes Sorel, as the king's mistress, who had retired there.§

* Matt. xiv. 5. † Od. II. 81.
‡ Pignotti, III. 6.
§ Hist. de Jumièges, par Deshayes.

CHAPTER III.

SO far we have regarded the state of the poor in ages of faith; bnt it is ohvions that a far wider range is opened to our view in reference to the first circle of heatitude than the mere limits of material poverty, which, after all, may itself, in some instances, be exclnded from it; for "if hnmility be not joined to poverty," as Thomas à Kempis says, "poverty cannot please God."* "Poverty is not a virtue," says St. Bonaventura, "hut the love of poverty."†—There may be religious poverty amidst riches, and worldly riches amidst poverty: the poverty of religion, that is, the spirit which is disengaged from the love of riches, distinguished Abraham, Job, David, Josias, in the Old Testament, to all of whom Providence had given great wealth, and the Augustins, the Paulins, the Gregories, and so many other holy bishops and kings and nohles of the Christian Chnrch who regarded their riches and dignities as treasures of which they were only the dispensers for the good of others.‡ St. Jerome appeals to the example of noble men and rich men then living who had renonnced all things for Christ.§ The great possessions which every Christian mnst renonnce are his attachment to creatures and his self-love.

The Chnrch, that city of the poor, as Bossuet calls it, possessed great wealth in these ages of faith. We must show in what manner this was consistent with that spiritual poverty which is the object of the divine benediction.

From the very first, we know that offerings were hronght to the churches, and placed at the disposal of the ministers. The Church had virtually acquired property long before the time of Constantine; for that emperor ordered that all things which had been nnjnstly taken from the Church, whether houses or lands, should be restored to her, at the same time making it lawful for all persons to leave property to her by will.* After Constantine, in the Greek Church, we find St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Chrysostom nrging the duty of devoting tenths to snpport the ministers of God. St. Augustin, than whom no one could be more pure from all terrene cupidity, presses npon the laity their ohligation to enahle those who serve the altar to live hy the altar, and warns them to beware lest the silence of the clergy should reprove their illiberality.† He advises them to reserve some fixed snm for this use, "something fixed either from your annual or your daily frnits," and he even prescrihes tenths;‡ as does also St. Jerome.§ The maxim was "Laïcorum est antevolare cleri necessitatihus." Charlemagne, without regard to the remonstrances of several of the clergy, established the system of tithes hy law.‖ The laws of Jnstinian would not even allow a church to be constructed nnless it was also endowed so as to support the clergy.¶

Besides this legal provision, an immense sonrce of wealth was derived from the faith and spirit of the people. Some made offerings throngh gratitnde: thns in the year 1103, Hngue, count of Troyes, pnhlished the following letter at a time when he made great donations to the churches. "In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, I, Hngne, by the Grace of God, count of Troyes, after great sufferings and affliction from dangerous wonnds, and despairing of a cure, expecting only death; and yet God having granted me a recovery, considering in myself that I have in many ways offended the grace of my God, and that I had justly deserved this penalty for my sins, and acknowledging that I had deserved a still greater; after this great benefit of God in restoring me to health, I have proposed to render him thanks, by giving alms and doing good to some chnrches."** Others made offerings through fear of God's judgment. Thns at the close of the tenth

* De Tribns Tabernac. cap. 7.

† Medit. Vitæ Christi, cap. 43.

‡ St. Bonaventura de Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. cap. 45.

§ Epist. XCII.

* Thomassinus de veteri et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplin. Pars III. Lib. I. cap. 16.

† In Psal. iv. 46.

‡ Serm. 219, de Temp.

§ In Matt. xxii.

‖ Cap. Car. M. ann. 801. § 39. T. I. Col. 355.

¶ Thomassinus iii. Lib. I. cap. 19.

** Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, par Desguerrois, 266.

century, the Church received a great influx of riches, in consequence of the opinion which then generally prevailed, that the world was near its end. I cannot refrain from observing here that the moderns need not make this a ground of triumph, for so far is this fact from being favourable to their views, that it is on the contrary one which reflects the highest honour upon the spirit of men in these ages. For what must have been the holiness and grandeur of that society to which persons of every rank and country offered their treasures, thinking that they were about to appear in a body before the eternal Judge, and that these offerings would recommend their souls to his justice? What must have been the faith and piety of those men who had their hearts thus fixed upon the good of the future and eternal world? When property was given to the Church, it was the practice to add the most solemn imprecations against all who should attempt to sever and convert it from the holy purpose to which it was destined. Thus the charter of Ædnothus to the Abbey of Ramsey, giving to it his estate of Acleia, ends thus, "Rogamus ergo et obsecramus per Dei terribile nomen, ut nullis omnino hanc terram donet, vel vendat, vel aliquo modo ab eadem Ecclesia alienet; quod si quis fecerit, sit ille maledictus, et alienatus ab omni beatitudine præsentis vitæ et futuræ, sitque ejus commoratio cum dæmonibus in inferno, ubi ignis eorum non extinguitur et vermis eorum non morietur."*

Long after the change of religion in England, it seemed a horrible and fearful thing to many even who went with it to take any part in the plunder of property which had been so solemnly dedicated to God. Some, indeed, of the rich and powerful agents made no scruple, like Sir John Russel, in making a dwelling-house of the dissolved abbey, and a stable of the church; but in a vast majority of instances, when the first plunderers had departed on their circuit of destruction, the people durst not take any advantage of what then stood defenceless and open to any invader. The people, as Sir Henry Spelman says, were fearful to meddle with places consecrated to God.† Sir Henry Spelman, in his history of Sacrilege, gives a list of all the peers who were present in parliament on Friday the 23rd of May, in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII. when the act passed for dissolving the monasteries, and he shows the calamities which fell upon them and their races: he also gives a list of the abbeys, traces the property through various hands, and shows that the acquirers never prospered. A remark which was repeated by Jeremy Taylor and many of the Protestant preachers, with what consistency, indeed, might have been questionable. Such, then, was the wealth of the Church, and such the mode of its acquisition during the ages of faith. Now one observation suggests itself before we proceed to consider the spirit with which it was received, and the objects to which it was applied. It would seem that the wealth of a particular church, or convent, was only a memorial of its sanctity. Hear the accurate Abbé Lebeuf, "The reputation of holiness which belonged to the abbey of Livry, was the cause why Matilda de Cramoël gave to it in the year 1244 twenty acres of land at Berneau."*

We shall have occasion hereafter to produce many curious instances of a similar kind. At present I pass on to show the spirit of the Church in receiving this influx of wealth, and the purposes to which it was applied. "The holy fathers," says Thomassinus, "regarded the accession of temporal goods to the Church as a subject, not of joy, but of religious fear and necessary caution, and even of grief and sadness."†

In a letter which Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne, he desires the emperor not to require that tithes should be always paid to the clergy. "It is much better to lose tithes than faith: we who have been born, nourished, instructed in the Catholic faith, even we can hardly consent to give the tenth of our goods, and must not the new-born faith, the weak heart, and the avaricious spirit of these people still less consent to it?"‡ This was his view of their legal enforcement. In the year 813, a council of bishops under Charlemagne grievously inveighed against those who tempted the faithful to endow the Church, and ordered such gifts to be restored to the natural heirs, but it added, "Hoc vero quod quisque Deo juste et rationabiliter de rebus suis offert, firmiter Ecclesia tenere debet." A certain matron, by name Ammonia, left land and her house to the Church. Stephania her nurse, and Calixenus her son,

* Hist. Ramesiensis, cap. xviii. Gale Hist. Brit. Tom. II.

† Hist. of Sacrilege, p. 245.

* Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XIII. 235.

† De veteri et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina, Pars iii. Lib. I. cap. 4.

‡ Alcuini Epist. XXVIII.

hastened to Pope Gregory the Great, and exposed their poverty to him, upon which he ordered the land and house to be restored to them.* "Why desire gold which cannot help us?" cried St. Ambrose, "the Assyrians formerly plundered the temple of Jerusalem of its gold, but the gold of the Church, that is, the poor, holds out a prey to no one."† "The tribute of the Church," says the canon of the Irish Church, in the eighth century, published by Dacherius, "is according to the custom of the province, tamen ne pauperes in decimis vim patiantur."‡ "The synod decreed that a priest should not receive gifts from any one of whom he did not know the conscience, for as much as the hosts do not profit him, so much do the gifts of the wicked man injure him who receives them."§ The bishop Jona, in his work de Institutione Laicali, quotes as follows from St. Gregory's morals. "He who gives his external substance to the needy, but does not at the same time preserve his own life from sin, offers his substance to God and himself to sin; that which is least he gives to his Creator, and what is greatest he keeps for iniquity; he gives his property to God, and he prepares himself for the devil."‖ We may observe that this is not the language of men who only thirsted for the riches of the laity. In like manner, Walafred Strabo, Abbot of Fulda, in the ninth century, shows that no offering to a monastery or church would be acceptable, unless from men who obeyed the precepts of Christ with a pure heart.¶ In accepting offerings, the Church had always regard to the purity and innocence, or penitence, of those who offered, whence Epiphanius says in his exposition of the Catholic faith, "The Church admits the oblations of such as have done injury to no one, and done no wickedness, but lead an innocent life."** "The offerings of the faithful at the altar were bread and wine, hosts for the Divine sacrifice, testimonies of gratitude for the clergy, and proofs of charity for the poor. The names of those who offered were solemnly read at mass from tablets which were the Diptycha."††

* Thomassinus iii. I. 20.
† Offic. Lib. II. c. 28.
‡ Capitula Canon. Hibernens. cap. xxx. Spicileg. Tom. IX.
§ Ibid. cap. xxii.
‖ Lib. III. cap. 10. Apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.
¶ De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. xiv.
** Cap. xxiv.
†† Thomassinus, iii. Lib. I. cap. 12.

Men would not have relinquished the benefits of the Church, if they could have escaped the burden of tenths. The farmer of the farm of Orengis, in the deanery of Montlhery, was declared by sentence, exempt from paying tithes. The curate concluded that he was not his parishioner; but the farmer not choosing to remain without a pastor, offered to pay twenty livres every year, if he would put him among the number of his parishioners. The offer being accepted, it was approved of by the vicar-general in the year 1660.*

It is worthy of remark, that in the ages of munificence to the Church, we read of no consequent distress among the people. It was then the well known proverb, "que donner pour Dieu n'apauvrit jamais un homme."† Thus, then, did riches pour into the Church. It remains to observe the purposes to which they were applied. Tenths were given to the clergy as shining in their divine mission, as representing Christ, "quo fit ut eis non frui, sed uti debeant religiose, pie, et parce."‡

"The tithes are to be divided into three portions," say the canonical rules of Crodogang, Bishop of Metz, decreed in 816, "one for the ornament of the church, another for the poor and for strangers, which is mercifully to be dispensed with all humanity; the third part for the priests themselves."§ St. Ambrose says to Symmachus, the champion of the Pagan Temples, "the Church possesses nothing for herself but faith; the possessions of the Church are the expenses of the poor. Let the Pagans count how many captives their temples have redeemed, what sustenance they have given to the poor, to what exiles they have afforded support."‖ Thus, at the council of Rheims, in 596, those who retain the goods bequeathed to the Church are styled murderers of the poor.¶ Hence in the time of Charles the Bald, while many seculars had taken possession of ecclesiastical property, and were expending the goods of monasteries and churches in secular pomp, some of them proceeding to justify their conduct by representing that riches were a poison to the church, to their specious argument the

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XII. p. 38.
† Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes.
‡ Thomassinus, Pars iii. I. cap. 4.
§ Crodogangi Regula Canon. cap. lxxv. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.
‖ Epist. XXXI.
¶ Hist. de Rheims, par Anquetil.

fathers of the sixth Council of Paris replied in these terms, "It is right that the pastors of the churches should possess the goods of the Church, not be possessed by them, and, as Prosper wrote, they ought, while possessing, to despise them, and not possess them for themselves, but for others. It is certain, that the most holy pontiffs who will reign with Christ their Remunerator, whose place we that are unworthy hold, possessed the goods of the Church, not for themselves, but for others; not for their own glory and delight, but rather to the honour of God and to the advantage of the faithful. Let cease, therefore, that ambition which is accustomed to say that the Church of Christ has too much wealth; and let it observe, that however great may be the riches of the Church, so long as they are dispensed in the manner in which they ought to be dispensed, they are never too great."

Mabillon relates, that in the monastery of Cluny, in one day there was a stipend given to 17,000 poor, as is stated by Udalricus. In fact, it was one and the same thing to give to the poor and to give to the Church, for all the substance of the Church was the patrimony of the poor, and the money intended for the poor was, therefore, committed to the Church; and this will partly explain why Constantine desired that the clergy should be exempt from paying taxes.* In the primitive Church, the bishop was the sole dispenser of the goods of the Church by the hands of the deacons. Thus we read in the Apostolical Constitutions, which are of great antiquity—"It is for you, O laymen, to contribute liberally; it is for the bishop, as the steward and administrator of ecclesiastical matters, to dispense. Beware, however, lest you wish to call the bishop to account; and do not watch his dispensation in what manner he expends it, or when or to whom, or whether well or otherwise; for he has God to call him to account, who hath delivered this procuratorial office into his hands, and desired to commit to him this great sacerdotal dignity." Thus we read that St. Cyril of Alexandria, protested against any attempt to call bishops to account.† But while the bishop had the sole dispensing power, he was bound to follow the canonical law of dispensation, and if he swerved from it he might be summoned to answer before the metropolitan. This law divided the goods of the Church into four parts, one being for the poor, one for the clergy, one for the bishop, to enable him to exercise hospitality, and to redeem captives: and one for the repair of churches. In the cathedrals of Spain, it was a threefold division, to the bishop, to the clergy, and to the repair and support of buildings; for what was received by the bishop and clergy, contributed to the maintenance of the poor.* To attempt to enter upon any detail as to the distribution of ecclesiastical property, would not only lengthen this present discussion beyond proper limits, but lead me upon ground which I shall have to explore minutely in a future place, when we shall have to review the character of the clergy in these ages. Yet before we interrupt the subject, it may be well to give some idea of the extent of ecclesiastical charity, by stating a few instances. When the provinces of Gaul and Italy had been laid waste by the Goths, St. Patiens, archbishop of Lyons, distributed an incredible quantity of corn, which he caused to be conveyed from parts beyond sea. Sidonius Apollinaris congratulates the pontiff upon his munificence. "You sent corn gratuitously to these desolated provinces. We have seen the ways obstructed by your corn. We have seen on the banks of the Arar and the Rhone, not merely one granary which you had filled: you have filled rather two rivers than two ships."† From the laws of Theodosius, Valentinian, and Theodoric, it appears that the Church possessed great ships, but it was for the sole purpose of assisting the poor, by procuring corn and other provisions for them. It was in this manner that the Church of Alexandria, under the holy patriarch John the Almoner, nourished, besides a numerous clergy, 7500 poor. Victor Vitensis says of Eugene, bishop of Carthage, during the Vandal persecution, "He never kept money in his possession, unless it was offered so late in the evening that nocturnal darkness had closed the labours of the day; he reserved for himself only what was sufficient for the day."‡ The blessed Honoratus, who, after living in the monastery of Lerins, became bishop of Arles, used to distribute whatever he received without reserving any part even for his convent. Hilary, his successor in that see, says of him, "Exhausta est aliquando dispensa-

* Thomassinus, Pars iii. Lib. I. cap. 16.
† Can. Tom. V. Par. ii.

* Thomassinus, Pars. iii. Lib. II. cap. 13.
† Lib. VI. Epist. 12.
‡ Lib. II.

tionis substantia; fides nunqaam." St. Chrysostom says that laymen must not hold themselves dispensed from hospitality to the poor, because the churches receive them. "Let every Christian have a hospice in his own home, a house in which Christ may enter. Say this is Christ's room."* The Romans having gained a great victory over the Persians, and taken 7000 prisoners, whom they kept in chains and dungeons, Acacius, bishop of Amida, hearing that they suffered also from hunger, obtained the consent of his clergy to melt down all the gold and silver vessels of his Church, to redeem them from chains and hunger. So they returned back to Persia. "The thing done by Acacius being known, the king of Persia was seized with admiration, that the Romans should labour to conquer in both war and benefits, and the king desired to see the bishop."† When Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, had sent 360 pieces of gold to the Church of Nicene, he advised the priest Calliopus, who was to dispense them, not to give to those who made an art of begging, but to the ingenuous poor. The distribution of corn for the use of the poor, which had been committed to the Church by Constantine through all the imperial cities, was revoked by the emperor Julian, but again renewed by Jovian, his successor, and confirmed by Marcian, from whose edict it appears that whatever was conferred upon the Church was conferred upon the poor.‡

St. Gregory the Great used to give gold and habits to strangers natalitio apostolorum vel suo, that is, on the anniversary of his consecration. His wonderful charity is described in detail by John the Deacon, who wrote his life. When the Persians laid waste Syria, vast multitudes of every condition and sex fled to Alexandria, when the holy patriarch, John, received them with wonderful charity, and when some of his clergy asked him what they were to do when men dressed in splendid habits asked alms of them, he replied that he was the dispenser of Christ, from whom he had these orders, "Omni petenti te da." These are wonderful things, but still more wondrous was the sweetness and humility which accompanied his bounty. On one occasion, seeing a poor person appear ashamed to receive so great a gift, he encouraged him, saying, "nondum sanguinem meum pro te, frater, effudi, sicut mandavit mihi Dominus meus et omnium Christus Deus."*

The sixth Council of Paris, in 829, condemns the accumulation of riches in the Church, because the Church always is in want as long as there are poor in want. In a general convention of abbots in 817, it was decreed that of all the alms which were conferred upon the churches and upon monks, the tenth part should be given to the common poor. In the more opulent churches under Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious, two parts out of three of all oblations were given to the poor, and the third was reserved for the nourishment of the monks and clergy; but in churches which were less rich, an equal portion was allotted to the poor and to the clergy.† The Council of Paris in 1212 enjoined the practice of hospitality to the poor, and at the same time taught, that what was occasionally expended upon the rich might be for the use of the poor, when it propitiated the favour of the rich, and inclined them to love and liberality. Such were the gifts of the holy Vuanus, Archbishop of Hamburg, as appears from the Chronicle of Adam, "Ut ferocissimos reges Aquilonis hilaritate suorum munerum ad omnia quæ voluit, benignos obedientesque haberet."‡ When a great famine afflicted Rome, Pope Innocent III. nourished 8000 poor, besides those whom he sustained in fixed houses. On his elevation to the Pontificate he gave to the poor all oblations which came to him from the church of St. Peter, and the tenth of all other supplies, and also all offerings which were presented at his feet in the ancient manner. It would be endless to relate the charity of the blessed Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, St. Thomas of Villeneuve, Archbishop of Valentia, St. Laurence Justinian, the first of the Venetian Patriarchs, St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, &c. The decrees of Cardinal Pole, Legate of the Apostolic see in England in 1566, reminded the clergy of the charge of Pope Gregory to St. Augustin, the Apostle of England, respecting the distribution of ecclesiastical goods, that they should be dispensed to the poor, and for the purpose of educating youth in schools, to the glory of God and utility of man; that the ministers of holy Church should be the fathers of the poor,

* In Acta hom. 45.
† Socrat. Lib. VII. cap. II.
‡ Cod. Lib. I. Tit. I. leg. xii.

* Vita ejus, cap. 29.
† Conc. Gall. Tom. II. p. 429. Capitulio Carl. Mag. Lib. 1. c. 87.
‡ Baron. An. 1013.

of orphans, and widows.* And the council of Trent renewed all the ancient canons prohibiting the expenditure of the goods of the Church upon relations and friends of the dispensers.†

When the son of a certain count was elected bishop, Peter of Blois, fearing the temptations that his rank and family would occasion to him, wrote a long letter of counsel to him, "Ad honorem vocavit te Deus propter onera, non ad multiplicandum numerum, familiæ aut equorum, non ad dandas parentibus dignitates, sed ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus.‡—Si quia filius comitis aut consobrinus regis es, manu effusiore teneris expendere, necessitas hæc Christi patrimonium non contingit." Yet this very bishop became so charitable and liberal, that Peter himself wished that he would moderate it, or rather regulate it better.§

In the general chapter of the Cistercian order in 1134, in whose churches the splendour of monastic poverty shone most remarkably, it was decreed that the goods of the Church were not to be expended upon the vessels and furniture of their temples, but upon the poor. Yet St. Bernard, even in his censure, furnished an apology for the magnificence of other churches, "Dicite pauperes in templo quid facit aurum, &c. Expenditur, ut augeatur: et effusio copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum, quam ad adorandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit, quia nescio quo pacto ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Ostenditur pulcherrima forma sancti, currunt homines ad osculandum invitantur ad donandum." Well does Thomassinus observe here, after relating the zeal of St. Bernard, of Pope Alexander III., of Hugo Victorinus, and of Peter of Cluny, in condemning the acquisition of wealth in monasteries, "Cautiously and wisely were these decrees instituted: and yet we ought not to be angry at these holy congregations if, in course of time, other counsels were followed which seemed to militate against them, while they departed not from the rule of piety and sobriety, which they always professed, that each, contented with necessaries, might dispense the superfluity to the poor. It is not of such consequence whether the riches of these abbots and bishops were little or great. Virtue is not always a faithful companion of poverty, nor does vice necessarily accompany wealth. It often happens that even heroic virtue arises from wealth; but it is of the greatest consequence that these riches should be dispensed according to canonical custom; and with that practice, they who abounded in riches might have retained all that belongs to evangelical poverty." Pope Innocent III., in this age of monastic and episcopal wealth, changed his golden and silver vessels into wood and earthen, and would not suffer more than three dishes upon his table.* And the Chapter of Rheims went so far as even to sell many reliquaries of gold and silver to contribute to the ransom of king John.† But when Francis I. required the canons of that cathedral to sell for his use many pieces of silver plate belonging to it, saying that he would secure them a rental for the sum obtained, they replied, "that the king might dispose of their treasure, but as for us," they continued, "we should regard as a sacrilege the converting to our own profit any thing which had been consecrated to God." The king was admonished and restrained his impatience.‡

When the plague and famine desolated Rheims, in the year 1521, Robert de Lenoncourt, the archbishop, refused to abandon his languishing flock: his granaries were open to the poor; every day he fed three hundred people in his palace, and he made a general remission of all debts due to him.§ During the famine in Normandy, consequent upon the wars of England and France, the abbey of Jumièges was a resource for a multitude of unhappy people.‖ There was another similar occasion in 1538, when the citizens of Rouen would have perished by famine had it not been for the generosity of the same monks.¶ At this very time their farms and granaries were pillaged by riotous people, and an order was despatched to hang a troop of the seditious who had committed this outrage, but the abbot, François de Fontenai excused them, saying, that it was to be ascribed to the distress of the times, and petitioned for them, and succeeded in obtaining their pardon.** An instance of the same kind is related of St. Remi, who, foreseeing a year of scarcity, had made large provision

* Decreto 5. † Sess. 25, 61.
‡ Epist. 15. § Epist. 20.

* Rainaldns, An 1216.
† Anquetil. Hist. de Rheims, Lib. III. 236.
‡ Id. Lib. IV. 100. § Id. Lib. IV. 96.
‖ Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 61.
¶ Id. 118. ** Id. 118.

of corn for the sake of feeding his people. For this action the holy man was ridiculed and reviled by some, who used to say over their cups, "What means this old man, this jubilee priest? (for he had been now a priest for fifty years) does he wish to found a new city?" A mob was collected and inflamed by these leaders; they set fire to the bishop's granaries, which were all consumed when the holy man arrived at the spot. What then think you did he say and do? He alighted from his horse, and as it was the winter season, he approached as near as he could to the fire, as if to warm himself, saying, "A hearth is always good, especially for an old man." This was all the vengeance he took.* In the seventeenth century a troop of four hundred poor people from Orleans, driven out by the civil war, came to Jumièges, and the monks supported them, at the expense of 15,000 livres. I mention this last instance for the sake of repeating the remark of their historian, for he says, that "in consequence of their having received the reform of the congregation of St. Maur, they were enabled to accumulate at the very season of their greatest expenditure: so true is it that austerity and holiness were often the chief source of ecclesiastical riches."*

Thus then we are warranted in concluding from the whole, that the wealth of the Church in these ages of faith, was in its extent, in the mode of its acquisition, and in the rule of its dispensation, consistent with that spiritual poverty which belongs to the attainment of beatitude. But our meditations must not terminate with our inquiries respecting those who lived in external poverty or riches. We must proceed to examine from other sides in what manner men in these ages corresponded with the injunction from the Mount, following the first council that Christ gave; and the next point of view which offers itself for this purpose, is that which regards their humility, and the manners to which it gave rise.

* Drexelius, de Conformitate Human. Volunt. cum Divin. Lib. IV. cap. 8.

* Deshayes Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, p. 143.

CHAPTER IV.

WE are arrived at a passage where an opinion must be expressed, that many will deem groundless and extravagant; but notwithstanding the prospect of such a reception, it must be expressed, though it should overwhelm me with ridicule and the reproach of incapacity, as Socrates used to describe it, coming upon me as if it were a laughing wave, ὥσπερ κῦμα ἐκγελῶν.—Be it affirmed then that to one who has studied the history of Christian ages, and the character of the present times, there can be no conclusion more certain, than that the real and practical adoption of the humble spirit in ages of faith is one cause to which must be ascribed, in a great measure, the contempt with which the modern writers are so inclined to speak of them, as it was certainly one most influential in placing them in opposition to those examples of proud glory which men had formerly been told to admire, and to which they have so often in later times recurred with approval and expressions of applause, for different results needs must be the fruit of principles formally opposed. Rome, as the mistress of the Pagan world, and Rome as the capital of Christendom, might be produced as symbolical of the two opposite characters into which ages and nations, as well as men, individually, may be divided; for as Plato says, "There are the same things, and the same number, in the state, as exist in each separate soul."† Thus in the dark and sanguinary annals of Tacitus, we behold the combats of contending despots, or of the more despotic and capricious legions. We are present at the atrocious triumphs, we see the chained captives, the heads borne aloft on spears; we hear the horrid rattle of the martial car, and the subdued groans of those that read the list of proscriptions which is to complete the conqueror's glory. Or if we look to the

† De Repub. Lib. IV.

condition of the same people at a period more remote, as described by the historians of the republic, we find the same restless humour of perpetual wars, along with an interminable contest between the different orders, which led at short intervals to crimes of the greatest atrocity and horror; we hear of nothing but the camp and the forum; abroad we behold proud and merciless oppression in its most hateful form of affected protection; and at home, the ceaseless war of separate parties and interests, whose mutual accusations sufficiently exposed the delusion of that pretended liberty which could yield such small protection to the majority of the poorer citizens. All this is now changed for the Catholic type of felicity. We now have nothing but images of quiet wisdom, sanctity, and innocence; symbols of infinite love, of divine and everlasting peace, the daily sacrifice, the evening hymn, the sweet music of the pilgrim's litanee, the portals that open to receive the living to joy, and the dirge of requiem, to supplicate rest and deliverance for the dead. The one is the result of the world's theory of grandeur; the other, that of the Christian philosophy; and in ages of faith men were sensible of its superior advantages. Thus it was with a view to this latter kind of greatness, that the humble St. Isidore, when in the article of death, predicted to Spain, that if it ever fell from the true religion, it would be brought to ruin; but that if it persevered in observing it, its greatness would rise above that of other nations, and as Don Diego Savedra Faxardo remarks on this in his Christian Prince, from the time that Don Pelayo and his little band of faithful Christians had retired into the cavern of Covalonga, Spain has always increased in grandeur as the reward for its perseverance in the Catholic religion,* that is to say, in the Christian and real sense of grandeur; for a saint would have wished no other for his country. There will seem to many in this proposition (more shame for human wills disordered), something false or overbold; but the difficulty may be solved, or the hopeless nature of the mistake detected, by recurring to first principles. The fact is then, (not according to Paley, that there are two opposite descriptions of character under which mankind may always be classed,) but that the Christian faith has created a character which passes from men to nations, and even to ages in the history of the world, and which is diametrically opposed to that of animal, or, as religion expresses it, unregenerated men, whether developed in the lives of men, or in the ages of nations. "The one," as the same writer says, "possesses vigour, firmness, resolution; is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame, eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purpose, violent in its resentments. The other meek, yielding, complying, forgiving, not prompt to act, but willing to suffer; silent and gentle under rudeness and insult; suing for reconciliation, when others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of impudence; conceding and indulgent to the prejudices, the wrongheadedness, the intractability of those with whom it has to deal. The former of these characters is, and ever hath been, the favourite of the world. It is the character of great men," he continues, without observing the opposite idea of greatness in the ages which beheld a St. Louis and a Godfrey on the thrones of the world. "There is a dignity in it," he adds, as if almost acknowledging his own identity with the character he describes, "which universally commands respect. The latter is poor-spirited, tame, and abject. Yet so it hath happened, that with the Founder of Christianity, this latter is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example: and that the former is so in no part of its composition." Beati pauperes spiritu,

> The strains came o'er mine ear, e'en as the sound
> Of choral voices, that in solemn chant
> With organ mingle, and now high and clear
> Come swelling, now float indistinct away.*

With St. Luke, who places only four beatitudes, and with St. Matthew, who hath eight, the first is that of the poor in spirit, for as St. Ambrose says, "it is, in fact, the first in order, and as it were the parent of virtues."† The character of the middle ages may be estimated in respect to it by referring to what was taught and believed, and to what was practised. Now it was taught and believed that humility adopted with sincerity and practised in all the circumstances of life, was the basis of all virtue and happiness, of all temporal honour, and of all eternal hopes. The truth of this proposition is so clear, from the slightest acquaintance with the history and learning of Christian antiquity, that one would rather comment upon it

* I. 267.

* Dante, Purg. IX. † Hom. Lib. V. in Luc. 6.

than proceed to prove it; one would rather fondly gaze "upon those patterns of meek humbleness" which they place before us, than bring forward reasons to believe that they existed. Throughout the whole literature of the ages of faith, we might in vain search for any of those ingenious speculations with which so many modern philosophers have sought to make the Christian rule of life reconcileable with worldly views of grandeur and elevation. It is clear that it continued to be received in the spirit in which it was first proposed, and we see that the whole Christian life in the first ages, when it was confronted with the proud seductive forms of heathen philosophy, was regarded by all men who did not embrace it as a poor servile form of life. Thus in the office of St. Agatha, which the Church reads on the fifth of February, we find that Quintianus, the Roman Prætor, said to her, "Nonne te pudet nobili genere natam humilem et servilem Christianorum vitam agere?" To which she only replied that the Christian humility and servitude were better than the wealth and pride of kings. There is never any attempt to represent it as reconcileable by any views of human philosophy or of earthly wisdom, with the proud ideal of intellectual greatness which is so flattering to the mere reason of man. If we proceed to examine their doctrines in detail, we find all their arguments and meditations directed to the same end. St. Augustin wonders why Eve should be called by a new name after her condemnation; and that then, for the first time, she should be styled, the mother of all living; and he concludes that "it was on account of her having been humbled and deprived of celestial gifts, that she might feel her own wretchedness; for humility is the commencement of spiritual life."*

Nor was it forgotten, that she too, that pure and wondrous creature,

> Created beings all in lowliness,
> Surpassing, as in height, above them all,

that she, ennobler of her nature, through whom that spiritual life was to be restored to the children of men, was indebted for her exaltation to the humility which was infused into her spotless soul. "Vide humilitatem, vide devotionem," cries St. Ambrose, alluding to the reply of the blessed Virgin to the angel. "She that is chosen to be the mother, styles herself the handmaiden of the Lord. She is not moved to high thoughts by the promise, but styling herself the servant, she vindicates to herself the prerogative of unprecedented grace." The same mind remains to her throughout the astonishing period which succeeds; for, as another holy writer observes, on no occasion of the miracles of Christ does she come forward to claim the honour of being his mother.* Let this serve to indicate the mark at which desire in these ages aimed. The facts which so repeatedly present themselves, in the history of the middle ages, of men declining and flying from honours and posts that offered great private advantage, not like the moderns, who sometimes refuse to accept dazzling prizes only from a cool calculation of selfish interests, but from a simple spirit of humility, and desire of obeying the precept of Christ, can best be appreciated by contrasting them with all that the world, before Christianity, had beheld in men, placed in similar circumstances; and also, it must be admitted, with the recognised principles of action which now govern the multitudes which have refused to hear the Church. In this respect, the influence of the Christian spirit, in the middle ages, among the nations of the West, seems the more astonishing, because from the first there was no passion which offered so great an obstacle to its reception as the love of honours and separate distinction; and there was no offence against heaven, which so soon and so fatally opposed the happiness of the race of men, and the fulfilment of the beneficent and wondrous designs of their great Restorer, as the same passion developing itself in the East. The apostles, James and John, nourished in the school of Christ, the master of true humility, who gave not the pre-eminence to the disciple whom he especially loved, and imbued with his divine precepts, after such a discipline of wisdom and humility, were instigated by their mother to demand from their Lord the privilege of sitting, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, in his kingdom! "So hardly," observes Lewis of Grenada, "can the thirst for honours and principality be quenched in the soul of man."† And in the ninth century, the same thirst impelled the learned Photius to invade the see of the illustrious Ignatius, which was the original cause of the most deplorable event that is found in the records of history: for what followed after

* In Genes.

* Arias de Imitatione B. Virginis, p. 43.

† Ludovic. Grenadensis in Festo B. Jacobi, Concio II.

the lapse of two ages, was but the consummation of that first pride.

If we proceed to the review of manners, and the intercourse of private life, the character of the ages of faith is perhaps equally admirable: all the other good effects, domestic, that would follow from this spirit, one can already see; for the humility of men then was not a feigned sentiment, such as Sismondi ascribes to them, which he says was united with a most insulting contempt for others. They knew of no such humility, though their invincible patience may have seemed insulting to the pride of irritable spirits. Hear the gentle strains of their soul—"Humble yourself, and with sincerity regard yourself below all men. 'And how can I do so,' you reply, 'when the majority of men, rejecting all fear and shame, live in such disorder, from which I turn in horror? What! can I regard myself below these wretches?' Yes, yes, I repeat it: for if you only consider that the men who are the most perverse to-day may to-morrow be more near perfection than you; that if they had received from heaven the same assistance as you have had, they would have led a much more holy life than you have done, and that you would have sunk into much deeper crime than theirs, if you had not been preserved by a more abundant grace; if, I say, you pay attention to these things, you will easily acknowledge, that there is no sinner whom you ought not in justice to prefer to yourself. Oh, if you knew the secrets of God, how willingly would you yield to others the first rank! With what sincerity of heart would you take the lowest place! With what pleasure would you prostrate yourself at the feet of your brethren! With what zeal would you serve the lowest of them! with what joy would you honour them! with what affection would you obey them!" These are the words of Louis de Blois.* "We owe it to the grace of God," says Father Lewis of Grenada, "that we have not committed all the sins for which we see others punished; for there is no sin that one man commits of which another may not be also guilty."†—The same remark had been made by St. Augustin. Moreover, all ecclesiastical customs, manners, and institutions, which gave a tone to the whole form of society, were framed with a view to eradicate pride from the souls of men. It is only by keeping this in mind, that we can learn to understand the character of those ages, in which all things that we behold are of humble seeming. Thus the rules of Crodegange, Bishop of Metz, made by the Fathers of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 816, are introduced by the sacred texts which prove pride to be the origin of all sins. "Ut omnes homines ad amorem humilitatis provocemus, et detestabilem, inimicamque Dei superbiam ab eis retrahamus."* Hence, the want of humility was regarded as a sure sign of not having had a regular education. It is true that men were shown great honour in these ages; but, as Father Diego de Stella says, writing on the contempt of the world, "The honour which the saints of God had, both here on the earth and also in heaven, was not gotten by the seeking of it, but by the flying away from it."† For their own sentiments were always those expressed by St. Ambrose—"I in royal grandeur, and the cross of Christ in the dust! I in princely courts, and the triumph of Christ amidst ruins! How shall I consider myself redeemed if redemption itself is not beheld!" The humility of the learned in these ages was truly admirable. Hugues, of St. Victor, says, "Wise men learn willingly, though it were a child which showed them the way: they regard not the person who speaks, but the doctrine which he delivers: if it be good, they retain it; if evil, they abandon it." St. Gregory says, "Ab omnibus corripi, ab omnibus emendari paratus sum:" and that great doctor, St. Augustin, says, "Ego et senex et Episcopus, paratus sum a puero doceri." The men whose genius and immense learning seemed so sublime and astonishing to their contemporaries, were approached with the utmost familiarity and affection by the youngest and most simple student. In fact, the titles bestowed on them were all founded rather on their spiritual graces than on their wondrous acquirements in human science; for these are the men who were known only as the Angel of the School, the Seraphic Doctor, the Master of Humility. If we open their writings, their style is always marked with the utmost meekness, presenting so great a contrast to that of the proud men who now condescend to publish the result of their studies. Whenever they venture to express an opinion of their own, it is in the spirit of that sentence of Ives of Chartres—"Dicent forsitan for-

* Spiritual Guide, Chap. VI.

† In Festo B. Mariæ Magd. Concio II.

* Apud Dacherii Spicileg. Tom. I.

† Part I. 122.

tiores, fortiora, meliores meliora; at ego, pro mediocritate, sic sentio."* Even when they had it not in their power to doubt the justice of their own views, they were still far from wishing to propagate them at the risk of that peace, which should be sacrificed to nothing but the truths which bring salvation. Theirs was not the fierce contention of lofty-crested words;—

ὑψιλόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίολα νείκη;†

so that their mere opinions were in this respect Divine, and opposed in their nature to all those of human wisdom, which latter, as Bonald observes, "like the Minerva of the heathens, come out ready armed for battle, from the brain of their founders."‡

"Be not obstinate," says Louis de Blois, "in your own opinions and private judgment. Avoid contradiction, if truth and justice do not oblige you to use it. Yield easily to others. Suffer all the world to correct you and to instruct you, and do you acknowledge your faults with candour."§ How many authors offend against this counsel of the middle ages! How impatient are they of censure, while they cruelly insult others in a strain of affected politeness; saying hard things softly, like artful Creon to Œdipus, σκληρὰ μαλθακῶς λέγων;‖ how tenacious of applause; how full of themselves; how quick to reprove those who are not filled with admiration at their works! they remind one of Pindar's line,

He that breathes humility, secretly rages.
ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων, ἄφαντον βρέμει.¶

This was Pagan lowliness.

There were, indeed, some traces to them of a gentle character in the writings of the ancient sages, from whom they loved to extract the gold of natural or traditional wisdom. Thus the Athenian, with Plato, in reasoning with the youth who had been so perverted as to affect a disbelief in the Divinity, proceeds to teach him better things, ἐν πραέσι λόγοις. "We must approach him mildly," he says, καὶ λέγωμεν πρᾶοι, σβέσαντες τὸν θυμόν.** Let no one, he says again, speak any evil of another, but if arguing with any person in a discourse, let him teach and convince the person with whom he argues, and those that are present; but let him carefully refrain from calumny and opprobrious words: for from curses and spreading women's tales by the use of shameful epithets, the most heavy enmities take their rise. And it is an ungracious thing to let the soul again grow wild after it has been tamed and made gentle by education.* Thus, too, Pindar describes the first address of Jason, who "instilling a placid speech with a gentle voice, laid a foundation of wise words," βάλλετο κρηπῖδα σοφῶν ἐπέων.† Who need to be told that humility belonged also to the heroism of these grand ages? When the Turks raised the siege of Clisson, and fled in dismay upon hearing of the approach of the Christian army under Josselin, though this brave count was carried in a litter to command it, the humility of the Christian hero was nobly expressed in the prayer which he uttered upon hearing of the flight of the infidels. I will give it in the old French of Brother Nicole, because his great work, "Le Grant Voyage de Hierusalem," in which he relates it, which yet exists in Gothic letters, was both a history and a book of instruction for secular nobles, so that it furnished means of extending the spirit it so often describes. "He caused himself to be set down on the ground, and then with joined hands, he made this prayer to God. 'Tres doulx Saulveur et Redempteur Jesu Christ sans lequel n'est aucun bien fait, je vous rends graces et mercis humblement de tous les benefices et graces qu'il vous a plen me donner et conferer tant en guerre que en autres lieux. Et mesmement que de present a moy qui ne suis que ung ver de terre prest a rendre l'esprit, avez fait telle grace de chasser de mon pays ung si puissant prince comme le Souldan de Turquie. Lequel au sceu de ma venue s'en est fuy devant ma face comme l'aigneau devant le loup et tout par une digne vertu, non pas par ma force ne de mes gens d'armes. Et au surplus souveraine Dieu je vous recommande mon ame vous priant devotement qu'il vous plaise la recevoir lassus en paradis.' And with these words he departed and humbly rendered up his spirit to our Lord."‡

We must remember that poverty of spirit, in all the circumstances of its development, was not unknown even among the great in the worst ages of Christian antiquity. "How many persons, even in

* Ivi Carnotensis, Epist. CLXXI.
† Aristoph. Ranæ 818.
‡ Législation Primitive, Tom. III. 268.
§ Institution Spirituelle, Chap. ii. § 4.
‖ Sophoc. Œdip. Col. 774.
¶ Pyth. Od. XI.
** Plato, de Legibus, Lib. X.

* Plato, de Legibus, Lib. XI.
† Pyth. IV.
‡ F. cxxix.

these deplorable times," says Lewis of Grenada, writing at the period of the great religious innovations, "how many persons of great quality, generously despising all the greatness and riches of the earth, have chosen to live despised in the house of God, rather than enjoy the riches and advantages of the world!"* Humility was even embodied and shadowed forth in a multitude of customs, amidst the very pomp of secular courts, of which Dante might have said as well as of David dancing before the ark,

——— in that hap they seem'd
Less, and yet more, than kingly.†

These occasions might serve to explain the saying of St. Anselm, that "perfect humility and perfect pride have some works in common."‡

The ages of faith differ in no respect more from modern times than in the total absence of that activity in matters of earthly and material interest which is now regarded as the criterion of excellence, whether in an age, a nation, or an individual, and of which the origin is pride. There was not that interminable contest for superiority in rank, riches, or fame, which now keeps every nerve of society in full stress, without intermission, till snapt by some overwhelming destruction. Men were poor in spirit, that is, they were content to obey and follow the will of Providence, and the footsteps of their Saviour.

Dante, in representing the state of blessed spirits in Paradise, borrowed the sentiments which he ascribes to them from the doctrines of the school which had an influence then upon all the thoughts and ways of men, beyond any extent that would now be believed possible. Thus he addresses one of them:

——— Yet inform me, ye, who here
Are happy; long ye for a higher place,
More to behold, and more in love to dwell?
She with those other spirits gently smiled;
Then answer'd with such gladness, that she seem'd
With love's first flame to glow: "Brother! our will
Is, in composure, settled by the power
Of charity, who makes us will alone
What we possess, and naught beyond desire;
If we should wish to be exalted more,
Then must our wishes jar with the high will
Of him who sets us here."§

And besides, in ages of faith, when multitudes of souls on earth clothed in saintly flesh, were each a Paradise, men saw too much of heaven to feel any great anxiety or admiration for earth and its brief accidents. Jacob, after he had wrestled with the angel, remained lame of one of his legs, and was after called Israel, which is as much as to say, "the man that seeth God." "And so," observes father Diego de Stella, who wore the humble cord, "he that seeth and knoweth God must be lame outwardly to the world. If, therefore, thou do see worldly men going carefully and diligently to get honour and worldly riches, do not thou mervele thereat, if they go not lamely nor haltingly about that business, for they have but a small knowledge of God. The just men that do see God, as Jacob did, through the knowledge that they have of our Lord, are, as it were, lame in the knowledge of earthly things, and those doth the world think fools because they be wise before God."*

For the clear and full insight into this mystery we are indeed indebted to the light of the Christian doctrine; but yet this and nothing else is the meaning of those remarkable passages which so frequently occur in the writings of Plato, where on a comparison between the effects of injustice and justice, the advantage is ascribed to the former, and it is shown to be more powerful, more spirited, and more despotic.† Dante, in that passage where he describes the imagery upon the ground in Purgatory, which exhibited various instances of pride recorded in history, does nothing but express the view which men in ages of faith generally entertained of the true nature of national pomp and glory:

——— Troy I mark'd
In ashes and in caverns. Oh! how fall'n,
How abject, Ilion, was thy semblance there!

And in the same popular and scholastic judgment, respecting the sinfulness of pride in separate men, is expressed in that passion where he describes the proud loaded with the weight of vast stones that crushed them. Upon first seeing them bent down beneath the dreadful weight, he cried out in astonishment to his guide,

——— "Instructor!" I began,
"What I see hither tending, bears no trace
Of human semblance, nor of aught beside
That my foiled sight can guess." He answering thus:
"So curb'd to earth, beneath their heavy terms
Of torment stoop they, that mine eye at first
Struggled as thine. But look intently thither;
And disentangle with thy lab'ring view,
What, underneath those stones, approacheth: now,
E'en now, may'st thou discern the pangs of each."
Christians and proud! O poor and wretched ones,
That, feeble in the mind's eye, lean your trust
Upon unstaid perverseness: know ye not
That we are worms.‡———

* Catechism, Part II. cap. xi. † Purg. X.
‡ De Similitudinibus, cap. cxxxvii. § Parad. III.

* On the contempt of the world. St. Omers, 1622. I. 160. † De Repub. Lib. I. ‡ Purg. X.

CHAPTER V.

AND here I must pause awhile, and from this mount "which healeth him who climbs," look back upon the scenes which so often arrest the early steps of men while conversing with the forms of mundane chivalry. Many, like Stesichorus in classic story, have had, before the course was done, to sing their palinodia. Cornelius Agrippa, practised in every slight of magic wile, lamented his vain labour in books of dangerous science: Erasmus, whose pleasant shafts have often wounded piety, expressed himself afflicted at the result of many of his writings: others of more antique days, whose names are too venerable to mention here, have left whole books of their retractions; and, in sooth, whoever has eulogized the chivalry of this proud world, returning unto the holy triumph, may well add himself to the number, and smite upon his breast; for, although he may hope to have avoided gross offence, yet is there always ground to fear that somewhat has been uttered not in harmony with lowliness, meekness, poverty of spirit,—the weapons of the just, who must conquer by yielding,*—peacefulness, and the awful sanctity of the school of Christ, whose sweet food can hardly then be tasted "without the cost of some repentant tear."

It is true the motive of honour is not always vicious. The doctrine of St. Thomas, the angelic teacher, and of the school, is, that honour being despised meritoriously, when we refuse to commit a bad action, in order to possess it, may be also desired with praise, when we commit no evil that can destroy it: but so is also true that sentence which in lower regions is but seldom heard, "Sunt viæ quæ videntur hominibus rectæ, quarum finis usque ad profundum inferni descendit:" and there is an honour to be gained on earth which no favour wins in Paradise. It is not that I am willing to level those images of dignity and grace which so essentially belong to every form of chivalry that presents itself to the young imagination. It is not that I would add my puny efforts to aid those who are labouring to destroy every relic of the antiquated shrine of heroic virtue that has been left in the world. A modern writer, who seems to think, that to understand the spirit of the middle ages it is merely required to observe that of the nineteenth century among the people of the north, says, "the truth is, a very large number of the knights errant, comprising the chivalry of every country, were mere idle adventurers, bent only on the gratification of their own passions and seeking to enjoy life in the easiest and best manner possible." No coarse destruction of beautiful and ennobling thoughts is my object in this retrospect. A son of ancient chivalry was often extravagant, proud, intemperate, sensuous, and yet he was not what our modern sentimental pigmies would represent him; I rather hold with the wiser poet, where he says of his ideal hero,

> "Yet in his worst pursuits, I ween
> That sometimes there did intervene
> Pure hopes of high intent;
> For passions link'd to forms so fair
> And stately, needs must have their share
> In noble sentiment."*

But from this station, on which we now stand to survey the ways of men, one feels the importance of distinguishing broadly between the modern idea of chivalry as an institution self-existing, and the source, as it is thought, of the greatest benefit to mankind, extending its influence even to our times, (for to this length do many writers now proceed in speaking its praise,) and that which represents it under the forms of Christian knighthood, the humble and constant dependent upon religion, drawing all its excellence from the faith and influence of the Catholic Church, in its specific character and peculiar circumstances, framed only to meet the particular evils which, during a certain period, existed in society, and in its general and primary state presenting nothing but a ground more than commonly favourable to the reception of that religious instruction, without which, its best fruit, however beautiful when seen from far, would be delusive even as the apples on the Dead Sea shore, which, when touched, are discovered to be only ashes and bitterness. It is in this latter sense alone that chivalry can be defended with truth and justice, as

* St. Ambrosii Officior. Lib. I. 5.

* Wordsworth.

being a Christian form of life, and consistent with the first qualification for beatitude. Whereas, in these latter times, when men have begun to recur to the days of chivalry with a poetic admiration, contrasting them with the wretchedness and sensuality around them, the system is invariably represented under the former character; and against this manifest error, or rather perhaps this artful invention of proud men, who concert every ingenious measure to deprecate the benefits of that religion whose graces were common to the rich and poor, it is the solemn duty of every Catholic Christian who has ever loved the real spirit of the ancient chivalry, to express his convictions without disguise.

To begin then with the impressive formula of the Homeric heroes:

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν·

chivalry was a noble and beneficial mode of life, so far as it was a Catholic mode of life; but out of those limits it was only one of the many forms in which pride and sin ensnare the hearts of men; it was evil and unholy, and on that ground alone not deserving of the ridicule of which some have thought it the proper object. For, in the first place, to return to that love of honour which is thought to have been its soul, there must be always danger here, not only of forgetting to glory in the cross, but even of falling short of the natural magnanimity of which we find traces in the ancient sages. Thus Crito's argument to persuade Socrates to leave the prison was, that the world would say that he had been neglected and forsaken by his friends, who might have enabled him to escape if they had chosen, but that they preferred their money to their friend. "O good Crito!" replied Socrates, "what is it to us what the world may say? for they who are honest and wise, whose opinion alone is worth considering, will conclude that these things have been done precisely as they have been done."* Cicero, even though he had said man was born for glory,† yet, coming to speak of true magnanimity, bids men remember, "unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam, eoque pulchriorem, si vacet populo, neque plausum captans, quin etiam mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditatione et sine populo teste fiunt: non quo fugiendus sit, sed tamen nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia majus est."‡ And in another place he reckons those who seek glory among the men who are opposed to philosophers.* Codrus, indeed, was really devoted, for if he proposed to die for his country, he was willing to forego the honour, and therefore he took effectual measures to enable him to accomplish the offering of himself, by assuming the habit of a slave. But with men who speak of honour, with these admirers, I do not say with the actual possessors of the chivalrous spirit, it is often more the fame than the substance which they regard. It is only a respect for fame which actuates them: they speak in the Homeric style to their own conscience, "if I do so and so, men will accuse me of such and such things; men will say that I am poor-spirited, superstitious, extravagant,"

ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών.†

Ibycus wrote a celebrated sentence, "I fear lest I should commit an offence against the gods and receive in return honour from men."‡ So just a sense had even this heathen of the essence of human honour.

With respect to those philosophers who have of late endeavoured to conceive a purer and more spiritual idea of honour, as a self-existing principle, it seems to the Christian ear as if the subtilty of their words may have only aggravated the evil, spreading a thin varnish over the wide separation between pride and that spirit with which they attempted to unite it, if indeed such an union was in their thoughts; and such seems to be the case in that passage where Fichte says, that the hero whom the world supposes to be influenced by glory, "is only actuated by his own private judgment of right, and that in acting as he acts, he is no way led by the hope of the applause, but that he achieves the act which bursts forth in all its purity within his own mind from the primal fountain of honour, and imposes on mankind the obligation of approving of it and honouring it; that is, provided he takes any thought about their judgment; utterly despising both them and their judgment, in case it is not the echo of that which he himself has pronounced for all eternity."

If this be the only language with which chivalry could prove that it had a humble spirit, the cause must assuredly have been hopeless: but we may believe, that in ages of faith it was often with men in the ranks of temporal chivalry as with the

* Plat. Crito. † Tuscul. Lib. II. 41. ‡ Id. 26.

* Tuscul. V. 3. † Il. IV. 182. ‡ Suidas.

saints; they gained more honour by flying from it than by pursuing it. Among the papers of the Archduke Leopold of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II., was found certain rules of life which he had drawn up for himself in 1639, on taking the cross of the Teutonic order. Among these we read as follows; "I resolve to have in aversion and hatred of heart, which shall be shown by my deeds, as far as my condition and profession will permit, all that the world possesses of honour, glory, pride, vanity, ambition, commodity, and power, and I wish to live with great joy in detachment and poverty of spirit, stript of affection, for all that the world esteems, that I may possess God alone, my infinite treasure, and that I may be useful to others, desiring, as far as is possible, to follow the example and traces of my Lord Jesus, who was put naked on the cross, for my love."*

Nevertheless, the opening to dangerous abuse was broad. Hear the sentiments of a daughter of Spain, who had once drunk deep of the high spirit of that knightly land. It is St. Theresa who speaks: "As we forgive those, &c., Remark here my sisters, that it is not said, as we shall forgive, but as we forgive; for it is not to be conceived that any one would approach the eternal majesty to supplicate forgiveness, without having previously forgiven all that have injured him. It was for the saints a subject of joy to suffer persecution and injuries that they might have something to offer to God: but alas! what can a poor sinner like myself offer, who has so seldom had occasion to forgive, and who has such need of forgiveness? Let those who have the misfortune to resemble me reflect seriously upon this. I conjure them to estimate, according to their real value, these miseries to which we give the name of insults and affronts; these false honours of the world, with all these little sensibilities, which are only toys and plays of children, and that in things so vain they may never make a merit of their pretended acts of forgiveness. O my God, my God! if we did but know the real worth of this wicked honour! Alas! there was a time when I esteemed it without knowing what it was, carried away like so many others by the torrent of opinions and customs. What things did I then convert into subjects of trouble and vexation! With what shame do I now remember it! Certes, I knew not then true honour, the only honour which is profitable to our souls, the only honour which merits our research. O my Saviour, thou who art at once our model and our master, what was thy honour in this world? In what didst thou make it consist? Didst thou forfeit it by thy humility in humbling thyself to death? No, truly, and so far otherwise, that this abasement, to which thou didst consent, has become for all mankind a source of glory and honour! Alas! my sisters. Do we believe ourselves offended at what does not even merit the name of offence, and for having forgiven things which are neither injuries nor affronts, and which are not worthy of being named, do we fancy that we have performed something considerable, and do we suppose that God ought to forgive us, as if in reality we had forgiven others? O Lord, diffuse light amidst this darkness. Lighten our ignorance; give us the grace to know that we do not know ourselves, that we come before thee with empty hands, and forgive us our trespasses only by the effect of thy goodness and thy mercy."*

Again, in another place, resuming her saintly strain:—"O my God, how clearly doth a soul see here the sense of that verse of the Psalmist, and that both he had reason, and that all the world should have reason, to desire the wings of the dove. For it is easily and clearly understood of that flight which the spirit makes, by which it raises itself up above all creatures, and in the first place, from and above itself. But this is a sweet flight, a delightful and pleasant flight, and a flight without noise. What kind of dominion doth such a soul possess, which our Lord doth once conduct to this pitch, that she may be able to look down upon all things without being once entangled by any of them! And how full of confusion will she now be, for that time wherein she was entangled before! And how much will she be amazed to look back upon that blindness of hers! How full of compassion will she be for such as do yet remain therein! She is now much afflicted with the thought of that time wherein she had any regard to the point of honour, and for the gross error wherein she was to imagine that to be honour, which the world calls honour; for she now sees that it was all an abominable lie, and yet that every body lives in the practice of it. But now this

* Les Vertus Héroïques de Leopold d'Autriche, par N. Avancin, 141.

* The Road of Perfection, Chap. xxiv.

soul understands that right honour is built, not npon a lie, but upon truth; esteeming that to be worth something, which indeed is so; and holding that, which indeed is nothing, in no account at all, since all is nothing, and less than nothing, which comes to have an end and pleaseth not God."*

In these magnificent passages, where the piety of a saint is expressed in language as noble as that of Plato, he must indeed be slow who does not recognize some shade which did occasionally stain even that fairest and noblest chivalry, which claimed the admiration of mankind. Dante must have had deeper thoughts than meet the ear, when he speaks of having seen in Paradise, though in an inferior star, some good spirits,

> Whose mortal lives were busied to that end,
> That honour and renown might wait on them,

adding,—

> And, when desires thus err in their intention,
> True love must needs ascend with slacker beam.†

That some under knightly banners were busied to that end, is more probable than that such spirits could afterwards be raised at once so high. With greater justice does the same poet describe such spirits among the members of the suffering Church, to whom these words are spoken:—

> Because ye point your wishes at a mark,
> Where, by communion of possessors, part
> Is lessen'd, envy bloweth up men's sighs.
> No fear of that might touch ye, if the love
> Of higher sphere exalted your desire.
> For there, by how much more they call it ours,
> So much propriety of each in good,
> Increases more, and heighten'd charity,
> Wraps that fair cloister in a brighter flame.‡

Among the stains incident to the chivalrous soul in which its whole spirit is now often supposed to consist, was noted that attention to little sensibilities which St. Theresa describes as only toys and plays of children. Here was a source of bitterness which argued no proximity to the first beauteous circle of sweet life, the beatitude of the humble and the poor. The heathen portraits were strongly marked with this dark feature. Medea prepares to murder her children most dear to her, to destroy the whole house of Jason, and to commit, as she admits, a crime of impiety and horror, after which life will be intolerable to her, and all this for what reason? She declares it thus,—

> Οὐ γὰρ γελᾶσθαι τλητὸν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν, φίλαι,*

the motive that was sufficient to make Sir Walter Raleigh command a number of wretched people to be massacred! Goëthe, in his celebrated drama, entitled Torquato Tasso, represents his hero as under the same influence. The quarrel with Antonio would be ludicrous, if one did not pity the agony of the poor victim to his own morbid sensibility. It is a quarrel of Germans, which seems noble to the hero who fancies himself injured, and which fills the dispassionate beholder with alternate commiseration and disgust; so true is the saying, that a man who in not perfectly dead in himself is quickly tempted and conquered in little and vile things.† Now, in opposition to this tone of mind, which is supposed to belong to chivalry, they who would hear a blessed voice, inviting them to the Mount, must be ready to renounce all claim to the honour that waits upon these quick and delicate sensibilities; and as St. Ambrose says, they must be careful never to betray passion by their words, whatever may be the provocation.‡

Delicacy and nobleness of mind, when well directed, and kept subservient to the ends of piety, were indeed regarded as a great treasure, but it was one which was known to require more than ordinary direction, and which exposed the possessor to a peculiar danger of incurring guilt and misery; guilt in forfeiting divine charity, refusing to forget and forgive little things from which the heaviest enmities so often arise, and misery, in depriving himself of the friendship of others; for the number of such minds as could comprehend that intensity and delicacy of feeling must have been small, in comparison of those with whom were given a thousand occasions of offence and of saying, "Non irascendum sed insaniendum est." It was in proud silence, the delicate heart received the wound, whereas if there had been humility to leave a free course to the complaint of nature, the coarse dart might have been extracted, and no interruption caused to friendship and peace. The wise Spaniards say, "a cheerful look and pardon are the best revenge for an injury;" and again they say, "If thou art vexed, thou wilt

* The Life of the Holy Mother St. Theresa.
† Parad. Canto VI. ‡ Purg. XV.

* Eurip. Med. 795. † De Imit. Christi, I. 6.
‡ Off. Lib. I. 4.

have two troubles." And if, after all, there had been no disposition to make amends, there would have been then an opportunity to remember St. Theresa's exclamation, and to renounce such vanities, following Christ through sacrifice and mortification. But uncorrected heroes of this noble stamp, who were left merely to nature, were for immediately withdrawing in silence, like Achilles, to sit alone and eat their own heart, under the intolerable pain of outraged feeling and a wounded imagination. Such persons, indeed, were often reminded, that after all, their conduct was only that of the vulgar, of the weakest and basest characters; and, on the contrary, that it would be a rare and noble testimony to the qualities of their soul, if it could be always said of them, by men of coarser minds, "I can do this, I can break this engagement, give this sign of indifference, for I know that man to be one who never takes offence, or who is always ready to forgive little, as well as great offences against him." "Grow angry slowly," say the Spaniards, "for, if there be cause, time will not fail thee to become so."

In the sphere of morality this morbid sensibility may have been productive of great evils. It is a just remark of a modern writer, with regard to the mind of chivalry, if we suppose it undirected by religion, that is, taking it in the sense in which men now understand chivalry. "The beauty of the virtue itself," he says, "was lost sight of, under the specious colouring of ambitious fancy. It was not truth which obtained the praises of the chevalier, or which he sought to exhibit in his conduct, but the extravagant imitation of her effects." Thus we have the ridiculous spectacle of these admirers of chivalrous honour pretending to have a greater regard for truth and sincerity, than the saints and the Christian doctors of the school. A great historian of our times, who, in this single instance, seems to have borrowed their language inadvertently, affirms that no defence is available in the case of one who, being innocent and about to suffer the last penalty of an impious law, should, on a review of his own conduct, during the mock trial, persist in maintaining that it was lawful for a man to equivocate, if an inhuman judge endeavoured to force him to accuse himself; but, on the contrary, this is an opinion which has been approved of by the whole Church. Saints, like Athanasius, blessed spirits that may not lie, since they ever dwell near the source of primal truth, are expressly recorded to have acted in conformity to it. The Just One said, "non ascendo ad diem festum hunc,"* and he meant "manifeste," for he went in secret. The proud Herculean openness which rushes upon destruction, may be esteemed sinful as well as a sign of ignorance and want of just discipline. We see that there was no direct answer given to the crafty chief priests and elders of the people, who asked by what authority those things were done; but that in reply, a question was addressed to them, which they could not or durst not answer.† Indeed, the sober judgment of the universal reason has sometimes been able to prevail, even over the extravagant fancies which the moderns seem to regard as inseparable from chivalry. Thus De Argentine, in order to save Bruce, when attacked in the hall of the Island-chieftain's castle, is represented by the poet as pretending to claim the prisoners, in his sovereign's name, as vassals who had borne arms against their liege lord, and then we read—

> Such speech, I ween, was but to hide,
> His care their safety to provide;
> For knight more true in thought and deed,
> Than Argentine ne'er spurr'd a steed.‡

Yet every barbarous Cyclops would exclaim here—"This is deceit, not manly force."§

The justice, however, of an opposite conclusion was not unknown to the knight of chivalry. Don Diego Savedra Faxardo did not want to be instructed in honour, and yet he proves, in the very book which is to teach honour, that it may be lawful sometimes to dissemble; appealing to the conduct of David before King Achis,|| to Samuel's pretence of sacrifice,¶ and to the hair applied to the hands of Jacob,** which latter instance, however, is interpreted by St. Augustin as having been a mystery prefigurative of the atonement.†† The conduct of Abraham too might have been added, of whom St. Ambrose says, "Truly, a great man, illustrious, with many virtues, whom philosophy, with all her vows, could never equal."‡‡ But all this is widely different from the spirit ascribed by Homer to his heroes, and even to his divine personages, who are not in error, but in total want as to the principle of truth.§§

Another danger to which the chivalrous

* Joan. vii. 8. † Matt. xxi. 24.
‡ The Lord of the Isles. § Od. IX. 408.
|| 1 Reg. xxi. 13. ¶ Ibid. xvi. 2.
** Gen. xvii. Christian Prince, I. 452.
†† Lib. cont. Mendacium. Cap. iv.
‡‡ Lib. de Abraham Patriarch. §§ Odyss. I. 179.

mind may have been exposed, consisted in men affecting to have higher and purer motives of action than belonged to ordinary Christians, so that in fulfilling a real duty, they appeared to obey only their own will. Of this we have an instance, in the custom of bearing those rings of iron, silver, or gold, which signified that the wearer was the slave of his word. They are described by Olivier de la Marche, Monstrelet, Mabillon, and Ducange, and even by Tacitus, whose testimony to the fact might of itself lead us to trace their real origin. In many instances, however, whatever may have been their origin, the use may have been sanctified. But if this extreme delicacy of the chivalrous mind may have sometimes been an evil, in pushing virtue to extravagance, what must it have been when it made a virtue of indulging, even to excess, some of the most vicious passions of the corrupted heart! Yet it is too true, that it sometimes did so; though by pity may the mind be overpowered, when it hears this affirmed of those dames and knights of antique days. It was only the powerful and incessant action of the Catholic religion, which induced them to renounce the sentiment of nature, as expressed by Medea, when she glories in the crime she is about to commit, and declares that she is of this character, to be terrible to her enemies and benevolent to her friends, adding, that this is the most glorious praise,—

τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων εὐκλεέστατος βίος.*

And so it will always be in the judgment of the world; for it is the sentiment of uncorrected nature which Callicles expresses in addressing Socrates,—"It is not the part of a man to suffer injuries, but only of some slave, to whom it is better to die than to live."† It was from a far higher source that Socrates drew his maxim, saying, "We must never retaliate by doing evil for evil, and we must never injure any man, though we may suffer ever such great injury from him."‡ This is not what is now supposed to be the spirit of chivalry, nor what it really is, if we consider it as self-existing and in its primary state; in man, choleric and bloody, in his partner, reckless, spurring others on maliciously to strife. We can form a more correct estimate of it, by referring to that sad picture of the scene in Tantallon hall:—

* Eurip. Med. 808. † Plat. Gorgias. ‡ Plat Crito.

On the earl's cheek, the flush of rage
O'ercame the ashen hue of age.

Or even to that hero described in Tasso, who, as a hot brand, flames most ere it goeth out.

So he, when blood was lost, with anger wroth
Revived his courage, when his puissance died;
And would his latest hour, which now drew nigh,
Illustrate with his end, and nobly die.*

Such may be an Homeric death, or chivalrous, if men will; but theology would teach us to admire other portraits and other modes of spirits' passing. All this acquires additional force, when it is remembered that the soul may continue under the influence of these passions, even to the extreme verge of life; and what an image is then presented by men, like the master who translated into French the history of Gyron le Courtois, who is represented as an old knight in a very advanced age, coming to king Arthur's court to enter the lists with young knights, "et à scavoir lesquels estoient les plus vaillans ou les jeunes ou les vieulx,"† and who is subsequently described in mortal combat, acquitting himself in such a manner, that "he seemed no longer a knight, but thunder and tempest?" In truth, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of this blind world in all the affectation of chivalrous sentiment, as it appears in the discourse and writings of the moderns. The very use which is made of terms to express it, proves this; for what Thucydides relates of certain miserable times in Greece, takes place here: the usual worth of names is transferred to other and contrary deeds, for irrational boldness is styled manly courage and good companionship; temperance is called effeminacy, and prudence in every thing, idleness in every thing. Or, as Plutarch says of flatterers, dissipation is called liberality, rashness activity, licentiousness the love of society and warmth of natural affection; and the love of mankind entitles men to the charge of being abject and contemptible. What does all this indicate but the approach to those straits which none have passed and lived? Then, too, the crimes and injuries of unholy men, are sung and extolled in legends and in poetry, although even the heathens would have shown the evil of this. For Pindar says, "Whatever thing is done without God is not the worse of being consigned to silence and oblivion:"—

* XIX. 22. † L'Hystoire de Gyron le Courtois, f. 1.

Ἄνευθε δὲ θεοῦ, σεσιγα-
μένον γ' οὐ σκαιότερον χρῆμ'
Ἕκαστον.*

a principle, which, if observed by writers in our time, would leave their splendid histories as meagre as many of the monkish chronicles, which they deem so insipid. And Euripides says,

Σιγᾶν ἄμεινον ταἰσχρά· μηδὲ Μοῦσά μοι
γένοιτ' ἀοιδὸς, ἥτις ὑμνήσει κακά.†

With idle fables, in which "there lurks a still and dumb-discoursive devil, that tempts most cunningly," the mind is ever occupied.

——— Dangerous food,
For knightly youths, to whom is given
So much of earth, so much of heaven,
And such impetuous blood.

Nor is it to be overlooked that the importance attached to birth exposes men under this influence to the danger of contracting a thousand stains of pride. "Nobilitas generis sæpe parit ignobilitatem mentis," said St. Gregory.‡ It was well for many to resemble Bernardin di Fosco, as described by Dante,

A gentle scion from ignoble stem.§

The heart, on that account, was often lighter, the conscience less oppressed. This is shown by the very bard of chivalry, where he describes how to the mind of Marmion, the wild and innocent song of youth sounded as if disgrace and ill and shameful death were near.

Her wing shall the eagle flap
O'er the false-hearted;
His warm blood the wolf shall lap,
Ere life be parted,
Shame and dishonour sit
By his grave ever;
Blessing shall hallow it
Never, O never!

So sung the simple Fitz Eustace, hoping to amuse his lord, in whom, on the contrary, it awakened all the pangs of horrible remorse.

Not alone nobility of birth, but the being placed in the condition of the rich and powerful, and even that very excellence of disposition which gave rise to chivalry, and which we have seen to be peculiarly favourable to the reception of the Christian doctrine, required more than ordinary assistance from heaven, to prevent it from becoming the very source of the greatest evil. To understand this position, which at first may seem partly to contradict itself, we need only attend to what Socrates says in the sixth book of the Republic, and every one will perceive that his argument receives additional force from the philosophy of Christians. He speaks thus, "I think that all persons must admit that the qualities which are required to constitute a true lover of wisdom, are imparted but seldom, and to very few men, and see how many and great are the causes of corruption even to these few. For in the first place, that which is most strange of all to hear, each one of the qualities which we have lately praised as requisite for philosophy, destroys the soul and tears it from philosophy, such as courage, temperance, and all the other virtues of which we spoke. In addition to this, all the things that are called good, corrupt the soul, and tear it from philosophy, such as beauty and riches, and strength of body, and the having powerful relations in the state, *καὶ ξυγγένεια ἐῤῥωμένη ἐν πόλει*, and all such things, for you have the type of what I wish to describe. This can be made to appear most clearly. For we know that every seed, whether of plants or of animals, which does not meet with the nourishment proper for it, neither the seasons nor the locality, by how much the more vigorous it is, by so much the more does it want what is proper for it. It is reasonable, then, that the best nature, when it receives an education improper for it, should become worse than an evil nature; so that the souls which are of the best disposition by nature, when they receive an evil education, become eminently bad. The greatest crimes spring from such natures, spoiled by a bad education; for a weak nature is capable of nothing great, either in virtue or in vice. If, then, the philosophic nature should obtain the education proper for it, of necessity it will grow up to all virtue; but if it experience a contrary, it will proceed to the very reverse of this *ἐὰν μή τις αὐτῇ βοηθήσας θεῶν τύχῃ*. If, then, any one should come softly up to a man in this condition, and should say truly, that there is no sense in him, and that he wants sense, and that this is not a thing to be acquired by any one unless by him who is content to make himself a slave for the sake of its acquisition, *μὴ δουλεύσαντι τῇ κτήσει αὐτοῦ*· do you think that he would take pleasure in hearing this, while oppressed with so many evils? Far otherwise indeed. But,

* Olymp. IX. † Troad. 388.
‡ Lib. II. Dialog. cap. xxxiii. § Purg. XIV.

on the other hand, if through the excellence of his natural disposition by birth, from being well born, and from his natural affinity to what is delivered, any one should be enabled to perceive what a thing philosophy was, should be bent and drawn to it, what think you would those men do who would know that the use for them and the grounds on which they had enjoyed his company would perish if he yielded to the love of wisdom! Would they not do and say every thing respecting him, that he might not be persuaded, and respecting those persuading him, that they might not be able, conspiring against them in secret, and even calling them before the tribunals? How then can such a man attain to the exercise of philosophy?—We see, then, that the parts of a philosophic nature, when they meet with an evil education, are the very cause why the men who possess them fall from their vocation to philosophy; that the things which are commonly called good, riches and all other attendants, conduce to the same effect,—so great is the facility of destruction and corruption to the best natures, which are themselves but so few in number as we have shown,—and that it is from these men that the greatest evils are produced, both private and public, as well as the greatest good whenever they happen to flow in that direction οἱ ἂν ταύτῃ τύχωσι ῥυέντες· whereas a little nature never does any thing great to any one, either in private or in public."* This remarkable passage might be illustrated by many memorable events in the intellectual history of the middle ages, by showing the perfection to which men of noble natures did sometimes attain, the difficulties which they had always to surmount from the very causes above enumerated; the persecution of those who converted them to a life of sanctity, respecting whom the world made as anxious inquiries as the suitors of Penelope did after Minerva, who, in disguise of a guest, had reminded Telemachus of his father;† and the number of those whose evil and extravagant deeds of robust profligacy appear in such dark contrast with the generous and brilliant actions of the just, and whose crimes and follies may be traced to the misdirection of noble qualities, proving the justice of what Dante also says, that

The more of kindly strength is in the soil,
So much doth evil seed and lack of culture
Mar it the more, and make it run to wildness.*

Indeed, this position is no novelty in the schools. "The blindness of fallen nature," says a famous book, "judged a life of pleasure and licence to be the best and happiest. Nature adheres to this as most agreeable to it. And this results most powerfully in those who are endowed with an excellent natural reason—for this ascends so high in its own light and in itself, that it thinks itself to be the eternal and true light, and proposes itself for that; and being deceived by itself, proceeds to deceive others along with itself."† The conclusion, therefore, is the same, that the very best qualities, and the very choicest intellectual and moral treasures are changed into evils, and obstacles to virtue, by the pride and self-sufficiency which they generate; and that in this respect the only possible safety, reserved for the chivalrous nature, was in its complete and unreserved submission to the influence of that Catholic doctrine, which taught and enabled men to embrace practically poverty of spirit—which taught the monarch on his throne to say, with the son of a poor labourer, "Let others, like the Jews, seek honour one from another: I will desire that which is from God alone. All human glory, all temporal honour, all mundane altitude, compared with thy eternal glory, is vanity and folly. O veritas mea et misericordia mea, Deus meus, Trinitas beata! tibi soli laus, honor, virtus, et gloria, per infinita seculorum secula."‡

And now, in passing from this retrospect of the ways and thoughts of pride, may we feel that joy which Dante experienced, when he had traversed the first division of the suffering Church, where this sin was expiated and purged away:—

————We climb the holy stairs:
And lighter to myself by far I seem'd
Than on the plain before; whence thus I spake:
"Say, Master, of what heavy thing have I
Been lighten'd; that scarce aught the sense of toil
Affects me journeying?" He in few replied:
"When sin's broad characters, that yet remain
Upon thy temples, though well nigh effaced,
Shall be, as one is, all clean razed out:
Then shall thy feet, by heartiness of will,
Be so o'ercome, they not alone shall feel
No sense of labour, but delight much more
Shall wait them, urged along their upward way."§

* Plato, de Repub. Lib. VI. † Od. I. 705.

* Purg. XXX. † Theologica Germanica, Cap. xviii.
‡ De Imit. Christ. III. 40. § Purg. 12.

CHAPTER VI.

THE line of this argument presents a changing scene, and brings before us men of very different classes in one succeeding order. From knights who were exposed to the danger of seeking glory in their deeds, I pass to the consideration of the learned and the holy writers, whose indifference to fame, though theirs were souls wanting nothing of great praise, furnishes a subject of itself instructive and suitable to the present inquiry. Here are presented two objects most characteristic of Christian ages—the motives, and object, and expectations of men in writing books, and the style and general tone of their composition. The great writers of heathen antiquity have generally taken care to acquaint us at once with their motives in writing, and the expectations which they founded upon their labours. With one,

——— Eximiæ laudis succensus amore,

it is to transmit his own achievements to posterity; with another, to beguile a period of exile, or to divert his mind from public calamities; with another, to amuse his leisure, and prepare glory for his own name: thinking with Pindar, "that he is happy whom fame celebrates"—

——— ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν
Φᾶμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί.*

"I am persuaded," says Dionysius, "that those who would wish to leave monuments of their genius to posterity, ought in the first place to choose a splendid and illustrious theme, which can afford much utility to those who study it: for they who undertake to write upon obscure, ignoble matters, or such as are evil, and of no importance, whether from a desire to show their knowledge and to make a name for themselves, or merely from a wish to display their skill in writing, are never the objects of emulation to posterity, in consequence of this knowledge, nor are they praised on account of their eloquence."† Cardan seems to express the sense of nearly all Pagan writers on this point, where he says, "In universum nil prosunt literæ ni tympanum pulset aliquis. Infelix autem conditio tua est quum ipse cogeris pulsare."* They nearly all indicate the sentiment expressed by Janson in the tragedy—"May I never possess treasures without the applause of men."

μήτ' Ὀρφέως κάλλιον ὑμνῆσαι μέλος,
εἰ μὴ 'πίσημος ἡ τύχη γένοιτό μοι.†

A result which they deemed adequate compensation for any previous injury; so that Jason reminds Medea of the advantage he has already conferred upon her in causing her to reside in Greece, where every one praises her talents and wisdom; whereas if she had lived ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις γῆς, there would have been no talk of her.‡ In the ages of faith, the motives and views of men who were authors of books, were totally opposed to these: and therefore, without proceeding to inquire farther, it would be but reasonable to expect, à priori, that their works themselves would have a new and distinctive character. There were also external and accidental circumstances, which contributed to secure this result. Many of the chronicles, and other books of the middle ages, were written by monks for the use of their brethren in the cloister. "The greatest number of these writers," says a learned historian of the Crusades, "believed that their books were to live and die like themselves in solitude. Hence the simplicity of their narrative, and sometimes its indiscretion. What would have been their surprise if it had been announced to them, that on a future day their volumes were to be judged before the tribunal of the proud world, or of the age, and that the invention of printing would multiply copies of their manuscripts! As they never thought that the public would behold them, their style was frank and natural. Piety prescribed to the writers of the cloister to fly from all falsehood; and that fact should be a warrant to us at least of their good faith. Some condemn themselves to the punishment of hell if they should ever

* Olymp. VII.

† Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.

* Prudentia Civilis, Cap. xc.

† Eurip. Med. 542.

‡ Ibid. 540.

write in the spirit of prejudice or of hatred; others in their preface implore the charity of their readers, and addressing themselves to the Divine clemency, hope that, if they should commit any errors, God will pardon them when they appear at his dread tribunal. In relating events, they are accustomed to date from the festivals of the Church, for religion was always in their thoughts. After the interests of the Church they attend to those of their respective monasteries. In speaking of heroes or princes, they represent them rather according to their physical than their moral qualities, unlike those 'who look not at the deed alone, but spy into the thoughts with subtle skill.' They relate only facts, and make no speculation as to causes or effects; only they sometimes conclude the account of a mournful event with a pious reflection—as when they have related the fall of an empire or the death of a great king, they exclaim that the glory of the world vanishes like a vapour, that it passes like the water of a torrent, or decays like the flowers of the spring. A wet season, an inundation, a drought, a storm, would then occupy the attention of history, for the public prosperity depended upon the harvest; and they even descended to the least particulars, as when the monk of St. Denis says, that the lightning fell upon the gilt cock on the belfry of the abbey. To observe their attention in recording eclipses, comets, and all remarkable phenomena of the atmosphere, one would suppose that they were writing the history of the seasons. Nothing embarrassed them in the natural or political order; for whatever seemed unaccountable and horrible to reason, was ascribed by them to the secret designs of God."*

In describing the evils of their age, their intense sense of justice, writing as if before the divine altars, may have led them to adopt language, from which we can at present argue but little; for though they judged no man personally, they might freely condemn a general misery: and it was kindred spirits to theirs which Dante had in view when he exclaimed,

> ——— O clear conscience and upright!
> How doth a little failing wound thee sore.†

The spirit with which these men wrote may be inferred from the circumstance of their having so often succeeded in concealing their names from posterity. They were content to be forgotten or unknown if they could but save their readers, unlike so many writers of later times, who are ever anxious to secure for themselves a name; and if they can but further this object, scruple not to excite the passions, and to expose their readers to eternal ruin! The author of the Imitation of Christ is unknown. Some ascribe it to Thomas à Kempis, others to the Abbot Gersen; and this diversity of opinion has been the source of long, and, as the Abbé de la Mennais says, useless controversies; "but no object," he observes, "is too frivolous for human curiosity. Immense researches have been made to discover the name of a poor solitary of the thirteenth century. What is the result of so many labours? the solitary has continued unknown; and the happy obscurity in which his life glided has protected his humility against our vain science." The historian of the Abbey of Jumièges is obliged to confess his inability to do justice to the admirable men who pursued learning and the arts within that cloister, "because," he says, "their modesty and humility rendered them unambitious of being known to posterity."* "The monks," says the Chronicle of Richarius, "greatly cherished St. Filibert, as being the most fervent disciple of the late St. Richarius. At that time faithful men, holy and good, took no great care to commit to writing the things which were done, because they only attended to this end, how they might deserve to be inscribed in the book of life; therefore we should not have known even the names of the abbots who succeeded, had not the venerable Abbot Angelran made a catalogue of them, thinking that such men ought to be remembered."† And in the same manner Desguerrois, in his history of the Diocese of Troyes, observes of the ancients, that, "they were more desirous of being saints, than learned historians, and that there is therefore much obscurity in their accounts of the early saints of Gaul." A great theologian laments that Pagan authors, such as Diogenes, Laertius, and Suetonius should have given more exact histories of the philosophers and Cæsars than many Catholic writers have left of martyrs, virgins, and confessors.‡

* Michau sur le Caractère et l'Esprit des Chroniques du Moyen Age. † Purg. Cant. III.

* Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 154.
† Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, Lib. I. cap. xxviii.
‡ Melchior Canus, Lib. II. de locis Theolog.

The cloister had its poets too, but they sought not to follow that Theban eagle, "to walk," as Pindar says, "high in the paths of life."* It was enough if they could compose some hymn or melody for the glory of God and the utility of the Church. The author of the sublime hymn Salve Regina is said to have been Herman, a Benedictine monk in the year 1059, who was altogether devoid of polished literature.† The names of those who composed some others are unknown. "Whatever you do," says the father of the Scholastic Theology, "do all for future benefit, in expectation of the eternal recompense: a future, not a present recompense is promised to the saints; in heaven, not on earth, reward is promised to the just. What is to be given elsewhere must not then be expected here. Be dead to the world, and let the world be dead to you. As if dead, look upon the glory of the world; as if buried, be not careful for the world; as if dead, cease from earthly cares. Despise, living, what you cannot possess after death. Study nothing on account of praise, nothing on account of temporal opinion, nothing for the sake of fame, but all things on account of eternal life, which may he grant you who liveth in heaven blessed for ever and ever."‡

What a contrast is here to the spirit of men who do nothing from these supernatural motives, whose writings, alms, and even prayers, are all for the sake of the world; and of whose devotional literature it may be said with truth, that "gainful merchandize is made of Christ throughout the live long day!" The muse of Pindar would perhaps have disdained the sanctuary of the Christian soul, "Who of those that are destined to die would wish to cover in vain an inglorious old age without a name, sitting in darkness ἀπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος."§ This is a darkness in which the holy writers of past ages were willing to sit expecting the manifestation of the Son of God. "Unknown to the world," says Louis de Blois, "they conceal themselves in retreat. Hardly do men without perceive their interior application to the things of heaven, and their conversation so Christian, so heavenly, which they maintain with God; unless, indeed, they be men who have received from heaven the same grace, for they avoid letting appear without any thing extraordinary or singular. In the commerce of life they are gentle, beneficent, and full of sweet humanity; they study to become the most amiable of men, but in such a manner as to preserve themselves pure from all sin; they are full of indulgence for all men. Such are the obscure children of God, who never utter any words but those of humility, and who comport themselves always in all things as if they were worthless, being often disposed even by those who appear externally to have some sanctity."*

Do not these inhabitants of the cloister seem like those of a higher world, to which the poet alludes:

> I might relate of thousands, and their names
> Eternize here on earth; but those elect
> Angels, contented with their love in heav'n,
> Seek not the praise of men.———

Were these writers in the ages of faith deceived in their estimate of the value of human fame? Ah! there are some who seem to think so, though even there were heathen sages who abstractedly made the same.

"Ornat hæc magnitudo animi," says Pliny, "quæ nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam refert."† "Multi famam," he says again, "conscientiam pauci verentur."‡ If fame were not vanity in itself, its capricious and unjust dispensation would prove it worthless. Pliny thought that the verses of Martial would not pass to posterity; "and yet," says the philosopher with an air of deep reflection, "he wrote as if they were to endure to future ages."§ They did endure, and will probably last with the world, while no one knows who were the authors of the two most sublime books that exist, the Poems of Homer and the Book of Job. How many holy wise men are forgotten! how many fools and villains immortalized! Ælian has immortalized the names of several great eaters.‖ How many base calumniators of truth and goodness have we seen rise up whose volumes will descend to the latest posterity with the applause of a blind world, though Justice, if she had a voice on earth, would cry,

> "Cancell'd from heav'n and sacred memory,
> Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell!"

* Olymp. I.
† Card. Bona de Divina Psalmodia, 406.
‡ S. Anselmi Lib. Exhortationum.
§ Olymp. I.

* Louis de Blois, Institution Spirituelle, chap. xii. § 4.
† Epist. Lib. I. 22.
‡ Lib. III. 20.
§ Epist. Lib. III. 21.
‖ Var. Hist.

If we turn now to consider the style of their compositions, we shall find that it corresponds with the motives which induced them to write: their standard seems to be expressed by Raban Maur, where he says, "Magis eligo sanctam rusticitatem, quam eloquentiam peccatricem."* St. Gregory of Tours apologizes for having undertaken to write upon the glory of the confessors, acknowledging that he has no genius or eloquence to qualify him for such a task, and adding, of himself, "whom no worldly boasting hath lifted up to write, but whom shame admonished to be silent, the love and fear of Christ hath impelled to relate these things."† Nothing can be greater than his reluctance to presume to write concerning the miracles of St. Martin: he wishes that Severus or Paulinus were alive to continue their histories; but he is impelled to do it by a vision, and by reflecting that the Saviour of the world chose poor illiterate men for his apostles, and therefore he undertakes the task without being dissuaded by the conviction of his own rusticity.‡ It does not enter into their idea of writing to begin as if constructing a palace, by raising a vestibule of golden columns, and thus making the frontispiece beautiful; to their humble books nothing can be more simple than the entrance. "I have made a little treatise respecting the mode of preparing for a happy death, and I have said something respecting our heavenly country, and also concerning the divinity and the rational creature." It is in this style that Louis de Blois introduces one of his books.§ The prologue to the four books of Sentences, by the celebrated Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Paris, who was known by the title of the Master of the Sentences, begins with these words, "Desiring, with the poor widow, to cast something out of our poverty into the treasury of the Lord, we have presumed beyond our strength, moved by the zeal of the House of God, opposing our faith to the errors of carnal and animal men." Dante alludes to this in describing him in the quire of Paradise:

> Peter, he that with the widow gave
> To Holy Church his treasure.‖

With the same simplicity they allude to the works of their contemporaries. Thus the blessed John of the Cross, director of St. Theresa, says in one of his books, "I leave this matter to some one else more worthy: especially since our blessed Mother, Theresa of Jesus, has written admirably on this subject; and I hope from the Divine goodness that her works will be printed and given to the public before long:" they saw the Divine goodness and they trusted to it in every thing. Petrus Cellensis, Abbot of St. Remy, says, in a letter to a monk of St. Bertine, "You desire to have our letters, which, like useless feathers, are borne in every direction by the four winds of heaven, though you sit at the rich tables of the Augustins and Gregories and Jeromes, the Ambroses and Bedes and Hilaries and Origens, whose crumbs I am not worthy to pick up. If you are pleased with new things behold the works of Master Hugues and St. Bernard, of Master Gilbert and Master Peter, in which neither roses nor lilies are wanting; but our writings have no depth or fertility."* The moderns, who so love moral abstractions in their misguided desire to be spiritual that they would have us to believe them humble, while using the proudest words, will object to these passages, and accuse them of affectation; but yet a natural and unvitiated taste will agree with Pliny where he says, "Nescio quo pacto magis in studiis homines timor quam fiducia decet."† A distinguished professor in the Academy of Paris has lately written a book, and styled himself on the title page "Philosopher." Epictetus would have taught him better, *Μηδαμοῦ σεαυτὸν εἴπῃς φιλόσοφον*.‡ To their humility of style was added that certain tone of deep conviction and stability, amounting even to playfulness, which necessarily belongs to those who are established

> ——— In that holy faith
> Which vanquishes all error.

Thus Petrus Cellensis, the Abbot of St. Remy, writes as follows: "Brother Nicholas, in jesting you have said the truth, when, in allusion to my name, Peter, you have called me a stone, and I grant you it suits me, if you understand constancy and not hardness, for I am by nature and profession, in age and in will, as well as in name, petrine, rocky, rooted and founded in the mountains of the holy authorities, and in the midst of the rocks, where mother Church builds her nest in the clefts and

* De Institutione Clericorum, Lib. III. 27.
† De Gloria Confessorum Præfat.
‡ Epist. Ante, Lib. Miracul. D. Martini.
§ Ludovic Blosius Enchiridion Parvulorum Præfat.
‖ Paradise, X.

* Epist. Lib. VII. 19.
† Epist. Lib. V. 17.
‡ Manuale, cap. xliii.

caverns."* Hence there is often more solid instruction in the mere titles of their works than we could gain from all the frothy contents of modern volumes, which are nothing to the touch but clouds and vapour. Such was that adopted by Rodolphe le Maître in 1635, expressing so much in few words, "Treatise on Catholic Constancy, against the floating errors of this time."† In later times an author would be anxious to add a long list of honourable distinctions to his name; whereas the most learned and illustrious writers of the middle age are contented to sign themselves, like St. Anselm, a monk and a sinner; the title by which St. Peter Damian was distinguished while he dwelt beside the Adriatic, in the house of our blessed Lady, as he reminds Dante on appearing to him in Paradise. It is remarked by Father Lewis of Grenada, that he, "into whose keeping, from the cross, the mighty charge was given," might have called himself an Apostle, a Prophet, an Evangelist, and the son by adoption of the Virgin Mother; but he passes in silence over all these magnificent titles, and calls himself the disciple whom Jesus loved. Thus, in ages of faith, to be his humble disciple was deemed more glorious than to be celebrated as an historian or orator, a poet, a general, or a king.

On the other hand, the chronicles and lives written in the middle ages are simply written, and in an unguarded, artless style which requires a Catholic interpreter. Thus sentences often follow sentences, apparently with but little, or even with a false connection; but here we must not, like the moderns, immediately commence a charge of error, of superstition, or of inhumanity. The author of an amusing history of Grenada, would lead his reader to form an uncharitable opinion of the illustrious Mariana, from his concluding the account of a loss sustained by the Christian army with the words, "but as these latter were chiefly people of low rank, baggage carriers, and such like, the loss was not of great importance." Similar to expressions in Froissart, which have involved him equally in the like charge. But in these instances do not the words merely express the fact? Is not the loss to an army of some great captain greater than that of a private soldier? Mariana is not preaching a sermon, but writing a history; and indeed I

* Epist. Lib. VI. 23.

† Gouget, Biblioth. Françoise. Tom. xv. 367.

do not believe that even this writer, who accuses him, and who is generally so estimable, would maintain that the great historian of Spain required to be taught humanity by the modern philanthropists. In all similar instances, to the page of the monkish chronicles, a closer attention would enable us to discover the writer's goodness and purity of intentions, though a hasty glance at the passage might furnish ground to a modern reader for accusation against him. What Dante sings of higher matters is applicable here:

——— Things oft appear
That minister false matter to our doubts
When their true causes are removed from sight.*

But the fact is that these writers never contemplated the possibility of men so mistaking their meaning, or that these inaccuracies of style would become of consequence. "He founded a monastery, for he was most pious," says a chronicle. So then, will the Robertsons and their followers observe, this was the grand proof of piety! Attend a little, you hasty judge. "For he was most pious, a lover of the poor, and of all that appertained to God." Here the meaning is clear; but frequently the sentence would not have been completed, and thus a ground would have been left open to these suspicious, uncharitable, and over-knowing readers to condemn the holy men of these simple ages. Where they do err it is not the fault of their intention, their language clearly shows this. Thus the monk Richerius, in his Chronicle of Sens, says, "Because I have found little or nothing recorded of the acts of the successors of the blessed Gundelbert, expecting only their names, I have not presumed to add any thing of my own, lest I should be accounted a new author of rumours."† And again he says of the Abbot Magneramnus, "quia nihil plus invenio, nihil scribere possum."‡ Facts that seem contrary to this view should be interpreted, bearing in mind that these books were written for a confined and almost domestic circle of readers, to whom the object and intentions of the writer might be known or transmitted. That love of sacred antiquity which inspired Mabillon went hand in hand, as he declares, with the love of truth.§ Not that in this respect he differed from those who went before him, but that as soon as

* Purg. XXII.

† Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. III.

‡ Id. Lib. IV. 20.

§ Præfat. in 1 Sæcul. Benedictinum.

men could forsee the danger, we find that they took care to provide against it. For others who never contemplated such a result, as Mabillon says of Trithemius and Arnoldus Wion, who first attempted to put in order the history of the great and holy men who followed the rule of St. Benedict, they are to be excused if amidst such difficulties and obscurity they erred sometimes. Yet, continues the great Mabillon, "Imprudent and precipitous admirers," (like those who claim saints that do not belong to their order,) "may be as opposed to truth as unjust calumniators. Unde mihi semper maximæ curæ fuit hunc scopulum vitare, et quamvis eruditione et scientia inferior, nulli tamen sinceritate verique studio cedere umquam sustinebo."*

But there remains to be considered a class of writers who form a distinctive feature of the middle ages, whose lives and labours were especially directed by the view of that beatitude which is promised to the poor in spirit. Louis de Blois, of the ancient house of Blois and of Châtillon, was from childhood a model of piety and virtue; educated at the Court of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles V., the world was always a strange country for him; he had a distaste for pleasure, riches, and grandeur. At the age of fourteen years he renounced the world, and entered into a monastery of Benedictines. At the age of twenty-four he was named to preside over the Abbey of Liesse, which he continued to edify till his death, which happened in 1566, for no persuasions had prevailed upon him to accept the archiepiscopal see of Cambray. The admirable translator of his spiritual guide, in the Preface which he has prefixed, speaks in general of the ascetical writers of the middle age, and says "It is allowable to suppose that these men, or rather these angels on the earth, enlightened within by eternal splendour, refreshed and vivified by that dew of light, of which the Prophet speaks,† have let fall some of its drops in their writings, and that it is less their words which we hear than the very words of God himself. Their thoughts, their language, all bespeak a celestial origin. It is not thus that men speak. Man has not along with so much grandeur, such simplicity; nor with so much love, such peaceful calm. This Divine mixture of innocence and sublimity, of ardour and quiet, is a distinctive character of these ascetical authors; they alone know how to touch and to move the soul profoundly, without causing it to lose its peace. The eloquence of man, all passionate, because addressed to the passions, inflames, exalts, and overwhelms; its strength is in its violence; it is a torrent which, in its course, breaks and carries away hearts; but hear a poor monk speaking of the Saviour Jesus,—his countenance is calm and serene—his words are simple and sweet; and yet hardly has he spoken two words when you feel yourself affected, and you let fall some delicious tears. With means so weak in appearance, how are such wonderful effects produced? To explain this spiritual miracle, it would be necessary to unveil the very foundations of the pious and fervent soul, to enter into the secret of grace, and shew by what concealed ways, by what mysterious channels, it communicates itself, and passes from one heart into another, things almost ineffable, or which but very few men are enabled to know and to reveal; for us, who are but infants in Jesus Christ, we shall confine ourselves to acknowledging here the finger of God, and to adoring in silence his incomprehensible power and his ravishing goodness."

The Greeks had a saying that every man lived as he spoke; and Quinctilian tells us that it used to be said of Cæsar, that he always spoke with the same mind as that with which he conducted war.* The same may be said of these ascetical writers of the middle ages; they wrote as they spent their innocent lives, in the house of God. That ravishing calm, that inexpressible peace which we experience, in reading their writings with a docile faith, and a humble love, place us, as it were, within the very sanctuary of the secluded spot, amidst woods and mountains where monasteries stood. It is as if the noise of the world had died away around us. What are the pleasures of the world compared with these unutterable joys? These books, like the Cantica Canticorum of Solomon, "Seraphic all in fervency," seem to begin with a kiss of peace; they could not have been written by men who studied only the virtue which is known by means of lofty song.† It must have been by men who drew all their science from benign goodness, like St. Dominick, who, when he was asked where he found all the admirable things which he preached to the people,

* Præfat. in 1 Sæcul. Benedictinum.
† Isai. xxvi. 19.

* Instit. Lib. X. 1.
† Pind. Pyth. III.

replied, "in the little book of charity."* Well is discerned,

> How in their intellect already shines
> The light eternal which to view alone
> Ne'er fails to kindle love.†

St. Bernard comments thus upon the words of the Evangelist: "He was a burning and a shining light," &c. and adds, "It is not said shining and burning; because the light of John was from his fervour, not his fervour from his light; for there are some who shine not because they burn, but rather they burn in order that they may shine; these men burn not with the spirit of charity, but with the ardour of vanity."‡ Such men have need of the caution of Antony, of whom Cicero says, "that he never wrote his discourses, that in the event of his own words being opposed to him, he might have it in his power to deny them."§ It was the predominance of such characters among those of his sect, which made Fuller exclaim, "How easy is pen-and-paper piety for one to write religiously!" He would have deemed it writing religiously, to compose books like those we see entitled, "Piety without asceticism," that must be, in other words, how to love both God and the world, and how to avoid the cross, taking up a kind of natural and amiable temper, for which the highest expressions may be found in Plutarch or Seneca. All this, indeed, is easy; but to write like the holy authors of the ages of faith, there must be the solemn and irrevocable will to live like them, in poverty of spirit.

It is this renouncement of intellectual possessions which gives the distinctive character to their writings. Following him, "qui semetipsum exinanivit," through humility, they might have expressed the fervour of their desire to imitate him, in the line of the poet,

> εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ φροῦδός εἰμι πᾶς ἐγώ.‖

"Take from me, O Lord," cries St. Anselm, "if it be thy will, my substance; take from me the members of my body, my hands, my feet, my eyes, only leave me a heart with which I may be able to love thee!" Their highest rapture is derived from beholding some saintly man, and it is only to make an instant offering of it to God, without the least thought of its being made serviceable to answer any proud purpose of their own hearts; unlike that poet, who sang his vision of the future world, and whose unerring style seems for once to fail him, when he says—

> There, on the green enamel of the plain,
> Were shewn me, the great spirits, by whose sight,
> I am exalted in my own esteem.

They knew their wisdom not to be their own, and whatever store they had, freely they ascribed it to the grace of him who had heard their prayer. What a contrast was here to the judgment of all mortal men! if the ancient philosopher has truly described it; for he asks, "Did ever any one thank the gods for being a good man? but was it not only for being rich, for being honoured, for being preserved; for this is the judgment of all mortal men, that fortune is to be sought for from God, but wisdom to be obtained from oneself."*

St. Anselm, in his sublime meditations, prays to God that he may be delivered from that curiosity which desires to know every thing.† To such an extent did these men carry their detachment and humility, taught by the blessed spirits, who, though they see their Maker, yet know not the scope or essence of his mysteries, and "esteem such scantiness of knowledge their delight; for all their good is in that primal good concentrate, and God's will and theirs are one." In a lower respect, their humility was but the natural consequence of their choice, as reason herself can in some sort discern. Thus the ancient sage said, "If you wish to advance, be content to suffer, that you should appear to others senseless and stupid as to external things. Do not wish to seem to know any thing. You must either renounce your resolution or neglect external things."‡ And Seneca complained, that as in every thing else, so also in study of letters, the men of his age were intemperate;§ by which he meant that they were not endowed with real wisdom. "J'ay prens plaisir," says Montaigne, "de veoir en quelque lieu, des hommes par devotion, faire voeu d'ignorance, comme de chasteté de pauvreté, de penitence; c'est aussi chastier nos appetits desordonnez, d'esmousser cette cupidité qui nous espoinçonne à l'estude des livres, et priver l'ame de cette complaisance voluptueuse qui nous chatouille par l'opinion de science; et est richement accomplir le voeu de pauvreté

* Ludovic. Grenad. in Festo B. Dominici, Concio III. † Dante, Parad. V.
‡ In S. Joan. Bapt. Nativ. Serm.
§ Pro Cluentio, 140. ‖ Eurip. Med. 720.

* Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. III.
† Medit. cap. i. § 2. ‡ Epicteti Manuale, cap. xii.
§ Epist. 106.

d'y joindre encore celle de l'esprit."* This must sound very strange to the modern lover of learning, who seeks to fly as a conqueror upon the tongues of men,

"Victorque virum volitare per ora."†

However, such a vow required great simplicity of intention; for with these ancient writers it was not learning, but the pride and spiritual riches consequent upon it, which offended them. Thus Louis of Blois, in giving rules for the direction of studies, says, "Seek not superfluous science and eloquent words, for the kingdom of God consists not in eloquence of language, but in holiness of life. Yet this elegance need not be disdained when it is found, for it is also a gift of God. Receive it then with thanksgiving, and all will be useful to salvation. It is not necessary that you should be able to remember the words, but that you should appropriate to yourself the substance of the doctrine."‡ Nay, by choosing ignorance, they shew that men may be rich in spirit, so as to be examples of spiritual riches or spiritual pride, and of the inordinate false liberty consequent upon it. "With this," they say, "a man supposes that he has no need of learning from books or other instructors; not only he counts them for nothing, but he even derides all rites, institutions, laws, precepts, and sacraments of holy Church, as also all men who use them and attribute aught to them; he concludes that he knows more than all other men, and therefore he always loves to talk and dictate to others, and he will have his sayings alone esteemed, and all other men's words to be regarded as false, or rather to be scorned as ridiculous and absurd."§

St. Jerome had expressly argued against

* Essais, Lib. III. 12. † Georgic. III. 8.
‡ Guide Spirituel, chap. iii.
§ Theologia Germanica, cap. xxiii.

the disparagers of learning, and had said, "venerationi mihi semper fuit, non verbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas."* And, in fact, there are many passages in the ascetical and other writings of the middle age, than which as nothing can be wiser, so also it will be found that nothing can be more eloquent.

Guizot, who, in such a question, is an authority not to be suspected, says of the writers of the middle ages, who recorded the deeds and thoughts of holy men, "If we consider them in a purely literary point of view, we shall find their merit no less brilliant, and no less varied. Nature and simplicity are not wanting in them; they are devoid of affectation, and free from pedantry."† A slight acquaintance with them will, with most minds, generate a distaste for those innumerable books of later times, which bear undoubted signs of having been written by men who were full of themselves, and who, in composing them, were really no otherwise occupied than in worshipping their own miserable image. "Et quia magis eligunt magni esse quam humiles, ideo evanescunt in cogitationibus suis." The very language, all neglected and unpretending as it may be, will please more than that apparelled eloquence, "or rather disguised in a courtezan-like painted affectation, made up of so far-fetched words, that they seem strangers and even monsters in the tongue," with which the writings of so many of the moderns are recommended to the half-learned and superficial public, which is to be amused with sounds and flattered into a conviction of its own wisdom.

Our object at least seems now fulfilled, in having shewn what were the effects of poverty of spirit upon the writings of men in ages of faith.

* Epist. xxxiii.
† Cours d'Hist. Mod. Tom. II. 180.

CHAPTER VII.

THE first beatitude answers also to the mind and state of youth, and this shall be the subject of our next meditation. The justice of this proposition may be inferred from the assurance given by Truth itself, that no one shall in any wise be permitted to enter into the celestial city, unless he approach in this character of yonth : sicut puer*, or velut parvulus :† for there can be no doubt that this testimony in favour of the young had in view the absence of all proud adherence to private judgment, and of all worldly ambition, a readiness to submit to authority, simplicity, and poverty of spirit, which we must therefore admit to be, through a singular grace, generally the inherent and distinctive qualities of the young. Our object here must be to review the character of youth, in reference to these qualities, as exhibited in the history and institutions of the ages of faith. It must be admitted, that many of the wise ancients have left in their writings admirable instructions respecting the education of the young, and the end to which it should be directed. It is curious to remark, that there is hardly any one point on which the opinions of the moderns differ more from those of heathen antiquity, than on this head of the mode and object of edncation. The ancients say that "the essential things in the education of the young, are to teach them to worship the gods, to revere their parents, to honour their elders, to obey the laws, to submit to rulers, to love their friends, to be temperate in refraining from pleasure ;‡ objects, not one of which the moderns would think proper for entering into a philosophic plan of education, since it is notorious that with them the direction of the energies and passions is always exclnded from it. Aristotle, however, says of this direction, "it is not a little matter whether it be in this manner or in that from youth, bnt it is a very great matter, or rather it is every thing, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πᾶν."§ The moderns, again, have determined, practically at least, that the whole of education consists in acquiring knowledge, and that the only subject for deliberation is respecting the mode best calculated to further that end in the shortest time, and with the least possible expenditure. With them, the person who can speak or argue on the greatest nnmber of subjects, with the air of knowing all about each of them, is the best educated. Hence, within the very hallowed walls of the ancient theological schools, have arisen philosophical colleges and universities, which after a time, most parents have been induced to regard with the same eyes as those with which Strepsiades, in the old play, looked npon the school to which he had foolishly sent his son, supposing it to be an admirable academy to teach men all that onght to be known, bnt which he soon regarded very differently, when his son came home to him, and seized a trifling occasion to fly in a passion, and on his remonstrance, proceeded to inflict stripes npon him, his own father; proving, at the same time, that children ought to be allowed to beat their fathers. Then the poet laughs at the poor old man, who is now so changed in opinions, that he is for setting fire to the school-house !* This opinion of the ancients, which identified ednoation with the direction which was given to the passions, will explain the sentence of Socrates, when he says that "the soul departs to Hades, taking nothing along with it but its education and nourishment."†

If we proceed to enquire into their ideas respecting this direction, we shall find that here also they differ totally from the opinions of the moderns. Plato constantly speaks of it as the great object of education to make the young mild and gentle, to tame that savage spirit which he seems sometimes to suppose is natural to them; whereas the moderns generally applaud that system of public education which nourishes what they call a manly spirit, by which a boy is made bold and insolent, and constantly ready to fight, or to contend with any one that offers the smallest opposition to his will, which makes them resemble the son of Strepsiades returning from the school of the Sophists, of whom his father says with joy, "In the first place, I mark tho expression of your

* Luc. xviii. 17. † Marc. x. 15.
‡ Plutarch de Educat. Puer. cap. xix.
§ Ethic. Nicom. II. 1.

* Aristoph. Nubes. † Plato Phædo, 107.

countenance; your face indicates at once that you are prepared to deny and to contradict. Yours is the Attic look, 'Αττικὸν βλέπον."* Hence many of their young men are like those who were disciples of the Sophists, of whom Socrates says, that they were fair and of good natural dispositions, what the moderns would term of polished manners, but insolent through youth, μάλα καλός τε κἀγαθὸς τὴν φύσιν ὅσον μὲν, ὑβριστὴς δὲ διὰ τὸ νέος εἶναι.† To this system Socrates seems to allude, when he says, "What should we say of a breaker-in of horses, asses, or oxen, if, receiving them not addicted to biting, or kicking, or butting with their horns, he should return them, doing all these things through ferocity? Is it not the sign of an evil instructor, whether of a man, or whatever may be the animal under his care, if he should render what was mild and gentle more ferocious than when he received it?"‡

Indeed, Plato has continually in view the necessity of softening and making mild the nature of men, by directing the education of youth to that end. Thus it is shewn in his writings, that music should be instilled into the young with rhythm and harmony, ἵνα ἡμερώτεροί τε ὦσι, καὶ εὐρυθμότεροι καὶ εὐαρμοστότεροι ἡγνόμενοι χρήσιμοι ὦσιν εἰς τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.§ He says, "that man, when he has received a right education, is the most gentle of all creatures, ἡμερώτατον ζῶον, but when not sufficiently, or not well educated, he becomes the most savage that the earth produces, ἀγριώτατον ὁπόσα φύει γῆ."‖ Pindar seems to have had the same opinion of education, in praising that of Demophilus:

> κεῖνος γὰρ ἐν παισὶ νέος,
> ἐν δὲ βουλαῖς πρέσβυς
> ἔμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μισεῖν,
> οὐκ ἐρίζων ἀντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.¶

Such, indeed, was the importance of a similar direction even in heroic times, that Homer, when he represents Ulysses finding himself in a strange country—a circumstance which must then have been of frequent occurrence to many men—makes him express anxiety on no other point but that of ascertaining whether the natives had been trained to gentleness and piety, or were disposed to haughty insolence.

> "Ω μοι ἐγὼ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω;
> ἦ ῥ' οἵγ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι, οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
> ἠὲ φιλόξεινοι, καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;*

This was the Homeric criterion of civilization; and though it does not of necessity comprise a great extension of what is termed knowledge, perhaps it would not suffer much in comparison with the theory of some of the moderns on the same subject; the influence of whose doctrines would often lead a stranger to fear that he was in the neighbourhood of the Cyclops, ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων.

It may be observed also, that the rules given to youth by Plutarch, for conversation, in his Treatise on the manner in which men should hear, approach nearer to the mildness and delicacy of Christian charity, than perhaps any other passage in the heathen writers. He inculcates, what approaches to its modesty, its patience, in attending to others, and in waiting for the voluntary self-corrections of those with whom they converse, and its slowness to contradict and give offence. But all this falls very short, and, indeed, can yield not the slightest idea of the effects of education upon the young in the ages of faith, when the Catholic religion formed its basis, and directed the whole system in all its objects, manners, and details; and to make the truth of this observation apparent, I shall proceed to adduce instances from the histories of the period, and to suggest the conclusions which necessarily must be drawn from other passages of ancient writings which relate to this subject; reserving, however, for a future place, what belongs immediately to the discipline of the great institutions of the middle age, schools, and colleges, since it is only with the disposition and character of youth as resulting from it, that we are at present concerned.

In the delightful and instructive memorials which have reached us of the lives of men in ages of faith, there is no part more refreshing, and, as contrasted with the present scenes around us, more curious, than that in which is described the manners of the young, the flight of innocent wings, the elevation of the youthful heart to God. This will best be understood by giving examples, the force of which will consist in taking them collectively.

St. Boniface, writing the life and martyrdom of St. Livinus, describes his education and early life as follows: "This boy

* Aristoph. Nubes, 1171.
† Plato, Euthydemus.
‡ Plato, Gorgias.
§ Protagoras.
‖ De Legibus, Lib. VI.
¶ Pyth. Od. IV. vide etiam Isocrat. Panegyr.

* Od. VI. 119.

of excellent disposition, and adorned with many divine gifts—distinguished hy the spirit of humility, and engaged in admirable contemplation of the fnture state—ehose the contemplative life, according to the law of ecclesiastical discipline, and lived with the blessed Benign, a priest of Scottish nation, a man of lofty hlood as to nobility, hnt conspicuous by the still more lofty illustration of holy virtnes. Seeking to be instructed hy him in the melody of psalms, and in the mellifinons readings of the holy Gospels, and in other divine exercises, his tender age was conformed to his likeness, so that, as if in a wide garden of paradisiacal beanty, he walked from day to day, and hy the degrees of virtue, passed into glory. The subtilty of his intelligence was wonderfully developed, so that, by the co-operation of divine grace, he found no difficulty in the study of so many divine things, and in the application of the examples of the jnst."*

If some of the instances that follow refer to an age which might seem too tender to merit consideration, it must be remembered that the mind even of infants was trained to piety. "The soul of the child," says St. Jerome, "is to be edncated with a view to its becoming a temple of God. It should hear nothing hut what pertains to the fear of God. Let there be letters of ivory," he continnes, "with which it may play, and let its play be instruction. No learned man or nohle virgin should disdain to take charge of its edncation."† Children, as he says, were to learn to chant the Psalms, and at seven years of age should know the Psalter hy heart; hnt as for the songs of the world, they were not to know them. In the same Epistle, on the education of an infant, there is something added abont frolic, and hanging on its mother's neck, and kissing friends; but there is no mention, as with the moderns, of infants being taught to sing the dednctions of arithmetic. Many pions customs observed with children, which do not even want the recommendation of a high degree of poetic grace, will shew the care with which their spiritnal interests were attended to in these ages. Thus an Irish monk of the twelfth century relates of St. Patrick—"And a certain woman who was strong in the faith, hrought unto the saint her little son, named Lananus, to be instructed in letters; and as she believed that his blessing would render the ehild more docile and ready nnto learning, humbly she besought on her son the benediction of his grace; and he signed the boy with the cross, and delivered him to St. Cassanus, that he might he instructed in virtne and learning. And the boy soon learned the whole Psalter, and afterwards became a man of most holy life." The piety of children, therefore, nnder the inflnence of this faith, may be entitled to our regard. "Every age is perfect in Christ," as St. Ambrose says, adding "that even children have confessed Jesus against persecntors."*

These observations will have prepared ns to feel the beanty of the examples following. Thns of St. Blier we read, that while a child, he gave admirable signs of piety and grace. Nothing could be imagined more sweet, benign, gentle, and agreeable, than his whole manner: he seemed like a little angel in hnman flesh, who nsed to pray devontly, visit holy places, converse with saints, and obey the commandments of God with the ntmost diligence.† Christine de Pisan says of Louis duc d'Orleans, son of King Charles V. that the first words which were taught him were his Ave-Maria, and that it was a sweet thing to hear him say it, kneeling with his little hands joined before the image of our lady, and that thus early he learned to serve God, which he continned to do all his life.‡ The loyal servant who wrote the life of Bayart, says also, "However yonng the child was, the first thing that he used to do, as soon as he was risen, was to serve God."§ And Dante, in the Paradise, commemorating the youthful graces of St. Dominic, says of him,

> Many a time his nurse at entering found
> That he had risen in silence, and was prostrate,
> As who should say, "My errand was for this."‖

Snch children were regarded with a kind of reverence, as representing the infant Jesus, and all their little sufferings, sanctified hy reference to his, were proposed as a subject of instruction to men. Thus St. Bonaventura says, "Behold and meditate how the Lord, in the person of the infant Jesus, experienced things prosperous and adverse; and therefore, be not impatient when you find the valley near the moun-

* Page 238.
† St. Hieronymi Epist. LVII. ad Lætam.

* Epist. XXX.
† Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes p. 170.
‡ Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du sage Roy Charles V. Liv. II. chap. xvi.
§ La Tres Joyeuse Hystoire, &c. Chap. xi.
‖ Canto XII.

tain. For behold, in his nativity, Christ is magnified hy the shepherds as God; and soon after his birth he is circumcised as a sinner. Then came the magi to worship him, and again he remained in the stable weeping, like any child of man. Afterwards he is presented in the temple, and extolled by Simeon and Anna; and now it is revealed hy an angel, that he must fly into Egypt."*

From the age succeeding childhood, we have an example in the life of St. Peter Damian, hy Joannes Monachus; for he relates that Peter, when a little boy, happened one day to find some money, and, as if suddenly enriched, he began to rejoice, and to ask himself what he should hny with it. After revolving this matter for a long time, at length he said, "It is better to give it to a priest, who may offer sacrifice to God for my dead father." The same motive which made the child an object of reverence, continned to secure respect and tenderness for the boy. St. Bonaventura, in his Meditations on the life of Christ, and Sermons on the festivals of the infant Jesus, will shew what tenderness for yonth was entertained by holy men, from an especial regard to the sufferings of Jesus, in that age; and his reflections on this suhject will serve more, perhaps, than any other passage that could be produced, to give an idea of the beautiful halo which was thrown around it hy the spirit of religion. "The angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying that he should fly with the child Jesus and his mother into Egypt. So Joseph, without delay, informs the mother, who is all obedience and zeal to save the life of the child, and they set out in the night to go into Egypt. See and meditate on what is said, and how they raise the sleeping child Jesus, and feel compassion for them, for then the trihulation of the mother and Joseph was great, when they fonnd that there was a design against the life of the child: for what conld they hear more grievous, since, though they knew that he was the Son of God, yet throngh their sensuality they might be troubled, and say, 'Lord God Omnipotent, what need is there that thy Son should fly? Can yon not defend him here?' Moreover, there was trihulation from the length of the journey before them, and their ignorance of the way through rough places, and from their being hut ill able to travel; from the youth of Mary, and the old age of Joseph; and the infancy of the child which they had to carry; and they would have to dwell in a foreign land as poor people, having nothing—for all these are matter of affliction. Consider the benignity here shewn, how soon he suffers persecution, and how he yields to the fury of men, and refuses to attack in his turn. The Lord flies before the face of his servant. They fly into Egypt by a way woody and dark, rough and solitary, and very long. For them it was a journey of about two months or more. How did they procure food and lodgings for the nights? for rarely did they find houses in that desert. Compassionate them—because the labour was difficult, and great, and long—and go with them, and help to carry the child, and serve them in every way that yon can imagine. Now let us behold them arrived; and here will be another ground of meditation. For how did they live dnring all this time? Did they beg? The mother earned what was needful hy spinning; and when the child was five years old, did he not often carry her work for sale? and perhaps at times some proud and loquacions woman would take the work, and send him away empty, without the price. Oh what injuries await strangers; and the Lord is come, not to avoid, but to endure them! What, and if returning home, and having hunger, after the manner of little boys, he asked for bread, and his mother had none to give him? Mnst not her bowels have yearned at this? Bnt she consoled her son, and procured work, and perchance deprived herself of part of her food, that she might reserve it for him. On these and similar things you can meditate respecting the boy Jesus. I have given you the occasion—do yon extend and pursue it, and make yourself little with the little boy Jesus—and do not disdain such humble and pnerile things. For they seem to give devotion, to increase love, to kindle fervour, to excite compassion, to confer purity and simplicity, to nourish the vigour of humility and poverty, to preserve familiarity, to make conformity, and to raise hope. For we cannot ascend to sublime things; hut the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and such meditations cut off pride and weaken cupidity, and confonnd curiosity. Therefore, I say, be little with the little, and grow tall with him, as he grows in stature, and always follow him whithersoever he goes, and always behold his face.

"At the end of seven years, the angel of

* Meditationes Vitæ Christi, Cap. xii.

the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, 'Take the boy and his mother and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead who sought the life of the boy.' Now let us meditate on this return of our Lord, for it is full of pious fruit. Let us suppose ourselves in Egypt, for the sake of visiting the boy Jesus, whom you will find, perhaps amongst other boys; and he seeing you, will come up to you, because he is benign and affable, and courteous; but you bending a knee will kiss his feet, and receive him in your arms and rest with him. Then, perhaps, he will say to you, We have leave given us to return home to our country, and to-morrow we are to set out from hence; and you will answer joyfully that you are glad of it, and that you are to go with him wherever he may go, and with such words be delighted with him. And then he will lead you to his mother, who will receive you with courtesy; and you bending a knee will shew her reverence, and also St. Joseph, and you will rest with them. The next morning you will see some good matrons of the city, and also some men coming to see them set off, and following them without the gate of the city, on account of their amiable and holy conversation; and from their having talked of their journey some days before. So they walk on, and Joseph, with the men, goes first, and our lady follows from a distance with the matrons. But do you take the boy by the hand, and walk in the midst before the mother, for she does not wish him to be after her. And when they have passed the outer gate, Joseph will not allow the rest to follow them any longer. Then some one of the richer sort, pitying their poverty, calls the boy to give him some pieces of money towards the expense of the journey, and the boy is ashamed to take it; yet through the love of poverty he prepares his hand, takes the money, and returns thanks; many of the friends do the same: the mother is called by the matrons, and they do the same. Nor has the mother less shame than her son, albeit humbly she thanks them. At length, thanking them all, they wish them farewell, and proceed on their journey. But how is the boy Jesus to return, who is still but a tender child? It seems to me that the return is more difficult than the first coming; for when he came into Egypt, he was so little that he was carried: but now he is so big that he cannot be carried, and yet he is so little, that he cannot go by himself. Perchance some one of these good men accommodated him with an ass, upon which he might go. O admirable and delicate boy, King of heaven and earth! how thou hast laboured for us, and how soon thou didst begin! well did the prophet predict in your person, 'Pauper sum ego et in laboribus a juventute mea.' Great poverty, arduous labours, and afflictions of body, thou didst constantly assume, and thou hadst thyself, as if in hatred, for the love of us. Certes this single labour ought to have been enough for our redemption. Take, then, the boy Jesus, and place him upon the ass, and lead him faithfully, and when he wishes to alight take him joyfully in your arms, and let him wait for his mother, and then he will go to his mother, and she will have consolation in receiving him. So they travel onwards, and then pass through the desert by which they came, and during that journey, you may often compassionate them, having so little rest; and behold them fatigued and spent with labour by night as well as by day. And when they were near the end of the desert, they found John the Baptist, who there was doing penance, though he had done no sin. It is said that the place of the Jordan where John baptized, was the same as that where the children of Israel passed when they came from Egypt; therefore it is probable that the boy Jesus, in returning found him there. Meditate, then, in what manner he received them, and how they tarried a little with him, and did eat with him of his raw fare, and at length took leave of him spiritually refreshed. Do you also, in advancing and retiring from him, bend the knee to John, kissing his feet, and asking his blessing, and commending yourself to him: for that boy was excellent and wonderful from his cradle; for he was the first hermit; he was a most pure virgin, and the greatest preacher, and was more than a prophet, and was also a glorious martyr. And thence Joseph passed into Galilee to Nazareth. And when the child was twelve years old he went up to Jerusalem with his parents, still going through labours; and he went to honour his heavenly Father in his festivals, and so he stood observing the law, and conversing humbly along with others, as if he had been only any other poor little boy. And when the days were accomplished his parents returned, and he tarried in Jerusalem.

"And now attend well, for you will be shewn a devout and fruitful matter. Naza-

reth was distant about fourteen or fifteen miles from Jerusalem, so when the mother and Joseph, returning by different roads, had reached the place where they were to lodge, it being late, our lady seeing Joseph without the boy, whom she believed had been accompanying him, she asked him, where is the boy? And he replied, I know not; he did not return with me, for I thought he had returned with you. Then she burst into tears, and said, he did not return with me. I see that I have not well guarded my child, and so immediately, that is, as quickly as might accord with decent grace, she went about to all the houses, asking for him and saying, have you seen my son, did you not see my son; and scarcely through grief and ardour did she feel her desire. Joseph followed her in tears. Not finding him, you can judge what rest that mother had. And though encouraged by her acquaintances, she could not be comforted. For what was it to lose Jesus? Behold her, and compassionate her, because her soul is in straits; never since her birth had she been in such. Let us not, then, be disturbed when we suffer tribulation, since the Lord did not spare his mother; for he permits them to come, and they are signs of his love, and it is good for us to have them. At length, our lady, shutting herself in her chamber, had recourse to prayer and complaint, saying, 'O God and eternal Father, most clement and benign, it was your pleasure to give me your Son; but lo! I have lost him, and I know not where he is. Give him back to me. O Father, take away my bitterness, and shew me my son; have regard to the affliction of my heart, and not to my negligence; I was imprudent, but I did it ignorantly; but give him back to me, for without him I cannot live. O dearest child, where are you? what is become of you? with whom are you? Are you returned to your father who is in heaven? I know that you are God, and the Son of God, but how, would you not have told me? O say where you are that I may go to you, or that you may come to me. It is but a moment since I have been without you, and I know not how it has happened. Never since you were born was I before alone.' With such words did the mother mourn all the night for her dearest son. Early the next morning they sought for him through all the ways, for there were many ways of returning, as if he that would go from Sienna to Pisa, might go by Podium Bonichi, or by Celle, or by other places. On the third day they found him in Jerusalem, in the temple, in the midst of the doctors. Then she rejoiced as if she had been restored to new life, and bent her knee, and thanked God with tears. But the boy Jesus seeing his mother, came up to her, and she received him in open arms and kissed him, and put face to face, and holding him to her bosom, remained without moving for a short time, because through tenderness she could not then speak. At last, looking on him, she said, Son, what hast thou done? thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he, wherefore didst thou seek me, knewest thou not that I must needs be about my Father's business? But they understood not his words; therefore his mother said to him, Son, I wish to return home, will you not return with us? And he, I will do what you please; and he returned with them to Nazareth.

"You have seen the affliction of the mother; but what was the boy doing during these three days? Mark him attentively. He took up his lodging with some poor people; himself poor. See him sitting among the doctors, with a countenance placid, wise, and reverend, hearing them and asking them, as if he was ignorant; which he did through humility, and lest he should make them feel ashamed by his wonderful answers. But you must consider here three things very remarkable. First, that he who wishes to adhere to God, ought not to have his conversation with his relations, but to depart from among them; for the boy Jesus dismissed his beloved mother from him when he wished to be about his Father's business, and afterwards he was sought for among his relations and acquaintances, and was not found. Secondly, that he who would live spiritually ought not to wonder, if he should be sometimes left by God, since this happened to the mother of God. Let him not, therefore, despond, but diligently seek him in holy meditations, and persevering in good works, and he will find him again. Thirdly, that he ought not to follow his own will; for when the Lord Jesus said, that he must needs be about his Father's business, he changed his mind and followed the will of his mother, and departed with her, and was subject to her. On his return, then, from the Temple and from Jerusalem, he lived with his parents in Nazareth, and was subject to them till the thirtieth year of his age. What do we suppose he was doing during this time?

It is not said in the Scriptures that he did any thing which seemed wondrous. What do we suppose he did? Was he unemployed, that the Scriptures should have recorded no action of his then? It seems altogether amazing; but mark well, and you will perceive that doing nothing he did things magnificent; for none of his actions are without mystery. But as he laboured virtuously, so he kept silence, he remained quiet, and withdrew himself. He went to the synagogue, that is, to the church; he prayed in a humble place, he returned home; he assisted his mother; he passed and returned amidst men as if he did not see men. All were surprised that so comely a youth should do nothing worthy of praise; they expected that he would do magnificent things, for when a boy, he grew in favour with God and men; but growing up, and advancing to thirty years of age, he did nothing remarkable or manly: they began to deride him—he is a useless fellow—good for nothing—a fool. You see, then, what he did while doing nothing: he became abject in the eyes of others. But does this seem little to you? Certainly in all our works this is the most difficult; for he has reached the highest grade of perfection, who, from his heart, and with a mind not feigned, has conquered himself and subdued the pride of the flesh, and is willing to be despised. Greater is that man than he who has conquered a city. Consider, therefore, that you have done nothing until you have effected this; for we are in truth all unprofitable servants, and until we are in this mind, we are not in truth, but we walk in vanity.

"But let us return to a view of the life of our great pattern, our Lord Jesus. Consider, therefore, the poverty and humble state of that blessed family, the mother working with her hands, and the son endeavouring, as far as he was able, to assist her, for he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. So you may consider him arranging the table, and fulfilling all kinds of offices; see how the three eat at one little table every day, and partake not of exquisite fare, but of the commonest and vilest; and consider how holily they conversed together, and how, after some little recreation, they applied themselves to prayer, having no place to meditate but by their beds, for it was but a small house; and consider our Lord Jesus composing himself to sleep upon a poor bed on the floor, as if one of the poorest sons of the people. O hidden God, wherefore dost thou afflict that innocent body, for the travel of one night ought to have sufficed to redeem the world. Immense love impelled him to this, the fervour of zeal for the lost sheep which he was to carry back to the celestial pastures. Where, then, are they who seek their bodily ease, with curious and varied ornaments? We who desire such things have not been taught in the school of this master; and yet he is the highest master, who neither wished to deceive nor who could be deceived.

"Having thus completed the twenty-ninth year of his age, our Lord said to his mother, "It is time that I depart to glorify and make manifest my Father, and work the salvation of souls, for to this end was I sent. Be comforted, good mother, for I shall soon return to you;" and, bending his knee, he besought her blessing, and she similarly bending, with tears embraced him. So he departed and took the road from Nazareth to Jordan, where John was baptizing. But the Lord of the world goes alone, for as yet he had no disciples. Behold him, then, how he goes alone diligently for God, bare-footed, on so long a journey. O Lord, whither goest thou? Art thou not above all the kings of the earth? O Lord, where are thy barons and counts, dukes and soldiers, horses and camels, elephants and chariots, servants and officers? Where are they who may encompass and defend you from sudden attacks, according to the custom of other kings and great men? Where are the blast of trumpets, and the sound of instruments, and the royal banners? Where are they who go before to provide what is needful? Where the honours and pomps which we worms use? Are not the heavens and earth, O Lord, full of thy glory? Do not thousands of thousands minister to thee in thy kingdom? Why, then, goest thou alone thus beating the earth with bare feet? I think the cause must be, that you are not in your kingdom, for your kingdom is not in this world; you have humbled yourself, taking the form of a servant; you are made one of us, a pilgrim and a stranger, as all our fathers were, and this in order that we may be kings. But why do we neglect such an example? why do we not follow you? why not humble ourselves? why seek for pomps and honours? Certainly because our kingdom is of this world, and we do not consider ourselves strangers. O vain children of men, why do we thus studiously embrace vanity for truth, perishable things for what are secure, and temporal for eternal?"*

* St. Bonaventura, Meditationes Vitæ Christi.

The whole spirit of the middle ages, seems to have been infused into this beautiful meditation of St. Bonaventura. Here are expressed almost in painting, their affectionate piety, their intense interest in all that relates to our Saviour and his blessed mother, their sublime sense of the wondrous mysteries of faith; and, on the other hand, their tender humanity, their sweet simplicity, their innocent and holy manners. Moreover, in especial reference to the present purpose, it furnishes us with the model and type of the youthful character in these ages, illustrating also the grace and dignity with which it was invested in the eyes of men, from a consideration of its being a period of the human life, peculiarly sanctified by the patience and sufferings of Jesus. "Qui susceperit unum parvulum talem in nomine meo, me suscepit." Who could enumerate or imagine all the kind, affectionate things, which used to be said and done to poor little innocents from the remembrance of this one sentence! It is related of St. Felix Valois, of that royal house of France, who gave proofs of great piety and charity, while a child, that, in his early youth, he used to select the choicest dishes which were placed on the table, and send them to the poor; and the Church, in her office, does not disdain to add, that he used to recreate poor little boys with nice food, pauperculos pueros recreabat. This was he of whom we also read, that when grown up to youth, he more than once gave the clothes off his person to clothe the needy; and who, afterwards, in order to avoid succeeding to the crown of France, to which he had a title by the Salic law, became a priest. It was even deemed worthy of record in a monastic chronicle, that a certain holy monk of Villars, named Godfrey, used to go into the orchard, and whatever fruit he could gather, would hasten with them to the poor children for their refreshment.*

The old writers love to dwell upon the description of this age. Thus the young Archduke Leopold of Austria is described as having the looks as well as the innocence of an angel; and it is said that the mere sight of him in the church used to inspire people with devotion.† The young St. Francis Regis, while at college at Puy, was known to all the inhabitants of the town under the title of the Angel of the College.* There might have been seen a young nobleman, a modest novice in a religious order, employed in collecting the poor little boys of a town and explaining to them the Christian doctrine. What school of ancient philosophy ever conceived any thing like this?

The exquisite grace with which the old Italian painters represented the youthful form in the angelic character, could only be the result of having beheld living models imbued with that grace and celestial sweetness which the Catholic religion is capable of yielding to the human countenance. Witness the picture by Francesco Albani, of the school of Bologna, of the Repose in Egypt, which is in the gallery of the Louvre at Paris, where two angels, as youths, are offering fruits and flowers to the infant Jesus, whom they regard with an expression of the utmost interest, of innocent curiosity and child-like love, as he plays on the knees of his mother; a picture which seems to breathe perfume, and which might have inspired Tasso in his beautiful description of the gentle Gabriel when he is sent to Godfrey.

A stripling seem'd he thrice five winters old,
And radiant beams adorn'd his locks of gold.
Of silver wings he took a shining pair,
  Fringed with gold, unwearied, nimble, swift,
With these he parts the winds, the clouds, the air,
  And over seas and earth himself doth lift,
Thus clad, he cut the spheres and circles fair,
  And the pure skies with sacred feathers clift;
On Lebanon at first his foot he set,
And shook his wings with rosy May-dew wet.†

Men were impressed with such a sense of the respect due to youthful piety, that even the title of martyr used to be granted to such young persons as met with death from the hands of unjust men. Thus St. Kenelm was regarded as a martyr, though all that is related of his death is as follows: "Ingulphus, abbot of Crowland, says that St. Kenelm was the son of Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, and a great benefactor to the monastery of Crowland, which had been lately founded by King Ethalbald. Kenelm was left heir to the crown in his seventh year; he was enticed into a wood by the craft of Quendreda, and it being late in the evening that most innocent boy was cruelly martyred by Ascebert, his tutor." William of Malmesbury indeed supposes that such men as St. Dunstan would never have allowed Kenelm or Egel-

* Hist. Monasterii. Villariensis. Lib. II. cap. viii. apud Martinl Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. iii.

† Les Vertus de Leopold d'Autriche, par Avancin, 13.

* Vie de St. François Regis, p. 16.

† Book I. 14.

brith to be venerated as martyrs unless God had confirmed their title by miracles;* but devout people were willing at all times to have recourse to the holiness of youth as possessing a grace that was self-evident. Thus, in the church of St. Hilary at Paris, there was the tomb of a young student of the college of Harcourt, called Louis Pelet: his death was stated to have taken place in the year 1747, without mention of the month or day, but the inscription was terminated with these words, "Sancte puer, ora pro nobis."†

In like manner all the sufferings of that age were regarded with great tenderness, and inspired somewhat of reverence. In our times, the young English students in the distant schools of Spain and Portugal used to be regarded with wonderful interest by the devout people of those lands who commiserated their condition in being sent so far from their country. It used to be a common opinion with the captains of vessels from England to Bilboa, that it was a good pledge for them when they had on board an English student for Valadolid. On one occasion of a storm in the Bay of Bisquai, the captain hearing that a certain youth was one of these students going thither, became quite cheerful and composed, observing, that since this student was on board they had nothing to fear. Generally too, on the death of young persons, it was obvious, that in certain minor customs established by the Church, it was her intention to indicate her sense of the peculiar innocence and purity which belonged to that age. But to proceed. The young who were in the walks of secular life became subject to the prevailing influence of chivalry, and in this respect the duties of their condition were enforced with a systematic attention to the preservation of innocence and humility. Homer makes Minerva address Telemachus in a style the converse of that which is adopted by the modern guides of youth, though similar to that which was common in Christian ages: she says to him, "Few sons are like their fathers; the greatest number are worse, and but very few better."‡ The young were willing to admit the justice of the ancient sentence, "In antiquis est sapientia, et in multo tempore prudentia." To respect age and every superior rank, and to be gracious and kind to inferiors, were duties from the observance of which the natural benevolence of youth was not prevented by any false theory of sophists or conventional rules of society. As for public and political affairs, even Socrates, though such a friend to the young, says that they are never qualified to take a part in them; and he alleges as a reason, that they admire and will follow any artful intriguer who may pursue his private ends under a specious show of virtue, whom good men will hate and fly from.* Aristotle also denies that young men can have political wisdom: "they can be geometricians and mathematicians, but not wise statesmen; for it is experience alone and length of age which can give political wisdom."† With respect to reverence for age and kindness towards inferiors, we have abundant testimony to the disposition of the young during ages of faith. Elin, who does not presume to speak to Joh before his elder friends, might be taken to represent them in the former respect; and an instance of the latter kind may be seen in what is related of St. Martin, for when a youth, being forced to go to the wars along with the other sons of old soldiers whom the emperor Constantius commanded to be enrolled, he was sent by his father with a servant to wait upon him; the young Martin, however, treated him not like a servant but like a companion, serving him as much as he was served by him, pulling off his boots, cleaning his clothes, and serving him at table.‡ Indeed, by the laws of chivalry, youth was trained to such services, and in this respect it was retained in that condition alluded to by St. Paul when he says, "Dico autem quanto tempore hæres parvulus est, nihil differt à servo cum sit dominus omnium."§ It was also a maxim of religion, expressly inculcated, that young people should be obliging, willing to serve, doing readily the duty which presents itself, and helping also a servant in his work as occasion may require.|| The remark of the cautious and selfish Cardan on this point is amusing: "Boys," he says, "are much better for your service than men, 'pueri sunt in omnibus, (prꝥterquam gravibus) ministeriis, viris meliores; quia magis assidui, prompti, diligentes, obedientes, mundi, minoris sumtus; et verberari possunt.'"¶ But on the

* De Gest. Pontif. Anglic. Lib. V.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. chap. v.
‡ Od. II. 276.

* De Repub. Lib. VIII.
† Ethic. Lib. VI. cap. viii.
‡ Ribadeneira, Lives of the Saints, Novem. X.
§ Ad Galat. IV.
|| Christian Instructions for Youth, p. 10.
¶ Prudentia Civilis, cap. xxxix.

other hand, while youth was maintained in its proper degree of subordination, there was no concealment of the real benefits which an attention to its disposition might yield even to men of mature wisdom. There would have been wise men to agree with Plato without his implied censure where he says, "The old men, sitting with the young, are filled with cheerfulness and grace of manner, imitating the young that they may not seem disagreeable and imperious."* Sir Henry Sidney says, in advice to his son Robert, "In your travels seek the knowledge of the estate of every prince, court, and city that you pass through. Address yourself to the company to learn this of the elder sort, and yet neglect not the younger: by the one you shall gather learning, wisdom, and knowledge, by the other acquaintance, languages, and exercise," an advantage so feelingly appreciated by the bard of chivalry in the simple lines—

And much I miss those sportive boys
Companions of my river joys,
Just at the age 'twixt boy and youth,
When thought is speech and speech is truth.

St. Bernard begins his letter to a young man named Fulco, saying, "Inde lætari in adolescentia unde in senectute non pœniteat."† Under this direction there was nothing condemned or despised by the men of these ages in the simple pleasures of youth. Perhaps they too, at whose feet now sat disciples, were once the nimblest of the jocund band, used, long as it suited the unripened down that fledged their cheek, to be the foremost in every wild adventurous game, used to ply the hearty oar, to head the mimic chase, to sing, swimming, to the sound of the broken rushes, and each would now apply the poet's description to himself—

It was then that around me, though poor and unknown,
High spells of mysterious enchantment were thrown;
The streams were of silver, of diamond the dew,
The land was an Eden, for fancy was new.

Their wisdom would have approved of Heraclitus, when, after resigning the government of his city, which was torn with factions, and being found playing with some boys in a porch, he asked those who wondered at him, whether it was not better to play with such boys than govern such men? The writers of the middle ages indicate continually how deeply they can feel, from the purity and simplicity of their lives, the beauty of whatever belongs to the innocent joys of nature. Without any gloomy reflection on their own advanced progress in the human course, they love to describe the sportive raptures of the young. "Youth's smiling morn," they say, "enjoys a beautiful horizon; that magic distance is wondrous fair, so long as the soul has never been soiled by the world's base affection." The good abbot Desnay gave the money for Bayart's horses to his companion Bellabre, saying of the young page, "Car il a encore la barbe trop jeune pour manyer deniers."* Here was assuredly a happy privilege, and one which the spirit of "the scholastic romantic ages" then secured for the young! Theirs was but one sentiment, "Bref. c'est un diablerie quant avarice precede l'honneur."† The selfish prudence of Cardan saw clearly the distinctive quality of the young in this respect, and was for turning it to account. "To retain boys or youths to serve you well," he says, "it is necessary that they be excited either to wisdom or to music, or to conjunctions for the sake of play, or to huntings, for with such things you will command them, viros detinebis stipendiis."‡

The dexterous ingenuity of youth was often employed by holy persons to facilitate the success of their charitable and saintly labours. An amusing instance of this kind is related by St. Theresa. While she was at Toledo, in great difficulties, and at a loss to find a house in which to establish the convent she intended to found; "One day," she says, "there came up to me a young man named Andrada, who said that he had been sent to me by his father confessor, a Franciscan, named father Martin of the Cross, who was aware of all our difficulties. He came up to me in a church, where I was hearing mass, to offer me all the service in his power, which, however, could not exceed that of his personal labour. I thanked him; and my companions, as well as myself, were somewhat amused to think that this holy man should have sent us such an assistance, because the young man did not appear to me to be exactly the person proper to treat with barefooted Carmelites. Some time after, when I received permission to make the foundation, but still had

* De Repub. VIII.

† Epist. II.

* La tres joyeuse, plaisante et recreative hystoire des faicts, gestes, triomphes et prouesses du bon chevalier, sans paeur et sans reprouche, le gentil Seigneur de Bayart. Chap. vii.

† Ibid. Chap. xxvi. ‡ Prudentia Civilis, Chap. xxxix.

no assistance, and being greatly at a loss, I began to call to mind this young man, and I spoke of him to my companions; but they could not help laughing, and bid me have a care how I trusted him, for he would only disclose our secret. Nevertheless, as he had been sent to me by a great servant of God, I determined to send for him. After charging him to be very discreet, I asked him if he thought he could hire a house for us in Toledo? Without an instant's hesitation, he engaged to do it, with great joy, and, in fact, the next morning he came to me in the church of the Jesuits, and told me he had hired a house close to ours, and that he had brought the keys in his pocket. We found, upon trial, that it suited our purpose perfectly, and there we established ourselves. Now how strange was all this! Here had been rich and important people, giving themselves constant trouble, for two or three months, to seek a house for us, without being able to find one in all Toledo, and this young man, who has nothing but his good-will, procures us one immediately!"*

During these ages, the condition of youth in secular life, with respect to happiness, has struck the imagination even of modern writers; one of whom says,—"If there be any thing, indeed, in the poetry of old romance, in which we may indulge, as a true picture of chivalrous delight, it is in its representations of the pleasures of a young and noble squire, occupied incessantly in some pursuit that added to the graces of his person, or to his hilarity of feeling: he had the brightest visions that hope could possibly possess." And in the same page, he is obliged to record, that this happy youth was taught to avoid pride, anger, envy, idleness, gluttony, and luxury; to keep the commandments inviolably; to treasure in his heart the XII articles of faith; to exercise the VII principal virtues, in contradistinction to the VII mortal sins, and to perform the VII works of spiritual mercy, in saving people from error, as well as the VII works of corporal mercy, which embraced all works of charity done to the body. So far this writer. In fact, the habit once acquired of directing the intention to the glory of God, according to the spirit of these ages, every thing in the life of men was sanctified, and even the joys and triumphs of youth were enhanced, as well as rendered innocent; for the extinction of selfishness rendered joy and triumph pure and glorious to the heart. Religion to them was fidelity, obedience, chivalry; and all the noble and joyous sentiments of nature were cherished. In the lowest, as well as in the highest dignity, to be the servants of the servant of God was the great object of this spiritualized and refined ambition. The youth was happy and innocent, even amidst the pomp and exultation of his moments of triumph; for all his grace and glory were to impress the minds of others with a sense of the dignity and importance of his master, who was himself the minister of Divine Providence, to maintain the order and felicity of the holy state of a Christian people. In himself he was nothing; his heart was never for an instant directed to his own selfish interests, for his interests were all lapsed into those of his order, of his fellow Christians, of his God. How beautifully is this shewn in the expression which occurs in Perceforest, where there is a description of a young man being knighted: "Now said the king, it only remains that I give you the accolade, which I am willing to do; but you must first promise me, that you will above all things, honour God, who made heaven and earth. After that you must swear to follow the lessons and doctrines which have just been given you. Then answered the youth, his eyes being tearful with devout thoughts, 'this I have promised to do.'" Here is an admirable trait of nature. Men now say, "thoughtless youth;" whereas in fact, youth runs wild in superabundance of thought, and it was to give this culture and direction that the various parts of Catholic discipline were framed and exercised.

The description which Christine de Pisan gives of Louis duc de Bourbon, fourth brother of king Charles V., in his youth, is peculiarly interesting, from her continuing to shew how his character, in after life, was affected by his early manners. She says, "he was a vessel of all goodness, clemency, benignity, and sweetness. En sa juenece fu prince bel, joyeux festoyant et de hounorable amour amoureux et sans pechié: joyeux gentil en ses manieres, benigne en parolles, large en dons, d'accueil si gracieux que tiroit à luy amer princes, princesses, chevaliers, nobles, et toutes gens qui le veoyent; but when this good duke came to maturer years, all this joyous and innocent youth turned into sense and moderation, good counsel, devotion, and constancy, and though his manners were always praiseworthy, yet now

* Foundation at Toledo.

the degrees of his virtue increased still more. The virtue of charity shone forth in him; he used to succour poor gentlemen, and give great gifts to poor monks and poor clerks, and to poor scholars, and to all poor people of every condition he is piteous and a great almoner! he gives great alms in secret, has great faith towards God and ever turns to him in his necessities."* Yet it often happened with young persons in secular life, that the least circumstance was able to inflame them with a desire of passing immediately to a state of Christian perfection. Thus we read in a Chronicle: "There was a monk of Villars, named Daniel, whose father was the uncle of the lady Clemence de Rixensart. Upon leaving the schools, he wished to have recourse to the vanity of tournaments at Senges, and there he became a soldier; but being attacked by sickness, his resolution was changed, and he determined to militate for God in the monastery of Villars; for seeing the world to pass and its concupiscence, he remembered his Creator in the days of his youth, and redeemed the time by living innocently."†

So far we have attended only to the condition of the young in the walks of secular life, where it cannot be denied, if in those times there were many things to assist and preserve innocence and poverty of spirit, there were also many peculiar sources of danger. "The youthful aspirant to chivalry," as a modern writer observes, in extolling the happiness of such a person, "did not want occasions of great excitement. He fought in presence of princes, shared in triumphs to which royalty lent its pomp and magnificence, heard his name shouted amid the proud blasts of clarions, and in the fiercest onset felt his ardent spirit rejoicing in deeds, the fame of which his gallant followers would publish through every quarter of the land." But amidst all this pomp of mundane glory are we not sometimes tempted to recall to memory the humble saintly student, so far from the world's eye, in the cloistered shade? Are we not sometimes tempted, in presence of so many obstacles to virtue, so many dangers to innocence, to exclaim with St. Bernard, "Quid facitis, juvenes, qui flores juventutis vestræ offertis Diabolo, et fæces senectutis vestræ Deo? Securius esset cum Abel primitias Deo offerre;" and then to say with the Christian poet, in allusion to the image before our mind,—"O thrice happy the child whom the Lord loves, who hears his voice betimes, and whom God himself deigns to instruct: nourished far from the world, adorned from first youth with all the gifts of heaven, the contagious company of the wicked taints not his innocence. So grows the young lily, in a retired vale, on the banks of a limpid stream, sheltered from the wind of the north, the object of Nature's love!"*

To believe that the piety of youth was something eminently celestial and gracious, seems to have been according to the universal sentiment of mankind. Will you hearken to the Hebrew rabbins? "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams;" say they, youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams. This is what Lord Bacon remarks.† The ancients too have left some engaging portraits, illustrative of their views in this respect. Thus Æschylus says of one, "When his eyes first saw the light of life, and in the growth of infancy, and in the advancing years of youth, and in the riper age that clothes with gradual down the manly cheek, did justice and love divine mark him for their own.‡" And Euripides beautifully introduces the innocence of the sacerdotal youth, when it is made the instrument of preserving Io from poison; for he represents him as about to lift the fatal cup to his lips: the boy was about to depart from life, and no one knew it; but as he held the goblet in his hands, one of the servants, who stood near, uttered a blasphemous word, but he, having been nourished in the temple in holy discipline,—

ὁ δ' ὡς ἐν ἱερῷ μάντεσίν τ' ἐσθλοῖς τραφεὶς, οἰωνὸν ἔθετο.

immediately moved it back, and called upon them to fill for him another fresh cup; and that which he had before in his hands, he poured out upon the ground. Thus was his life preserved; for that draught contained the deadly poison, which is soon discovered, by the torments of the doves which taste it.§ But that the gentleness and piety of their youth was rather a constitutional disposition in a few, than the result of any moral discipline or religious

* Livre des Fais, &c. Tom. II. Chap. xiv.
† Hist. Monast. Villar. Lib. II. Cap. xiii. Apud Martini Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Racine, Athalie, II. 9.
† Of the Advancement of Learning.
‡ Sept. cont. Theb. § Io. 1200.

belief, capable of transforming and directing it, may be inferred from a passage in Plato, where Theodorus says, in alluding to the young, "It is very difficult to find the same person ingenious, quick to learn, and at the same time mild; and, in addition to all this, manly. Truly I do not think that there ever was such a person, nor do I behold any one so constituted by nature. For they who are sharp and sagacious, and endowed with memory, are prone to anger and subject to be carried away by passion, like ships without a cable; whereas the grave, when they apply to learning, are oblivious, and slow, and torpid:"* and Ulysses, in his reply to Euryalus, makes a remark somewhat similar, observing, that the gods seldom give to the same person beauty of person, and gentleness and wisdom in conversation to correspond to it.† From a remarkable passage in Cicero, indeed, it would appear that the majority of men in those times entertained sentiments which would have made the sanctity of Christian youth appear to them in no amiable light. His words are these, speaking of Cœlius: "Truly, O judges, if he were a youth of such strength of mind and continence that he would reject all pleasures, and spend all the course of his life in labours of body and contention of mind, whom no repose or remission, no pursuits of his equals, no plays, no banquets, delighted; who would think that nothing was to be sought for in life but what was joined with praise and dignity; I should regard him as endowed and adorned with certain divine goods, and perhaps a few other men would consider him as one to whom the gods were propitious. The multitude would suppose that he was one with whom they were angry."‡ However, the sentiments which seem generally to prevail with the moderns on the subject of youthful virtue, are rather lower than above the standard unfolded by Cicero in this celebrated Oration. Leaving them to argue in support of their respective views, I turn to contemplate the lives of the young under the influence of religion, in Catholic ages, and to produce examples which will shew with what peculiar justice the Christian poet might exclaim with Chaucer,

Sweet is the holiness of youth.

But to introduce these, a few observations may be needful. In the first place, then, let it be remembered that the mind of the young must ever be devoted either to an idea or to sense, either to an object of faith, (and youth is peculiarly qualified for possessing faith), or to that visible form of good which ministers to animal excitement. If the citadels of the souls of the young be left void of pure and noble images, they will be taken possession of by those that are contrary to them: if not guarded by the bright symbols of beauteous and eternal things, error and death, moral death, with all its process of intellectual degradation, will plant their pale flag there. The best guards, Socrates said, "are in the thoughts of men who are loved by God:" οἱ δὴ ἄριστοι φρουροί τε καὶ φύλακες ἐν ἀνδρῶν θεοφιλῶν εἰσὶ διανοίαις.* But if the young are not guests at the sacred banquet of pure and angelic spirits, they will go to the Lotuseaters, and dwell with them in stupid sensuality. As with the intellectual direction, so is it with the manners and intercourse of youth—for these will ever be directed after one or other of two types—either by the spirit of sweetness and love, or by that of insolence and malignity. All systems of education that are merely human, and under the guidance of rationalism, will ever nourish and fortify, when they do not even recognise and extol the latter; for being formed on merely natural principles, all that belongs to man's unkindness will have free scope to be developed and exercised within their dominion; and therefore cruel mocking, dissipation, disobedience, tyranny, and the will and ability to oppress weaker companions will entitle the youth who has sufficient tact, to know how far precisely these qualities may be exercised with the applause of animal minds, to the enviable character of possessing a manly spirit. He will discover too, that his father may have only one desire respecting him, like that of Jason, in the tragedy, whose sole prayer for his sons is, that he may see them grown to manhood, well nourished and vigorous, that they may be a defence to him against his enemies.† In studies also, emulation will be carried to an excess which renders the youthful mind obnoxious to all the worst attendants on ambition. So that, under these modern systems, while education conduces to victory, their victory, as Socrates says, will often undo the work of education; for, through victory, many are rendered insolent and obnoxious to a thou-

* Plat. Theætetus. † Od. VIII. 167.
‡ Pro M. Cœlio, 17.

* De Repub. Lib. VIII. † Eurip. Medea, 918.

sand evils. And education, that which deserves the name of education, "is never Cadmeian; but many victories are and will be such to men."* In days of old chivalry, the place for a tournament was generally selected in a part which had the city on one side and a forest on the other. The vanquished knight is generally represented as quitting the scene of his humiliation, and hastening to the forest, to afford him the shelter which was the object in view when making this particular disposition of the lists; and during the same period it was the constant assurance of religion, that, in the various trials of life, from youth to age, it was often better to return as if by way of the forest, rather than hasten to the city with the exulting multitude of admirers. But, according to the rational, or merely natural view of education, such an opinion will be wholly inadmissible; and not only will success be pursued with an utter recklessness of its moral results; not only will the soul become less mild and less humble, but the exact converse will ensue of what Socrates represents as the great and only end of all discipline, saying, "We have two qualities in our souls, which we must preserve with equal solicitude; the one which prompts us to dare, and the other which constrains us to fear —to be bold for virtue and to be afraid in respect to vice."† They will at best be but timid friends to virtue, and bold in the applause of every theory that wears the semblance of an impious spirit. But in the schools of Christians, in ages of faith, neither victories, nor any other part of discipline, were Cadmeian; nor was there any disposition generated opposed to the utmost humility; but the buoyancy of youthful spirits was directed in such a manner, that it developed itself in all the innocent and engaging expressions of gentleness and friendship. There was, indeed, something most divine in the temper and manners which this discipline imparted to the young; for nature alone could never have possessed such acuteness, joined with so much simplicity, and joyous frankness, such warmth and energy, along with such purity and angelic innocence. The stranger, who approached their assemblies, received a greeting like that which Dante met with from those bright spirits which he beheld within a circle of paradise, from whom one came forth and said,

> ———— We all
> Are ready at thy pleasure, well disposed
> To do thee gentle service.*

In every country, the youthful mind was moulded to this type, as long as education continued to be purely Catholic, and untainted with the influence of the modern spirit and examples; but wherever these were able to exercise any sway, there was introduced more or less of pride, and reserve, and a desire of seeming to be peculiarly knowing, with a disposition to depreciate others and give pain, to ridicule and suspect; in other words, there was a return to the mere natural qualities of youth, when these were not even perverted still farther from primal goodness; there was a return to that temper alluded to by Socrates, where he says that "boys, when they first begin to taste the pleasure of words, use them as a kind of play, continually employing them in contradiction, and imitating the disputants, they dispute with one another, rejoicing like young puppies, always dragging and tearing whatever is near them by words; and he warns elder men from following this mode of puerile contradiction:"† instead of humility and penitence, there was pride, and the sharpness of a pert and nimble spirit—

> Pro molli violâ, pro purpureo narcisso,
> Carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.

In the second place it should be borne in mind, that in the ages of faith men felt the impossibility of educating souls for God and for the world also; and therefore the latter had, no doubt, grounds to make many objections against the system which they adopted. It had reason to complain of youth being kept in ignorance of its maxims, without any knowledge of some books, and other objects which it admired, and even, perhaps, without the ability or the spirit to secure many of its interests, which it might deem most important. Plato had so sublime a sense of a just education, that he acknowledges that the good, when young, will appear to be weak and simple, and that they will easily be deceived by the unjust, ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς παραδείγματα ὁμοιοπαθῆ τοῖς πονηροῖς: for he too would not allow the young to acquire that knowledge of the world which was so carefully excluded from Catholic schools, but which is now thought so essential to children. "If he is to be a good and honourable man, fair and good, and

* Plat. de Legibus, Lib. I. † Ibid.

* VIII. † Plato, de Repub. Lib. VII.

able to form a sound judgment of what is just, he must, when young, be without experience and wholly without a mixture of evil manners;* for he only is good who has a good soul, ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ψυχὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἀγαθὸς, which he cannot possess who has a personal acquaintance with evil." Are we disposed to question this proposition? Hear what Fuller acknowledges, a writer only remarkable for his candour in publishing of himself what other men would conceal of their own experience: "Almost twenty years since," he says, "I heard a profane jest, and still remember it." "I lost honour, say the Spaniards, by speaking ill and hearing worse." The old poet, Claude de Morenne, acknowledges in one of his pieces that be had read certain poems in his youth which had done an injury to his imagination and to his heart, which nothing could repair.† This is the dreadful effect of renouncing the ancient discipline. Such is the stain which reading of this description impresses upon the mind, that the moral consequences seem among those "which never may be cancelled from the book wherein the past is written:" once blighted, the bloom of innocent fancy is faded for ever. It remains only for the sufferer to say, after the manner of Pilate, what I have read I have read, and to warn others from the rock against which he has made shipwreck of that imagination, of which every flight had been an extasy, and every expression a hymn of praise. But if there were restraints and privations in the discipline of Christian antiquity, though it is incorrect to style that privation, which was only a measure to prevent the loss of good, there was full liberty for the exercise and developement of every gracious and noble faculty. "The gardener," says St. Anselm, "gives space and freedom to young plants, that they may grow and spread forth their sweet branches, and so should masters provide indulgence for the young, who, by oblation, are planted in the garden of the Church, that they may increase and bear fruit to God. They ought not to be cramped and restrained by terrors, threats, and stripes."‡ Would we hearken to an old monk who relates an instance amusing for its simplicity? There were in the Abbey of Ramsey four boys who had been formerly placed there by St. Oswald, before they were seven years old, and they had now grown up to puberty like branches of the olive, promising abundant fruit in due season. These were Æthericus, Ædnothus, Oswald, and Æthelstan. They were all youths of good birth, of innocent manners, and of beautiful form. That they might not be overfatigued by the rigour of the order, and according to the proverb, "quod caret alterna requie durabile non est," they were allowed at certain times in the week to go, with leave of their masters, without the cloistral walls, for the sake of juvenile play. On one of these occasions they ran to the cords of the greater bells, which are in the western tower of the church, and one of these they rang with all the force of their weak arms, until, by the unequal motion, it was suddenly cracked, which became instantly perceptible by the sound. This being discovered, the masters and the other brethren were excited to anger, even to threaten the infliction of stripes upon the boys, who were weeping bitterly, till at length they remembered the sentence which they had so often heard read in chapter, as prescribed by St. Benedict, "Ut qui perdiderit quicquam aut fregerit, alios in delicti sui accusatione festinet prævenire," so hastening to the feet of the Abbot, with many tears, they related what they had done. That discreet man compassionating their distress, consoled them, and calling the brethren, said, "These innocents have committed a fault, not intentionally, but contrary to their intention; not willingly, but against their will. They ought to be spared, therefore, and that will not be neglecting the duty which we owe to our community, for when these boys come to years of maturity, being of noble houses, it will be easy for them to indemnify us for the loss." Then dismissing the monks, he secretly admonished the boys, who, entering the church with bare feet, made their devotions and vows; and that their pure prayers were favourably heard, was sufficiently seen at a subsequent time, when being grown up and exalted to honours, not forgetting their vows, they conferred signal benefits upon that church.* The care of religious men to educate the young was not confined to supplying them with oral or written instruction. It was for them especially that religion loved, under the form of the fine arts, to impress on the

* Ibid. Lib. III.
† Gouget, Biblioth. Franc. Tom. XIV. 54.
‡ De Similitudinibus, Cap. clxxvii.

* Hist. Ramesiensis, Cap. lxvii. apud Gale. Hist. Brit. Tom. III.

material elements around, the stamp of ideal humanity, that as Fichte says, "at their very awakening into life, they might be environed by noble objects, such as by a certain sympathetic power, would educate the outward senses, whereby the education of the inner man might be greatly facilitated." It was the object of education not so much to impart a variety of knowledge, as to cultivate that mind which would be able either to reap the benefit of knowledge subsequently obtained, where an extraordinary degree of knowledge was required, or to discharge the ordinary duties of life with honesty and perseverance to the end, where there was no occasion for acquiring such a distinction. Agreeable to this plan, the young were to be thoroughly imbued with a delicate and profound sense of every thing noble and gracious, which would be alike useful to all; that, to borrow a simile from Plato, as the young who inhabit a healthy spot are benefitted by every thing around them, so whatever was thrown before them from beautiful deeds, whether in the way of seeing or of hearing, like an air from pure places bearing health, might lead them to a similitude, and friendship, and harmony, with what is good and fair;* and, as Plutarch says, "What they heard and saw in youth without understanding it, in all its exact relations and detail, they learned to comprehend fully in maturer life, like the inhabitants of that city which Antiphanes used to describe, where all words that had been spoken in winter, froze in the air, and were not heard till the summer came to thaw them, but then not a syllable was lost, for every one heard what had been said to him the winter before."† No doubt, to the world's eye, the prospects of Christian youth were poor spirited and obscure: but the question from the Mount, the only question we have here to answer, is this, were they inconsistent with the beatitude of the poor? "Our life," says a Catholic poet, "is like the chrystal flood, which leaves its native rock humble and unnamed. While it sleeps at the bottom of the basin which nature has made for its bed, all the flowers of the field perfume its path, and the azure of a beautiful sky descends wholly into it, but hardly escaped from the arms of its hills, hardly are its waters enabled to spread themselves over the plain, than its wave becomes corrupt and pale with the filth of the soil which its course disturbs; the shade which once sheltered it flies now from its banks, the naked rock confines its fugitive waters; disdaining to follow the gracious windings of its paternal valley, it proudly aspires to engulph itself under profound arches, where it may receive a name brilliant as its foam; with precipitous bounds it bears along with it barks rumours, the filth of cities: each river which swells it is a new source of defilement, till it arrives at the term, when swollen with so many adulterous waves, it moves on great but troubled, parting with a vain name as it rolls into the bosom of the sea its pollutions and its glory. Happy in the depth of the wood is the pure and humble spring, happy the lot which is concealed in a life of obscurity."* It should be observed moreover, that the ancient discipline was not framed upon a calculation of the spiritual being subordinate to the material parts of nature, but in conformity with the opposite conclusion. In this respect again it was in accordance with that excellent reason which guided Plato, for he says in speaking of the necessity of gymnastics and music in the education of youth, that the latter is still more important even for the body. "For," he says, "it does not seem to me that when the body is good, the soul will by its means become good; but I hold the converse to be true, that the good soul will by its virtue enable the body to become as good as possible."†

I must proceed now to produce examples, the beauty and force of which perhaps without these preliminary observations might not have been immediately understood; but all this humble matter is intended for the ear of those who are themselves children of the first beatitude. "When Clotaire, son of Clovis, held the sceptre of France, there lived," says an ancient writer, "a nobleman named Florentin, rich in possessions, wise in council, valiant in war while employed in it, but always desirous of maintaining peace. Above all he lived as a true gentleman and greatly Catholic, and his wife yielded to no one in piety and all grace. They had a son, Evode, whom the holy mother bred up to all virtue and Catholic piety, as well as to the civil decorum of nobility. On being put to school he was well instructed in both human and sacred learning, and from this time charity took her seat in his innocent heart, benignity on his tongue and purity in his body. His parents seeing him all de-

* De Repub. III.
† How to perceive one's progress in Virtue.

* De Lamartine, Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses, I. 12.
† De Repub. III.

voted to God, loved him the more, and placed him in the Church of Rouen to render the services which his devout heart loved, where he lived in great justice and piety towards God, and in sweetness and patience towards men. Every one that saw him judged him to be a little angel in human form, so pure was he in life, so serene and smiling of countenance, so sweet in words, so beautiful in person, so filled with all goodness."*

The sanctity of the youth of Wala, who was afterwards abbot of Corby, is described by Paschasius: "During the day he used to moisten the earth with his sweat, and during the night with his tears. At night, both before and after the vigils of the brethren, he used to lie prostrate on the ground before the holy altar; and I have myself often seen his tears fall upon the pavement while he was at prayer." St. Jerome says, "that from the moment Hilarion first saw the blessed man, St. Anthony, he resolved to dwell with him in the desert, and the devil beheld himself vanquished by a boy."† St. Bernard, in his youth, had celestial visions. On one Christmas eve, after he had been long meditating on the mystery of the incarnation, he beheld our Saviour in a dream, as if still in his human infancy, and the sight so charmed him, that he thenceforth could think of nothing but how to serve God in the best way he might. When St. Bernard, with his brethren and companions, had prepared to set out for a monastery of Cistercians, it happened that Guy, the elder brother, found Nivardus, the youngest of all the brothers, playing in the street with other boys, and said to him, "Nivardus, God be with thee: we go to religion and leave thee heir of all our goods." To these words the child answered, "What! do you take heaven for yourselves, and leave me earth? this is not an equal division." And accordingly, some days after, he also followed his brothers and entered into the monastery. This is one of the many instances to which I alluded in the beginning, as furnishing an insight into the character of an entire generation of men; for the occurrence of a scene like this assuredly indicates a very remarkable state of society.

But to return to history. "In the days of Hugues Capet, king of France," says an ancient chronicle, "Aderal was born at Troyes, of noble parents, who were both devout; he was a child of a sweet disposition, so that he no sooner ceased to be an infant than he conducted himself like a little saint. He studied not under masters who teach only worldly civilities, but under pious priests and clerks of the church of St. Peter, at Troyes. He remained with these good men, who, seeing in him so many indexes of a holy life, had great care of him, and loved him for his docility and promptitude to correspond with the grace of God. He was soon made an acolythe in the church of Troyes, in the discharge of which office he gave content and edification to every one. On the holy day of Easter, and during its octave in the church of Troyes, it is the custom for the two acolythes, who carry the lighted tapers before the celebrating bishop, to be presented with these tapers after the office, to do with them what they like. The holy youth on this occasion, receiving the gift of the tapers along with his companion, after the pious rites of the day, sold them, and with the money gave alms to the poor, and procured for himself a small reliquary to contain some bones of saints to wear on his person. Such was the piety of this innocent soul, offering its first fruits, and all that it possessed, to God."* It was not alone the young men who were regularly received into houses of religion and churches, that were employed to serve at the divine altars. The faithful were one family, and every little son was trained sufficiently to exercise, upon occasion, this angelic ministry, to which he might be invited even where he was himself a stranger, and to offer to God in the morning that silver voice, the pure and limpid echo of his youthful soul. His sweet and gracious image was in the mind of other children of the town, who, as the poet says, would pray that they might be good, though little like him whom they saw each morning in the temple. Benignity and grace they seemed to learn even from the movements that the holy ritual prescribed, as in beholding acolythes, who in choirs make their artless bow, and then give each other the kiss of peace. In the beautiful poem of Friedolin, by Schiller, the page is represented stopping on his way to enter a church, where he finds a priest going to the altar, and there being no acolythe arrived, he instantly offers himself and serves the mass. This was the first employment of each day for numbers of young men living in towns in every rank

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 409.
† Vita ejus.

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 247.

of society from the highest to the lowest. The amiahle and learned Rollin, rector of the University of Paris, was the son of a cutler, and already exercising his father's trade as his apprentice, when a good Benedictine monk of the Blancsmauteaux, whose mass he was in hahits of serving, observed his happy dispositions, and obtained a subscription which enabled him to commence his stndies in the college of Duplessis. What St. Bonaventura has written on the duty and happiness of those yonng men who serve at mass, in which holy function they are associated in the occupation of angels, in which they represent the assemhled faithful, in which they have the honour of waiting upon the minister of Jesus Christ, and the inestimable advantage of having an especial part in his memento, will convey an idea of the sanctification and joy which were reserved for the innocent zeal of youth.*

Here it may be well to make a short digression, for the purpose of observing how these customs and rules of discipline respecting the young, ordained in the society of Christians, recommend themselves to the natural reason and piety of men; the judgment and dictates of which, emanating from that implicit faith in Divine Providence which St. Thomas ascribes to many of the Gentiles,† ought not to be disdained or rejected merely because we must be at the trouble of disengaging them from the detestable errors and corruptions of Paganism, which had misapplied and perverted them. This is a distinction, the justice of which no one who has had any moderate degree of instruction will contest, and therefore I pass at once to establish the truth of our proposition.

The Athenian, in Plato, lays it down as a maxim, that no one has received a sufficient education, who is ἀχόρευτον; and that whoever has been initiated, as it were, in the choir, in music, and in gracious movements of the body, is sufficiently educated; which may be taken to shew the necessity of educating the external senses, or rather of the soul being imbued with that Divine harmony which will even impel the body, by prescribed movements, to exercise its external homage. Scipio Africanus, who vanquished Hannibal, and all the power of Carthage, and who was so devout that he never began any public or private affair of consequence, without first consulting heaven and imploring its assistance, had, from his early youth, according to the report of St. Augustin, been educated in the temples. If, for a moment, we turn our eyes from the dark side of the ancient philosophy, and consider only the testimonies which it bore to truth, we may be permitted to contemplate with a certain pleasure the following passage in the tragedy of Ion, where Euripides has represented, in a most gracious form, the ideal of youth devoted to the service of heaven. The innocent boy comes forth from the temple, and says, "Now shines upon the earth the bright chariot drawn by the four horses of the sun; the stars fly from this fire of heaven into the sacred night; and the insurmountable cliffs of Parnassus being lighted up, receive the lustre for mortals. The smoke of the dry myrrh now flies to the roof of Apollo: but as for me, I go to discharge the labours which I have undergone continually from a child, with branches of laurel to sweep the sacred pavement of Apollo's temple, and with my arrows to drive away the little birds which might injure it. Beautiful is the labour, O Apollo, to serve in thy house, in reverence of the prophetic seat: glorious the task to minister with my hands to gods, to the immortals and not to mortal men. Never shall I be weary in performing such well-reported labours; for Apollo is to me a father, and I will praise him, who nurtures me. O Pæon, Pæon, mayest thou be happy, happy son of Latona. But I cease this labour of the laurel branches, and now from golden vessels I scatter the pure wave which gushes from Castalian spring. Oh that I may never cease thus ministering to Apollo, or ceasing, may it be for a happy end. Ah! see, now the winged tribe are leaving the cliffs of Parnassus. Dare not to approach this cornice, or these golden roofs. I will overtake thee with my arrows, O thou herald of Jupiter, thou that excellest in thy talons the strength of birds. Here comes the swan, too, rowing towards the temple. Will you not, then, move elsewhere that purple foot of thine? The lyre of Apollo which accompanies thy song will not be able to save thee from my arrows. Turn thy wings, then, and seek the pools of Delos. If thou disobeyest me, thou wilt ensanguine thy melodious chants. See, see, what new bird is this which comes near? Is it about to deposit sticks and straw as a nest for its young ones under the sheltering cornice? The

* S. Bonavent. de Reformat. Hominis exterior. Cap. x.

† II. 2. q. 2. Art. 7.

flight of my arrows shall keep you at a distance. Will you not be persuaded? Go and rear your children on the banks of the Alpheus, or in the Isthmian grove, that the temple and precincts of Apollo may not be injured. I fear to kill you, you who are the messenger of gods to men, but I labour in the service which I owe to Apollo, and I will not cease ministering to those that feed me."* In this brilliant picture, we see, that even under the deplorable error of Pagan superstition, human reason was able to recognize the beauty of devoting the youthful heart to what is divine, and of employing little inoffensive hands to minister in the service of heaven. In the passage following, we may observe, how it could inculcate the happiness resulting from such a condition. When Xuthus claims his son Ion from the priests, and desires him to leave the temple of Apollo, in which he had spent his first youth as the servant of the god, after encouraging him with the prospect of the wealth and honours which await him in the magnificent Athens, observing what passes in the mind of the youth, he breaks off suddenly, and says, "Are you silent? Why do you turn your eyes upon the ground and seem absorbed in care, as if sadness were to succeed your late joy?" And Ion replies, by saying, that things when near do not appear in the same form as when seen from afar; that he foresees many difficulties, dangers, and certain evils, which will arise to him at Athens; and then he continues, "But you will answer, perhaps, and urge that riches can compensate for all this; but I do not love to hear those empty speakers who can hold their happiness in their hands, and have no labour. May there be to me only a moderate supply of what is necessary to preserve me from suffering the pains of want. But, O my father, as to the good things which I enjoy, in this temple, hear me speak. In the first place, I have that dearest blessing, leizure from being importuned by men, and at the same time a moderate degree of society. No evil person ever drives me from the way involving me in the intolerable calamity of having to yield to the base: but I spend my days in prayer to the gods, or in ministering joyfully to those of mortals who rejoice. And some arrive, and some depart, and it is sweet to be new to those that are themselves new; and besides this, what should

* Ion, 102, 155—180.

be the object of all men's prayers, the law of this place and nature both conspire to present me in innocence to the Deity. Considering, these things, O my father, I esteem it better for me to be here than to remove thither. Suffer me, therefore, to enjoy my condition, for it is not more grateful to rejoice in great things than to possess those that are moderate with sweetness."* His conclusion resembles that of Joas with Racine,

This temple is my country; I know no other.

But to return to the ages of faith, those really golden ages which combined every thing that the imagination of man could conceive of beauty with all that is pure, and holy, and Christian. The discipline and institutions for the young, with respect to studies and learning, will be a subject for our consideration in a future place. It only remains, for the present, to notice the circumstance often presented in ages of faith, so affecting to all who are not perfectly rooted in the love of eternal things, because in their view the misconceptions of sense necessarily represent it invested with a certain melancholy,—of the complete detachment of the youthful heart from creatures, not from vile disdain, but through the love and foretaste of higher good. The annals of the middle age can furnish many such instances, combined too with wild and romantic imagery, in which the youth, whom but for a short date the world possesses, has already emancipated himself from the attractions of this earthly life, and thereby become fully convinced of its nothingness, so that "he prevails on himself to engage in its concerns only on account of the connection between those concerns and the one permanent eternal principle which religion lays open to him." And in this placid resignation of the young, this mild angelic constancy which allows grief and pain, amidst the hard labours and sufferings of their lonely way, to wear only the garb of tenderness, this inherent love which has not time to put forth more than blossoms, there is a certain poetic tone of sadness and of joy, a certain plaintive sweetness of ideal humanity, which is gazed upon with an intense interest by such persons as are capable of discovering those more exquisite tones which, both in the natural and intellectual world, are always the most unobtrusive and subdued. This

* Ion, 590.

is one of the many tender mysteries to be found in the writings connected with ages of faith.

"How often," exclaims the unknown writer of the Manual ascribed to St. Augustin, "how often, when a youth, have I said without thinking that it was also the sentiment of a Christian soul: How this world is burdensome to me! What I behold makes me sorrowful; the conversation which I hear on all sides on such mere vanities as the good things of this life, inspire me with a profound disgust. O sweet felicity to behold the saints, to be with the saints, to be oneself a saint, to enjoy the presence of God, to possess God for all eternity!" "Behold a boy," says St. Jerome, "instructed in all the honest arts of the world, having riches and dignity, who despising all that he possessed, hath gone to inhabit, as a paradise, an island in the midst of a dangerous sea, whose rough cliffs and naked rocks and solitude are sufficient to inspire terror! There, alone, nay not alone, for Christ is his companion, he beholds the glory of God, which the Apostles themselves beheld not, excepting in the desert. He sees no towered cities; his limbs are clothed in hideous sackcloth: around the island rages continually an insane sea, which re-echoes through the caverns of the hollow shore; no blade of grass grows there, no shrubs cast any shade; steep rocks enclose it as a prison. He, secure, intrepid, and armed with the Apostle, hears God while he reads of things divine, speaks with God while he prays to him, and perhaps, like St. John, beholds somewhat while remaining on the island."

In the middle ages there is repeated allusion to saintly youths, pure and innocent in life and every virtuous lore, who wander in poverty, or tend a flock upon the wild mountains, till by accident they are discovered by some holy man, who finds them possessing souls that are like temples in which divine and ineffable mysteries are celebrated. Will you hearken to an old chronicler, who does as one that weeps and tells his tale? Arnulph was a child of God, a native of Lotharingia, and of a most innocent and holy life; as yet a youth, faithfully serving God in fear and justice, growing more and more to perfection, like the palm which increases daily, like the lily which sends forth a sweet odour, he grew up a plant destined for the celestial courts. But as by the Divine grace he disposed himself to shine as a light in the house of God, to give light to all that entered it, he applied himself to the studies which were necessary. Already he began to cast beams which were lighted by divine love, when hearing what the Apostle says, that as long as we are in the body we are travelling from God, that we walk by faith and not by sight, and that we have not here a remaining city, but that we seek one to come: he understood this life to be a journey, not his country; a prison of captivity, and not a hall of freedom; a state of banishment, and not the kingdom of supernal habitation. So the good youth undertook a journey beyond the Moselle, into Celtic Gaul, for the sake of praying and of frequenting the suffrages of the saints there. What business he discharged in that country, what commerce he had with them, what pious tears and holy sighs accompanied his prayers, it is not necessary to say, since it is sufficiently obvious that what he holily proposed, he efficaciously fulfilled: and now, with innocent hands and guileless tongue and pure heart, because he had not applied his soul to vanity, nor sworn to deceive his neighbour, he was on his way returning, and approaching a city, called Agen. What were his holy thoughts, his innocent little hopes, his beautiful meditations, as he walked along at that moment, are known to God and to his angel; to himself they were broken off, for lo he is suddenly attacked by robbers, who dart from the wood, beaten, and torn with cruel stripes. At length, with difficulty, he crawled to the village called Grueria, and there the devout people took care of him, and the matrons contended with each other who should receive him into her house like a son; but he told them, with a sweet and placid look, that his last hour was come, and that he was about to be presented to the mercy of God. "Subvenite potius ut subveniat vobis Deus:—Procure a priest, that I may receive from his hands the Eucharist of our Lord's communion." The priest arrived, and administered to him. "A traveller," says the youth, "you see me, a stranger and traveller in this place, and therefore, on this road of my pilgrimage bury me." Then raising his hands and eyes, he said, "O Lord Jesu Christ, who hast made and redeemed my soul, I deliver it up, and commend it to thee, that it may be numbered among the elect souls of thy redemption." So he died, and the people buried him by the side of the royal road, that his grave might be seen by those that passed along, and during a long period his name was forgotten, and it was only

pointed out as the grave of a certain faithful stranger: but in the year 971 the body was translated.*

What shall I add to this example of youthful humility which so ingeniously sought to be in the grave a monitor, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, of the vanity of all earthly good, of all human hopes, of every thing that is not God? That the tomb in which he was about to lay his innocent limbs might be an object to remind the future wanderer that all his journeys and pilgrimages, all his recollections of different places, of beauteous temples, and of the shrines of saints, all his sweet hopes of enjoying the day of return, and even his seemingly devout prospects of shining as a light in the Holy Church, would be to no purpose if they did not spring from higher sources than the mere curiosity of man, and the desire of the eyes and the secret pride of life; to remind him that in such provision there would be nothing substantial, nothing durable; that, as even the ancient poet sang, "Delight may increase with mortals for a short time, but then it falls to the ground, overthrown by unfortunate counsel. Men are of one day. What is any one? What is no one? Men are the dream of a shadow!"

ἐπάμεροι, τί δέ τις, τί δ' οὔτις;
σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωποι.*

Let us pass on then, without further delay, though we could say with Homer, that "a desire arises of weeping;" let us pass on, lest we should seem willing to grow old in meditating on the state of youth. "Do you not perceive," says St. Jerome, "how you have been a child, a boy, a youth, a man of robust age, and how you are now already an old man? We die daily; we are changed daily. This moment which I occupy in writing is so much taken from my life: we write, and we write again in answer, letters pass the sea, and ships plough the deep, and with each tide of age our moments are diminished. We have gained nothing but what we can appropriate to ourselves by the love of Christ."† It is enough. We have seen how eminently the young in ages of faith were poor in spirit: nothing remains but to wish devoutly that we too may be children of that beatitude, and that as the Church sings in the anthem at Lauds on Palm Sunday, "Cum angelis et pueris fideles inveniamur, triumphatori mortis clamantes: Hosanna in excelsis."

CHAPTER VIII.

THUS far we appear to have overlooked the close of the Divine sentence from the Mount, which pronounced of the poor in spirit that theirs is the kingdom of heaven, that is, the fulfilment of all the hopes and aspirations of the heart of man; the accomplishment of the end for which he was created; and though by incident we have already seen in each detail how a sweet and blessed end was theirs, whether we regard them in their capacity of the poor, whose external condition corresponded with that spirit, or of the great and noble, who studied humility, of the learned who retained it, or of the young in whose nature it seemed inherent, it yet remains to direct our thoughts formally to the many and great sources of felicity which appertained to all, even in the present life, the sphere to which these enquiries are confined, in consequence of their moral dispossession and spiritual poverty; and this must be the subject of our last meditation in reference to the beatitude which is the first in order.

"Felicity," says the masters of divine wisdom, "is the ultimate end of man, and for which all other things are ordained in their due course."‡ On this point there is no dispute, but, as Dante says,

* Chronicon Mosomense apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VII. p. 628.

* Pyth. Od. VIII. † Epist. XXXV.
‡ Diego de Stella on the Contempt of the World, Part III. 508.

"All indistinctly apprehend a bliss
On which the soul may rest; the hearts of all
Yearn after it; and to that wished bourn
All therefore strive to tend."*

But before eternal truth had spoken to the wearied spirits of men, who would have sought for it under the yoke of servitude, and dereliction, and poverty! Plato indeed had attempted to shew, by painful reasoning, that the most virtuous life was the sweetest life.† True, indeed, he says admirable things on this head. "It is necessary then to praise the most excellent life, τὸν κάλλιστον βίον, not only because in its form it surpasses all others in point of honour, but also because it excels in this, which all seek, τῷ χαίρειν πλείω, ἐλάττω δὲ λυπεῖσθαι παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα."‡ And again, in the Platonic dialogue it is said, that "whoever lives a holy life must be happy either below or above ἢ κάτω ἢ ἄνω εὐδαιμονεῖν σε δεῖ, βεβιωκότα εὐσεβῶς."§ But how many forms might be conceived of that excellent life which would have involved men in misery while they looked for happiness? In Plato, therefore, there is nothing save the statement of an abstract proposition, and the real secret is no where in his writings found. Pindar, too, says that "if any mortal should possess in his mind the way of truth, he must needs obtain happiness from the blessed gods."‖ But how far his conception of happiness was capable of satisfying the immense desires of the human soul may be inferred from what he says in the same ode, "It is necessary to seek from the gods things suitable to mortal minds, knowing, with regard to the present, of what nature we are. O my soul, do not aspire after an immortal life, but apply to the labours for which you are qualified."

I know, indeed, that it would be as vain for the tongue to attempt to describe, as it would be impossible for the uninitiated heart to conceive that afflation of eternal bliss which is granted to the lowly spirits of those who bear the twelve precious fruits; but it may be allowable to contemplate, as from a distance, the indications of its possession in men during the ages of faith, and with submissive eyes to trace some of the visible and external sources through which it would seem that this water of life was made to flow into their souls. The indications of its existence present themselves in whatever way we bend our steps through the history of Christian ages. The instance which first suggests itself to the memory will render useless any particular research. Thus St. Francis Xavier, whose first cry was "Still more, O Lord, still more, amplius, Domine, amplius," when with a prophetic eye he contemplated the sufferings which awaited him, and wished them to be still greater, was heard to exclaim in after life, as when he walked in the gardens of the College of St. Paul, at Goa, "It is enough, O Lord, it is enough, satis est, Domine, satis est;" alluding to the celestial consolations which were vouchsafed him in such abundance, that he felt as if he could not endure them long.* St. Thomas says, that no words can express the happiness of such souls, even in this world.† It remains only to exclaim with the great poet—

——— O born in happy hour!
Thou, to whom grace vouchsafes, or ere thy close
Of fleshly warfare, to behold the thrones
Of that eternal triumph!

When Angelran, abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius, was sick and confined to his bed with paralysis, he used at times to evince singular joy: and when people would ask him the cause why he appeared so elevated, he used to reply, that he derived this delight from the joys of the heavenly angels and from the perpetual felicity of the saints.‡

Dante attempts to express this upon meeting with the spirit of Cacciaguida in Paradise, to whom he says,

"Through so many streams with joy
My soul is fill'd, that gladness wells from it."§

This felicity, where it was not raised into extacies, diffused a perpetual sunshine over the conversation and manners of men, for sweet love inspired by holy thoughts must always apparel her in smiles. "Can the good and evil be distinguished by any sign?" asks the disciple in a dialogue ascribed to St. Anselm: "They can," is the reply; "for the just, at peace in their conscience, and full of future hope, are cheerful in countenance, their eyes indicating a certain grace, modest in their walk, and sweet in their words, which spring from the abundance of their heart: but the

* Purg. XVII.
† De Legibus, II.
‡ Id. Lib. V.
§ Axiochus.
‖ Pyth. Od. III.

* Vie de S. François Xav. I. 281.
† III. Part ix. 79. Art. 1.
‡ Chronic. Centulensis, Lib. IV. cap. ii. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.
§ XVI.

evil, from a bad conscience and bitterness of heart, are cloudy in countenance and unstable in words and deeds; immoderate in laughter as in sadness; irregular in all their motions, and they pour out the venom of their hearts in bitter and impure speeches."* Thus Dante speaks of those that "harbouring in the light supreme, brought from thence a virtue that, sparkling in their eyes, denoted joy." How well this agreed with the good that is inherent in nature may be inferred from that beautiful answer which is recorded by the ancients of a certain wise old man, who, on being asked what he found the chief result of having become blind, replied, "Puero ut uno esset comitatior."†

"Our young students," says the father-guardian of a Franciscan convent, at La Fleche, "must evince externally the odoriferous fruit of rejoicing and of celestial consolations; for there is nothing more agreeable in a soul which professes piety and desires to lead a spiritual and angelic life, than to display, in all its actions, the smiling and joyous face of an angel. I never deem it a good sign when I see a novice who puts on the dismal air, and follows the fantasy of his young brain; he should obey those who have charge of his conduct, and learn to be gay and joyous in God, during the time of honest and holy recreation. St. Francis recommended his brethren to have always a cheerful air, and never to give way to sadness, which is a murderer of the soul and body. In our seraphic order, numberless examples may be produced. It is said of St. Bonaventura, that he was cheerful and full of consolations for himself as well as for others, and that his address was so engaging, and his countenance so joyous, that he inspired every one with confidence to approach him, and that no one ever departed from him dissatisfied. God had implanted such a degree of love in the heart, and such sweetness on the tongue of this favoured creature."‡

This is what that good father says; but the same remark is suggested in almost every book which relates to ancient manners. Thus, the conversation of Madame de Chantal, the blessed foundress of the order of the Visitation, is described as being so cheerful and full of sweetness, that even people of the world were enchanted to find themselves in her company;* and the Church reads in her office on the feast of St. Romuald, abbot of Camaldoli, that amidst all the penance, and austerity, and tears of that holy man, he used to be always so full of joy in countenance, that he made the beholders cheerful. Indeed, the spiritual writers generally agree with the opinion expressed by St. Theresa, that, in a vast majority of instances, melancholy is only the result of pride.

In the middle ages, a poem, or other book of religious instruction, was always called the joyous book. Thus the author of the Calendrier des Bergeres, which was printed in 1499, says,—

Hommes morts, qui desirez sçavoir
Comment on peut en ce monde bien vivre
Et mal laisser; approchez, venez voir
Pour visiter ce present joieulx livre
A tous estats bonne doctrine il livre.†

In attempting now to trace the particular sources which were employed to produce this happy state of mind, and commencing with its lowest indications, as in this cheerfulness, freedom, and even playfulness of manner, to which there is such frequent allusion, it may be shewn that here the immediate cause in operation was humility, and the total absence of all that stoical affectation of gravity, which loves to be distinguished from the vulgar, by its severe and unchanging tone. The gravest theologian would have agreed with Octavien de Saint-Gelais, where he says, in one of his poems,—

Bien licite est à l'omme humain
Après devote contemplation
Soy occuper à prendre soir et main,
Au monde aucune recréation.‡

Piety, in this sense, seemed to make old men young again, and to realize what is said in the Platonic dialogue of those whom Jupiter and Apollo love, that they never come to the threshold of old age. Humility is thus a source of joyful inspiration; it is humility which gives joy to youth, which makes it quick to learn and graceful to practise. Grown men are too proud to gather the sweet flowers of nature,—too proud to stoop for them. The proud are slaves to the tyranny of the world's opinion and the world's custom, and therefore can have no peace or joy within themselves;

* II. Cap. xix. † Cicero, Tuscul. V. 39.
‡ Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, par F. Elzeare l'Archer, 276.

* Marsollier, Tom. II. 35.
† Gouget, Bibliotheque François. Tom. X. 200.
‡ Gouget, Tom. X. 232.

but, as Plato said, "The souls of those who imbibe the divine draught, like iron in the fire, are rendered soft, and as it were young again; so that they became plastic and docile as when they were young, under the hand of him that would now form them to goodness."*

Is it not admirable to observe how, in this instance, the reason of Plato agreed with the Divine wisdom, which declared that men must become like children, in order to obtain beatitude? Were examples to be produced of the gaiety of men in these ages, so innocent and from the heart, there are formal pedants who would turn away in disdain; yet even the most refined taste need not prescribe silence on this head, for Virgil, in his heroic rhapsody, introduces the ludicrous misadventure of Menoetes and the laughter of the spectators, yet without loss of dignity and grace,† and real piety would assuredly take no offence. When Dante, who well understood its spirit, enters into conversation with Cacciaguida, upon subjects which had no connection with what is sacred, he only intimates the change by saying, that Beatrice, who represented heavenly wisdom, stood at a little distance,—

> And Beatrice, that a little space
> Was severed, smiled.‡

Our ancestors seem to have delighted in contrasts, in order to relieve, or, perhaps, rather to increase and deepen the solemnity of the august and awful objects with which they loved to be surrounded. The exterior of churches exhibited strange grotesque monsters, and even the borders of their books of hours were decorated with figures expressive of so playful and delicate an imagination, that one would have thought "not even the inward shaping of the brain had colours fine enough to trace such folds." From the brief but piercing glance which they cast upon nature, it seemed to them as if there could almost be detected something corresponding to this principle in the works of the Divine Architect; and even in their contemplation of the most solemn mysteries of faith, affecting and tremendous as they felt them to be, still they evinced a certain smiling astonishment, in looking into the skill that fashioned the events of this lower world, with such effectual working, and in beholding the triumph of the eternal counsels; there was with them, as with the spirits which Dante saw in Paradise, "mirth," or as it is expressed in the XXth Canto, "gamesome mirth," not for the fault, which on these occasions did not come to mind, "but for the virtue, whose overruling sway and providence had wrought thus quaintly."* Moreover they delighted in poems and paintings, and eccentric fabling, which exhibited the human and sportive side of the gravest subject. Such was the Fabliau, entitled La Bataille de Charnage et de Carême, in which these ideal personages are represented as kings summoning their vassals and engaging in dreadful combat. Carême, armed cap-à-pie, advances, riding on a mullet, carrying a cheese for his shield, his cuirass is a ray, his spurs are a fish bone, and his sword a broad sole; his munitions of war are peas, chesnuts, butter, cheese, milk, and dry fruits. Charnage has his helmet of a vast pâté of wild boar, with a peacock for his crest, a bird's bill serves him for spurs, and he rides on a stag, whose horns are loaded with larks. Carême is defeated, and only escapes on terms, that he is never to appear excepting during the forty days of Lent, and two days every week, and thus Lent becomes vassal to Charnage. The scholastic mock procession of whipping out Lent may be remembered as another instance. Here the triumph consisted in one boy being able to tread upon the herring, which was dragged by the next who ran before him, who used, in turn, his efforts to save it.

Being void of all hypocrisy and conscious of innocence, the good men of these simple ages could enjoy a little playful raillery directed against themselves. Of this an instance may be witnessed in the Fabliau of the Battle of the Wines, in which one look from the chaplain was enough to disconcert those of Argence, Rennes, and Chambeli. Indeed, it is obvious, that the ludicrous pastimes of the Abbé de Malgonverne and the Abbot of Fools could be to none more amusing than to those who had been most thoroughly imbued with the love of order. From the same cause arose that distinctive feature of their conversation and writings; in one respect, full of meek reverence, and in another, fearless, and frank, and jocund, producing an effect which resembled more the Socratic irony than any thing which we can find amidst the universal chill of pedantry

* De Legibus, Lib. II. † Lib. V. 180. ‡ Paradise, XVI.

* Canto IX.

which prevails among the moderns; and an attentive analysis of its nature would of itself point out the source from whence it sprung. Horace speaks of irony as a declining to use one's strength, and an extenuation;* it is an unwillingness to push the victory, and to shew the immensity of one's possessions. Hence Aristotle says, that ironicle persons are of more gracious manners than other men. Irony with him is an ἔλλειψις, as opposed to the hyperbole and the μεσότης. It is a manner of understating what we believe, either from a profound sense of the inadequacy of language to express it, or from having so perfect a conviction of its truth, that we rest satisfied with our own interior conviction. Hence we see how naturally this style became characteristic of those who had the greatest faith, and who, in the spirit of humility, cherished the noblest sentiments; and that, on the other hand, the hyperbole, the style that is continually prolonged in tedious announcement of the immensity of one's conceptions, would have been significant of the very opposite character.

In allusion to the former, St. Theresa says, "The graces and light which the soul enjoys pass without noise, and in such great tranquillity, that it often reminds me of the construction of the temple which was built by Solomon without one blow of a hammer being heard."† This is not the case with the progress of those minds which are continually proclaiming their internal operations. Within those precincts, the noise of alteration and repair never ceases, but we should wait in vain with the hopes of seeing the temple. An instance illustrative of the two different styles of expression, may be shewn from one of those romantic descriptions of ancient manners, in which Sir Walter Scott represents the pedantic puritan as shocked at the playful language of her prisoner, queen Mary, in speaking to her page and to her women. I allude to that passage where the poor queen, oppressed with the gloomy silence of the Lady of Lochleven, turning round to them, observes, "that if the latter should have adjusted her dress amiss, or if Roland Græme should have missed a wild duck on the wing, and broke a quarrel-pane of glass in the turret window, as chanced to him a week before, now was the time to think on their sins and to repent of them:" upon which the Lady of Lochleven, after assuring her that she speaks with all reverence, says, with great solemnity, "Madam, methinks your followers might find fitter subject for repentance than the trifles you mention, and so mention, once more, I crave your pardon, as as if you jested with sin and repentance both." The language of Mary in this passage affords an example of the precise irony of which we speak, instances of which might even be produced from some of the most sublime writings of saints. The delightful account which St. Theresa gives of her various foundations in Spain, is not without them. Sir Thomas More continued his irony to the scaffold, and we are presented with the same character in the accounts which have reached us of the death of some of the first blessed martyrs.

Frederick Schlegel makes some beautiful observations on this subject: "We also find," he says, "in the classical works of antiquity, at a time when that depth of a loving sentiment was not so generally revealed, this same phenomenon amidst the highest spiritual clearness and serenity, in the most charming attire of exquisite language. I mean that characteristic irony which belonged to the discourses and instructions of Socrates, as exhibited in the Platonic writings. For what else is that scientific irony of thought, and of the highest knowledge in the Socratic or Platonic sense, but the secret contradiction of conscience and thought brought to a harmony, and become clear to the soul in its inmost striving after the highest object? I must here, however, observe that this word, in the modern usage, has sunk to a degree lower than its original meaning; insomuch, that it now only signifies common mockery," and certainly does not fulfil Aristotle's idea, when he says that it makes manners more gracious; "but in that original Socratic sense," continues Schlegel, "as it appears developed in the Platonic works, and in the whole of their inward structure, irony signifies nothing else but this astonishment of the thinking spirit at itself, which it expresses by a gentle laughter: but besides this deeply involved sense, this laughter of the spirit has also another still higher signification, that of the most exalted earnestness concealed under the smiling surface;"* an instance of which may be remembered in Livy, where he relates the reply of Hannibal to those who expressed their astonish-

* Sat. I. 10, 13.
† The Castle of the Soul, VIIth Dwelling.

* Philosophie der Sprache.

ment at his laughter, on beholding their despair for the calamity of their common country.

It may be remarked here, that Lactantius seems not to have understood the loving irony of Socrates, reproaching him for it harshly, as if he had been a mere buffoon.* Better informed or more judicious was the scholastic theologian of the middle ages, who says of Socrates, alluding to his irony, "that in this respect he was a dissembler, non solum absque vitio, sed etiam cum laude."† Indeed, this theologian has shewn that there are various instances of its usage in the holy Scriptures.‡ "True irony," says Frederick Schlegel, "is the irony of love. It arises out of the sentiment of a finite state, and of its own real limits, out of the visible contradiction between this sentiment and that feeling of eternity which is essentially included in true love."§ "How great," he says, "is the difference between the two kinds of irony in the conversational works of philosophy, between its mode and form in the Socratic school and in the writings of the moderns, where endless doubt in the highest extravagance of the sceptical sagacity, is held fast as the ultimate object, so that this cruel and bitter irony rests upon this general system of denial and negation, presenting such a contrast to that good-natured and loving irony of the Platonicians, inwardly associated with the highest inspiration for the divinity of truth, and become one with it, or at least inseparable from it, while it proceeds from the feeling of its own incapacity to comprehend and express in words the fulness of that divinity, as far as the soul is conscious of it."

These observations may be applied with the strictest truth to distinguish the joyous simplicity which characterised the lighter compositions of Christians, in ages of faith, from the heartless pleasantry of our more recent literature.

While we are tracing the development of the lowly principle in the diffusion of these minor graces, it may be well to remark the absence of that restless anxiety to be thought the constant and intimate associate of the great, which keeps so many proud minds in perpetual agitation. This wretched and deplorable weakness was counteracted by humility. There is a beautiful instance of the contrary spirit in one of the books of St. Theresa, where, endeavouring, to frame a comparison from things of earth to illustrate her heavenly theme, she says, "Imagine that you enter the cabinet of a great king, filled with a number of rare and precious objects, and containing a number of mirrors, that can be all seen at one view, as it happened once to me, when on my travels, obedience obliged me to visit the Duchess of Alba, and to remain with her for two days. I was surprised on beholding such a vast number of curiosities, and I am now very glad that I saw them, as it will serve me for the present subject."* Nothing is trifling which belongs to the possession of peace and simplicity, and few persons can have been so wanting in observation as not to be capable of feeling the charm of such a passage as this. But if humility could thus give to the conversation and external manners of men a cheerful smiling grace, which harmonised with a bright and innocent spirit, it was still more conducive to happiness, by delivering them from that ambition, more or less concealed, of being regarded as the most worthy and learned and skilful, which is so often the torment of ingenious but proud minds. What peace must have accompanied the genius of one who could leave such a sentence as this in the works which had secured immortal renown. St. Theresa writes as follows in the beginning of her Treatise on Prayer. "I do not see what I can add to what I have already written, and I fear lest what I shall now say, in obedience to the commands imposed upon me, will be only a tedious repetition—for I am like the birds that are taught to speak, and which, through want of sense, repeat always the same words. I cannot, without confusion and tears, think that I write for persons who are capable of giving me instruction; and herein I see clearly that it is the power of obedience which constrains me to write. God grant that you may derive utility from it: and I conjure you to beg of him to pardon the miserable creature who thus dares to undertake it."† A mind like this was not in danger of being disturbed by finding the productions of others preferred before its own. A great spiritual writer makes the following remarks, which will shew not only what tranquillity belonged to the humble scholar, but also what facilities for advancement in every

* Lib. III. de Falsa Sapientia, Cap. xix.
† Melchior Canus de Locis Theologicis, Lib. II. Cap. iv.
‡ Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. ii.
§ Philosophie der Sprache, 63.

* The Castle of the Soul, VIth Dwelling.
† The Castle of the Soul, Chap. i.

noble pursuit were imparted by poverty of spirit. "How many persons," he observes, "are deceived here! They will risk nothing for fear of losing the reputation they may have gained of ability and wisdom. Hence they renounce a thousand holy enterprises. They would rather do nothing all their life, than do moderately what they do: they abandon their labours lest they should labour without success! Whereas, they who are really humble, forgetting themselves, apply with diligence to many objects to which they may often feel their talents unequal—for they argue thus with their own minds, 'I shall at least gain humiliation, if I gain nothing else:' and in the end, God permits the very contrary; for whileothers languish in a criminal idleness, and after immense preparation remain in obscurity, these men, who seek humiliation, are crowned with success which they never contemplated."* Quinctilian counts it among the virtues of a grammarian, "aliqua nescire;"† and our profound and feeling ancestors, in extending the confession to every science and branch of knowledge, as well as of moral discipline, with particular reference to themselves individually, while they often verified the truth of what was said by the holy recluse, "Plus profecit in relinquendo omnia, quam in studendo subtilia," were also delivered from many perturbations and miseries, which become the torment of those who seek to be noted in the annals of fame. Even the heathen Epictetus had prescribed something that resembled this exercise of humility: for his advice was thus expressed—"If any one should say to you, this man accuses you of such and such things, do not try to refute what is said, but answer, he is ignorant of my other vices, or he would not have confined his accusation of me to that point."‡ This was cutting off vexation by the roots. "The humble," says the holy recluse, "are in peace, because they stand in God, and not in the world and its opinion." That the profession, or even the actual possession of a more exact knowledge, even of a multitude of those accessary reasons which may be drawn from the depths of philosophy in support of faith, would have contributed but little to their happiness, may be inferred from the indignant question of the poet in reference to the modern philosophers, who are conscious of no deficiency in science :—

* Le P. Judde Œuvres Spirituelles, Tom. IV. p. 172.
† Lib. I. 9. ‡ Manuale, Cap. xxx.

——— Shall men for whom our age
Unbaffled powers of vision hath prepared,
To explore the world without and world within,
Be joyless as the blind?*

But who can describe that profound and calm felicity of a humble, passive spirit, which was able to draw refreshment and sublime inspiration from the very objects that pride would have converted into gall and bitterness! This was secured to men, in ages of faith, by the lessons of religion—for these proceeded at once effectually to extirpate all the roots of an unhappy life to their most minute fibres, by imparting that general temper and disposition which was exercised in receiving the gifts of God, whether conveyed in the way of instruction or of the divine mysteries, without cavil, criticism, or prejudice; and herein lay the great secret of attaining to that happiness which was first forfeited to the human race by the presumption that dared to question the will of its Creator. All graces and all beatitude were attached to this repose and humiliation of mind. Thus St. Bonaventura said—"Speak willingly of God, and willingly hear those who speak of him; but avoid all contestation on the subject, and hear peaceably whatever good thing is said, without opposing any thing of your own, and be not like those who are never content to hear without contradicting and disputing, from a fear lest they should be thought less knowing than those with whom they are."† The same humility preserved men from being cast down by the sense of their own misery in the occasional experience of blasphemous fancies and thoughts, which they were told to chase away as flies, without even grieving for them; and in this manner there was peace to men of good will. This was what Albertus Magnus recommended.‡ To the poor in spirit belonged a blessedness which flowed from a source that was pure and unfailing, because it did not consist in any proud possession of their own, but in the consciousness of their constant dependence upon God, and in keeping themselves "within the Divine will, by which their wills with his were one." St. Augustin asks, "What is it to be happy?" Many, he replies, have spoken much respecting it in many works; but what need have we to apply to many works and to many authors, when

* Wordsworth.
† De Reformat. Hominis Exter. Cap. xxx.
‡ De adhærendo Deo, Cap. ii.

the holy Scriptures tell us in two words, and with truth, that happy are the people who have the Lord for their God.* This fear, which made men submit to his sovereign authority corresponds to the first beatitude; for, as St. Augustin says, "Timor Dei congruit humilibus." God, as their King, made their law his will; "and in his will was their tranquillity." He was their fear and their love. "The earth," says the Père Judde, "is a paradise to whoever seeks only to please God; but, on the contrary, it is an anticipated hell to the man who rejects his invitations."† Of St. John, the precursor of our Lord, his holy mother said, that he rejoiced in gladness. "This," says Father Diego de Stella, "is the difference that exists between good and evil men's joys: these do joy in their vanities and the other do rejoice in a good conscience before God. This is the rejoicing of St. John in joy."‡ Albert the Great makes divine reflections on this head. "Nothing," he says, "can be happier than to place all things in Him, in whom there is no deficiency. Therefore, with all study, diligence, and labour, simplify your heart, that you may be converted from phantasms, immoveable and tranquil, and that you may stand always within yourself in the Lord, as if your soul were in that now of eternity, that is, of divinity. If you continually and truly revolve these things within your mind, they will confer more upon you towards a happy life than all riches, delights, honours, nay, and besides, than all the wisdom and knowledge of this deceitful life and corruptible world, even though in these things you were to excel all the men that ever existed."§ St. Augustin, speaking of men converted to God, says that they lose the things which they loved before; "et donec fiat in illis amor æternorum non nulla mœstitia sanciantur."‖ But where that love enters, the loss is remembered with additional joy and thankfulness; for in order to approach their primal source, it was necessary that they should part with the weights with which other men do vainly load their feet, toiling in hopes of happiness, which even the wise ancients knew could never be derived from such things: as Cicero, when he says of Antony, "he was happy, if there can be any happiness in such a mind."* They had thought to find peace and gladness in the love of creatures; and in them even Cicero could exclaim, "O how many and how bitter are the roots of sorrow."† And now from these they are delivered by embracing poverty of spirit, which expects and finds light out of darkness, and, amidst privation, food on which they live, and never know satiety. That joy which might spring from natural sources, was exalted and secured to them by being sanctified; for they learned to offer the expansion of their hearts to God as well as to their earthly friend, and they looked up to him in their mirth and playful hours, as well as in times of serious meditation; for even in the lowest things they saw, as Dante says,

> ——— The printed steps
> Of that eternal worth, which is the end
> Whither the line is drawn.‡

In this respect the Church had taught them very differently from what is held by some writers of systems in our age; for even an acquaintance with her ritual had imparted that benignity which Cardinal Bona describes as being "a certain sweetness of mind, excluding all anger, envy, and malice, dressing the whole soul to benevolence, tolerance, and internal joy."§ The office for lauds breathes joy and humanity, expansion of heart, and the simplicity of innocence. At the view of its gracious forms one is tempted to ask "quæ est ista quæ progreditur quasi Aurora consurgens?"‖ To the humble, again, belonged the happiness resulting from that rule of faith which they received with such gratitude from the Church of God; and "it is a pleasure incomparable," as a great English philosopher says, "for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth." All other blissful gifts fall short in comparison of this, which is no sooner received than the soul finds rest and joy in the tabernacle of the living God. and like the dove which Noah let fly from the ark after the deluge to see if it had subsided, she brings back a branch of olive to signify that she has found some firm ground amidst the waves and tempests of the world.

Theirs was also in an eminent degree that delight of communion which is not

* Epist. ad Prob. † Retraite Spirituelle, I.
‡ On the Contempt of the World, I. 116.
§ De adhærendo Deo, Cap. v.
‖ Lib. I. de Serm. Dom. in Monte.

* Phil. II. † Tuscul. Lib. III. 83.
‡ Parad. I. § De Divina Psalmodia, 301.
‖ Cant. VI. 9.

weakened by the number of the happy to which Dante alludes in the lines,

O man! why place thy heart where there doth need
Exclusion of participants in good!*

St. Bernard applies to the proud the prophecy, "Erraverunt in solitudine in inaquosa;—for the proud," says he, "wander in solitude because they wish to be alone and singular in all things, to be either more noble, or more prudent, or more learned or better than all others. Such was the Pharisee, Deus, gratias ago tibi, quia non sum sicut cæteri hominum." St. Bernard adds, "gratias agit, non quia bonus, sed quia solus." O, how unlike the mind of those who are children of the first beatitude. "To cast it to the dogs! What a humiliating comparison!" Yet the woman of Cana was touched by it. "True Lord!" she replied; she was a Pagan, and she humbled herself; she was a Pagan, and through poverty of spirit, resigning all the prejudices of her nation and family, she procured for herself the riches of Divine peace.

St. Theresa, in relating the foundation of the monastery of Carmelites, at Alba of Tormez, mentions that the father and mother of the foundress, Theresa of Lays, being of a very ancient nobility but not rich, had taken up their residence in the village of Tordilla, which is two leagues distant from Alba, upon which she makes this observation, "I cannot, without compassion, remark how great is that vanity which rather than stoop to the least thing from what it names honour, can induce persons to retire thus to places where they are deprived of the instructions which may contribute to their salvation." Such a life was then uncommon; for humility caused men to avail themselves of the numerous and gracious provisions which the Church had made for the edification and happiness of her children: and of this we may still witness proofs in the situation of the ancient houses of the nobility, which are seldom far distant from the places of greatest devotional attraction. It is not only, however, in order to partake of the great and supernatural consolations derived from the ineffable mysteries of the Catholic Church that such a spirit is absolutely indispensible; but it may be said in general, that all the natural rewards of virtue are the fruit of a disposition which approaches to that

* Purg. XIV.

Christian humbleness or poverty of spirit which submits to the discipline of virtue with a cheerful and child-like obedience. This seems to have been present to the mind of Socrates when he said, "It is necessary to understand that in each of us there are two ruling and leading ideas, one or other of which we follow, the one a desire of pleasure, the other an implanted sentiment, desiring whatever is best. There are times when these two agree in harmony, and times when they are in opposition to each other, and at mutual war; one time this conquers, and at another that: when the sentiment which desires whatever is best gains the ascendancy, then temperance rules; but when we are ruled by the desire which irrationally draws us on to pleasure, then follows the reign of insult, and insult has may names, for it has many members and many forms."* Then, as Drexelius says, "even cupidities themselves are clamorous against each other, and opposed in combat; and there are continually in the mind, as if legions and armies of foul and bitter thoughts."† This answers to the condition of the proud, whereas the state of harmony corresponds with what St. Bonaventura describes, saying, "all that the soul of man can desire must have relation to these three things, either to what we believe is agreeable, or to what we think honourable, or to what we suppose is useful, and all these characters of good are found united only in spiritual delights,"‡ which belong only to the humble. To the same effect speaks a modern philosopher, who in his last work, written but a short time before his death, seems to have expressed the sentiments of a Catholic Christian, "The divine origin of our religion, he says, "is marked no less by its history than its harmony with the principles of our nature. Obedience to its precepts not only prepares for a better state of existence in another world, but is likewise calculated to make us happy here. We are constantly taught to renounce sensual pleasure and selfish gratification, to forget our body and sensible organs, to associate our pleasures with mind, and to fix our affections upon the great ideal generalization of intelligence in the one Supreme Being."§ In this passage the philosopher does but express in modern

* Plato, Phædrus.
† De Conformitate, &c. Lib. III. 2.
‡ De Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. Cap. lxxv.
§ Sir Humprey Davy, the Last Days of a Philosopher, 218.

phrase the sum of what was taught by the ascetical writers of the middle age, respecting the prominent part which humility, obedience, and self-renouncement should play in the operations of religion. But the effects of such a disposition of the soul becomes still more apparent as we ascend the scale of felicity, and endeavour to trace the causes and operation of those extraordinary raptures which refreshed and animated the holy men of these faithful ages. "God," said they, "ordains that our hopes should arise from our very poverty and weakness; as the Church sings on the eve of St. John, Ex utero senectutis et sterili Johannes natus est præcursor Domini." The prophecy which said "thy light shall arise in darkness,"* was fulfilled in their souls; and, as brother Elzeare l'Archer observed, in allusion to its lustre, "the stars never appear brighter than in the middle of the darkest night." Assuredly what during these intervals they saw, as Dante says,

> Was not for words to speak, nor memory's self
> To stand against such outrage on her skill.

But, on the other hand, they felt the necessity of ordaining that these raptures of devotion should be of short duration, "because," said St. Macaire, the Egyptian, "if man were to remain continually in them, he could no longer discharge the ministry of the Word nor accomplish his other duties, nor hear the Word of God, nor even attend when it would be indispensable to his own conservation. It would be necessary for him to remain seated in some retired spot where he would have no other occupation but to taste the sweetness of these transports. Therefore God has not wished that this high degree of perfection should be more frequent, in order that man might accomplish his duties and his destinies on the earth."† Not merely was poverty of spirit conversant with these happy intervals, but it taught men to appreciate the advantages of being left without them, and even the danger of desiring to enjoy them. "O humility, humility," cries St. Theresa, "I can never believe that they possess thee who seek consolations and raptures in prayer."‡ Here it is impossible not to be struck with the wide distinction between the minds of men in the ages of faith and that of those modern professors of piety who seem to consider as an undisputed point that it consists in the ardent desire of spiritual enjoyment and in the horror of all interior pain and of all poverty of spirit, not in the renouncement of private possessions, but in what the blessed John of the Cross calls "spiritual gluttony,"* being desirous rather of their interior pleasures than of purity of heart and true devotion; or, as the holy recluse of the thirteenth century says, "following Jesus to the breaking of the bread but not to drinking the cup of his passion." "Whereas true piety," says John of the Cross, "seeks what is insipid, suffering deprivation of all things for the love of God, dryness and affliction. For to seek only consolations and interior transports is to seek oneself and not Jesus Christ. It is the will of God that the faithful soul should experience intervals of dereliction, that it should suffer these interior desolations which, so far from being contrary, are favourable to perfection, when endured with the Catholic spirit of sacrifice. Our Saviour was deprived of all interior consolations when he spoke those affecting words. I wish, therefore, to persuade those who apply to the interior life, that the ways which conduct us to God, do not consist in our feeling great transports, but in renouncing ourselves, and being ready to take from God's hands both dereliction and joy."†

St. Bonaventura, speaking of the two descriptions of men, those whom grace comes to meet, inflaming their will with fervour, and crowning them with constant peace and joy, and those who are left without sensible consolations, though ever ready to say with the prophet, "Lord, my soul desires nothing but to be inflamed with the love of thy law," observing, that the former are more happy than the latter, adds, "Who can decide which has the most merit? Both may arrive at the highest point of perfection; only let the latter beware how they murmur in passing the desert of this life."‡ At the transfiguration, Peter, James, and John, were admitted to behold Christ, but Andrew was excluded. So again at the reviving of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, these three were let in, and Andrew shut out. Lastly, in the agony, the aforesaid three were called to be witnesses thereof, and still Andrew left behind. Yet he was

* Isaiah lviii. † Hom. VIII.
‡ The Castle of the Soul, Chap. i.

* The Ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. II. c. vii.
† B. John of the Cross, Ascent of Mount Carmel, II. 7. ‡ De Reformat. Hom. exter.

St. Peter's brother, and an apostle. Fuller, who makes the remark, confesses, in his quaint, profane style, that he seems more offended at this than Andrew himself was, whom he finds to express no discontent. In the trials of the spiritual life, such ordinations have a specific end. Thus we read of the internal agitations of St. Theresa, in that cruel moment when she was constrained by her director, fearing the scandal and calumnies of the world, to refrain from those pious exercises which had become her only joy, after generously sacrificing to God all that had been dear to her, at the moment when Jesus Christ, to reward such efforts, allowed her to experience the most lively transports in the operations of grace, she was obliged to renounce them, and thus was left between heaven and earth, without an object, and without support, the most sensible, and the most tender heart that ever existed.* St. Bonaventura, however, says, "The state of apparent dereliction, in which the soul is left without spiritual refreshment, is highly useful, in order that our faith may rest more upon the authority of the holy Scriptures, than upon our own experience; and thus our faith has more merit, and hope becomes more illustrious."† "When the soul experiences these extraordinary operations," says John of the Cross, "it often conceives a secret self-esteem, and imagines that it has already some merit before God. Such is the fruit of these sensible delights, which are supposed to be spiritual."‡ "Quid præclarius est quam vera spiritualis paupertas? atqui cum ea vobis proponitur, nolumus eam."§ We must have interior consolations!" Coming like Hercules to the temple, and growing impatient and furious because we do not receive an instant answer from heaven; ‖ because we are not immediately exalted to that state of animal enthusiasm which we mistake for piety. Thus the moderns turn away from the assemblies of the faithful as if never satisfied, according to the confession of a celebrated German philosopher, who speaks of his having entered a Catholic church. The reason is obvious. It is because the passions, the movement of which they mistake for zeal, are not excited; it is because there is nothing to nourish the secret pride, which is the atmosphere essential to the continued existence of that species of piety so falsely deemed spiritual, merely because it has no influence upon the conduct of life; it is because, on the contrary, there is every thing to humble them, and to remind them of their own nothingness, and to mortify vanities and impatience. The blessed John of the Cross makes sublime reflections on this head in his book on the obscure Night of the Soul. "God often refuses," he says, "this taste of sweetness, in order that the soul may regard him more purely with the eyes of faith. Men wish to feel God, and to taste him in the participation of the holy mysteries, and in other spiritual exercises, as if he were capable of being taken and touched in a material and sensible manner. All that is certainly very imperfect, and opposed to the nature and perfections of God, who demands from us a very simple and pure faith.—They follow the same method in prayer—thinking that, to be good, it ought to inundate the heart with a flood of sensible consolations. Accordingly, they fatigue their imagination and weary their head, to obtain these interior delights; and because they do not succeed, they are in trouble, and they think that they have lost their time. Thus they lose true devotion, which consists in perseverance in prayer, in humility, in distrust of self, and in the sole desire of pleasing God. Such souls have great need of passing through the obscure night of the soul, in which it is stript of every possession." At present, as Louis de Blois says, "even when they appear to serve God, it is only their internal consolations that they seek: they serve themselves: and thus in every thing, and at all times, they prefer their own will to that of God. They make holiness consist in the sweetness of their consolations, rather than in the mortification of the senses and the destruction of vice. Whereas, these sensible tastes are often nothing more than the simple movements of nature, and far from being really a true spiritual affection; they produce a secret pride a self-satisfaction, and a fatal security, a disposition also to judge others, and to believe themselves holy: they are pursued exactly as any other terrestrial pleasure, and they pass with them. Thus vanish away in their own thoughts those who seek sensible graces rather than the Author of grace."* In another book he speaks as follows. "Some imagine

* Villefore, Vie de S. T. Tom. I. p. 80.
† De Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual. Cap. V.
‡ The Ascent of Mount Carmel, II. xi.
§ Theologia Germanica, Cap. x.
‖ Pausanias, Cap. xiii.

* Guide Spirituelle, Chap. ii.

themselves lost when they are deprived of sensible consolations, and when they are restored to them, they fancy themselves to be saints: bnt herein they deceive themselves—for dryness of heart is often better for man than sweet refreshment. Sweetness is sometimes granted to those who, living ill, are far separated from God; and therefore it is no infallible index of sanctity. It is even an imperfection to pray for it—for the gifts of God are not God himself—and therefore we must not rest in them. We should be willing to be led through the shadow of death, and the darkness even of hell, not alarmed at being deprived of the sweets of sensible devotion, but only anxious to be always united to God with an intellectual love, and a right will, and finding in his good pleasure our supreme consolation."* All this is expressed by Dante in a most sublime figure, where he represents Beatrice at first smiling upon him, and casting forth beams from her celestial eyes; bnt when he ascends with her to the seventh heaven, where are the souls of those who had passed their life in holy retirement and contemplation, his near approach to the perfection of that splendour is indicated by relating that Beatrice then wore no smile, and that all was silent: and when he humbly asks the reason,—

> Mortal art thou in hearing as in sight,
> Was the reply. And what forbade the smile
> Of Beatrice, interrupts our song.†

Either would have overcome him; but still the ascent to that perfect state was accompanied with a diminution of sensible delight.

This may seem to have been a long digression; bnt it was very important to mark the doctrine on this point of the ages of faith, because, as we shall have occasion hereafter to observe, it will account for a number of characteristic traits in ancient institutions and rules of life, which have been lost and reversed in later times, and which are even an offence to the followers of the new religions; if, indeed, any thing be new which relates to the errors of men.

It remains, in the last place, to speak of the consolations belonging to the poor in spirit, which more immediately had regard to the sorrows and calamities of life. "Pauper et humilis spiritn, in multitudine pacis conversantur," says the holy recluse. It is a trite sentence in the schools, "Nulla regula sine exceptione;" bnt the rule of submitting humbly to the divine will, which opened a source of nnfailing tranquillity, was known to be without any exception. St. Bernard comments npon this truth, and says, "Hear the man whom God found to be after his own heart." "Paratum cor meum, Deus," he says, "paratum cor meum:" prepared for adversity, prepared for prosperity, prepared for being hnmbled, prepared for being exalted, prepared for all things that thou prescribest. Dost thou wish to make me a herd of sheep? Dost thou wish to constitute me a king over the people? Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum. Lo, I am ready—let him do with me according to his good pleasure. Admirable was this abdication of his own will. For what, if God should say, 'I do not wish that you should be a king, I do not wish that you should live.' 'I am ready,' replies David: if God should say, 'I wish you to be a second time an exile, a second time a fugitive, and to have a most wicked son, who will seek both the crown and the life of his father.' 'Yet still, I am ready,' cries David. If God command, saying, 'I wish you to be again in the dens of wild beasts, again to live by begging alms, and daily to incur danger of death,'—'Nevertheless, I am ready,' says David. If God should say, 'I wish, instead of consolation, that you should be cut off from all that were subject and dear to you, to be sought after in order to be stoned, to be devoted to all dire calamities,'—'Yet I do not decline this,' says David. Dominus faciat quod bonum est coram se." So ready was he to sacrifice freedom, children, riches, kingdom, and even life, rather than not please God rather than not say, "Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum."*

Hieremias Drexelius, the Jesuit, wrote a divine book, never to be sufficiently praised, entitled, "De Conformitate Humanæ Voluntatis cum Divinâ," which will explain the consolations in affliction, which belonged to the poor in spirit, in the present world of trial. The philosopher, whose work, as being written with the sentiments of a Catholic, has been already quoted, had evidently made this discovery for himself, and probably was indebted for it to his residence in that capital of the Christian world, whose stores of learning and sacred wisdom are seldom lost npon men of noble capacity. "Religion," he says, "has always the same beneficial influence on the mind.

* Louis de Blois, Institution Spirituelle, Chap. vii.
† Par. XXI.

* Serm. III. de Resur. Dom.

In youth, in health, and prosperity, it awakens feelings of gratitude and sublime love, and purifies at the same time that it exalts; but it is in misfortune, in sickness, in age, that its effects are most truly and beneficially felt, when submission in faith, and humble trust in the Divine will, from duties become pleasures, undecaying sources of consolation: then it creates powers which were believed to be extinct, and gives a freshness to the mind, which was supposed to have passed away for ever, but which is now renovated as an immortal hope." To which sudden and mysterious change, if it were allowable to compare things divine with human, we might say that some weak resemblance can be traced in the mere natural feelings which many persons must have experienced, when, in days of heaviness and desertion, in the dark and cheerless sky of winter, the eye, at eve or morning, discovered some fair and lovely tint painted in an adverse cloud,—some sweet or glorious lustre appearing faintly beyond it, and instantly the mind remembered some trait or feeling of happy days gone by,—some aspiration of youth,—some rapture of friendship,—some sweet fancy of innocence and memory was changed into hope, and the heart seemed relieved from some long oppressive load, which had sunk it down, and the face was once more lighted up with a smile of joy. But it is time to close this first retrospect, whose humble theme relates to the ways and thoughts of the spiritually poor. It only remains to observe in conclusion, that to this poverty of spirit were obliged to come in search of content and peace, not merely the saintly men, whose desires from the first aimed at perfection, but even those mighty heroes, who had wrought so many a deed to merit earthly glory, and, as Homer says, inextinguishable fame. To them, at length, seemed especially to sound the words—"Aufer cydarem, tolle coronam, sede in pulvere."* And it was not for those who had already felt the bitterness of pride to remain deaf to the voice which breaks the cedars. Behold, then, the knightly limbs prostrate, the swords, the crowns, and banners laid at the steps of the altar. No more haughty state, no more esteem of themselves, no more desire of honour. What! and did these deign at last to approach the mountain? Did they discover too, that their happiness was there? Yes, and with the deeper sense of conviction, as they had so long tasted by experience the reverse; for, "all our peace in this miserable life is derived rather from suffering humbly, than from not experiencing contrary things," and this remark of the holy recluse is peculiarly true of men who possess the most delicate and susceptible minds. It is only in poverty of spirit that they can find support against the scorns and ills of life, and rest for their wishes. Without that rest to visit in time their afflicted hearts, shattered by the world's tempests, they must succumb amidst unutterable and incurable woe, a sorrow that is irresistible, and even, as Homer truly says, deathless. Well does the poet represent them, in describing Tasso:—

——— from my very birth
My soul was drunk with love, which did pervade
And mingle with whate'er I saw on earth;
Of objects all inanimate I made
Idols, and out of wild and lonely flowers,
And rocks, whereby they grew, a paradise,
Where I did lay me down, within the shade
Of waving trees, and dreamed uncounted hours;
Though I was chid for wandering, and the wise
Shook their white aged heads o'er me, and said,
Of such materials wretched men were made,
And such a truant boy would end in woe,
And that the only lesson was a blow.*

They judged rightly; for they took not into account the resources of faith, and they saw that, in a world of incurable disorder, so intense a love of what is beautiful and perfect, must needs of natural necessity bring with it disappointment and the keen bitter sense of discord, and the cruel pangs of having to witness, and perhaps endure the triumph of injustice and wrong. Had they, indeed, looked upwards and conceived the charm of that substance of things not seen; had they remembered the offers of eternal truth, to give rest to the wearied spirits that would follow him who was meek and lowly of heart, that end of woe would not have seemed inevitably awaiting the object of their solicitude. For oh! what a balm has the Catholic religion provided for these eagle spirits, when confined in the net of earthly calamity! Its effects may be witnessed by referring to the words which the same poet ascribes to Tasso, where he represents him afterwards in the dungeon, saying,—

I once was quick in feeling,—that is o'er;
My scars are callous, or I should have dashed
My brain against these bars, as the sun flashed
In mockery through them.

He once was quick in feeling. How

* Ezek. xxi. 26. and Isa. xlvii. 1.

* Byron, Lament. of Tasso.

much is expressed in these few words! Could we behold a heart thus delicate and susceptible, Ah me! what wounds would it display, recent and old, as if inflicted by those flames which had already begun to prey upon it; tormented as if by demons, whose instruments are every brief and vile contingency! But he adds, "that is over." In fact, all is changed, all is reversed: he is no longer what he was. No one can now tear the impatient answer from his tongue, no indication of neglect, no cruel injustice, no merciless wrong, can any more trouble that heart; for it has found rest and peace unutterable, peace everlasting. That rest has been found by entering upon the way of the holy cross; he has been taught how to endure, how to sanctify sorrow. Objects have been made familiar to him, before which he loves to kneel and weep in lonely reverence. The passion of his Saviour, the crown of thorns, the drink of vinegar and gall,—these have taught him what he could never have gained from all the consolations of philosophy,—these

> Have from the sea of ill-love saved his bark,
> And on the coast secured it of the right;

teaching him to estimate the value of being condemned to suffer bitterness, and yielding him in return, for that proud and lofty spirit which he renounced, the power of preserving his peace while beholding man's unkindness; the power of reducing to a sweet calm that once restless and troubled sea of the heart, swollen and agitated with a thousand passions; nay, even the faculty of converting pain and misfortune, and the dire events of a calamitous life, into images of quiet beauty, on which the memory and imagination may dwell, almost with a poetic fondness; for now he can say with Lovelace, that

> Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage,
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for a hermitage;

or apply to himself what Richard Plautagenet says of Mortimer:—

> In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,
> And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.*

Who would exchange this privilege, which requires nothing from those who desire to possess it, but a humble and patient spirit, for the anguish and disappointments that inevitably await the proud, who disdain to suffer, still impenitent though scourged? Who would barter it for those intellectual acquirements which only aggravate the distress of their self-tormented possessors, whom we behold so often like the spirits in Dante, which "hung on the wild thorn of the wretched shade?" Who would not wish to have known, from the first moment of life, this great divine secret, proclaimed, indeed, from the Mount, and yet to many still a hidden mystery? Then youth would have been gentle as the breath of spring, and age as gifted as the sweet luxuriant season when the powers of nature exhale a living balm for every sense; then, as each once proud follower of earthly glory might exclaim with Dante,

> Devoutly joy ineffable as these,
> Had from the first, and long time since been mine.†

* Hen. VI. I. ii. 5. † Purg. XXIX.

Such then was the character of ages of faith in the middle time of history, with regard to the disposition proposed in the first of these divine sentences from the Mount, which teach the means of attaining to celestial beatitude. The examples which have been given are drawn from histories and other works which date from that period, and the reflections and comments, which express the belief and sentiment, are, for the most part, either those of authors, whose writings were received as law from a more remote antiquity, or those of men who lived during the time, and who are known to have exerted a most extensive influence in directing the thoughts and conduct, not only of men individually, but even of entire nations: or, in fine, they have been drawn from the verses of that great Christian poet of the middle ages, whose mind was so thoroughly imbued with the theology of the school, and with the sentiments that prevailed among all ranks of the people, and who is always so precise and accurate in his expressions of them, that wherever the peculiar prejudices of an unhappy political party do not break out, his sublime and wondrous creation may be received in one sense as a view of the intellectual condition of mankind during the period in which he lived; and here the genius of Cary had facilitated the task by supplying me with the thoughts already clothed in the English tongue as nearly as possible as they had been first conceived in the mind of the great master of mysterious song, who is assuredly not more admirable as a poet than as a kind of divine instructor to repeat the eternal truths of revelation to the forgetful and thoughtless race of men. These passages might have been multiplied to almost any limits, but to serve the purpose of a general outline, intended rather to suggest than to develope the meditation of others, there has been enough already offered, in giving the more important among the forms into which the leading principle was found to pass. In the ensuing books the reader will often have occasion to recur to what has been proposed in this place, in order to attain to a more clear conception of the subject on which he will then be occupied, and in like manner the subjects to be hereafter considered, will continue still farther to illustrate and confirm the view which has been taken of the spirit and manners of Christian antiquity: so that I would recommend the postponement of objections until all has been seen: for the grace of the eight divisions has something common in general, but specifically different for each beatitude; and, in fact, they are all so closely interwoven, that each must necessarily involve something which might have found admission, perhaps, with equal justice, under a different head; but it will be sufficient for all purpose of arrangement, if we keep the great leading features of each distinct within its proper and immediate limits. Therefore, without employing myself on every occasion to meet objections, and anticipate their solution, I shall continue to sit a silent spectator of the representation before us, and wait until the personages shall speak for themselves. The first development of the one original principle which has been proposed in an eight-fold division, has necessarily been less conversant with facts and the positive side of things, since its consequences, as its essence, were primarily and professedly spiritual, or at least foreign from our present conception of the material works of the mighty Creator of the universal frame, and wholly without the sphere of those tangible objects, which have been hitherto submitted to the preceptions of man; but in what is to come there will be occasion to approach much nearer to the present external and material world, for the development can only be attained by an exhibition of the impress made upon this earth, in the forms, manners, and institutions of society.

For the present, I must pause with an internal conviction that those whom I undertook to lead through this retrospect of past times, will have reason to repent their having consented to follow me; they must feel wearied and disappointed; but as the rude peasant who guides the pilgrim ventures at times to promise shortly a less steep and slippery path, so I presume to suggest here, that the ensuing books hold out a prospect less discouraging to one who has already had such experience of the weakness and incapacity of the stranger, who with no other recommendation but a good and cheerful will, has offered to lead him through these high mysterious regions: for besides that there will be so many material objects on every side to lay hold on, and grapple with, which will therefore render less necessary the qualifications of a spiritual order to which we can lay no claim, the view must be felt to possess more, perhaps, of a human interest, and almost one which is present and personal to us all in these times, when we behold the work of general destruction so fast proceeding

under pretence of that new religious and revolutionary principle of reducing all things to what is supposed to be spiritnality, though, in fact, it is synonymous with annihilation; the principle which rests on the idea that there is nothing pure and divine bnt what is ἀσωματώτατον, to use the expression of Aristotle;* that, be it remembered, which was the great instrument in the hands of the ignorant innovators of the sixteenth century, and which seems to be prepared in the wise dispensation of the Supreme Rnler, as the grand solvent to be employed by their worthy, but far more acute successors in removing every thing which had been created by religion in ages of faith for the use and enjoyment of men, churches and states, cathedrals and abbeys, colleges, and institntions of mercy for the poor, thrones, degrees, and privileges, wisely and admirably contrived for the common benefit, sublime and joyous ceremonies to be interwoven with the whole order of social life, and the application of earthly and visible objects to promote spiritual and eternal good. However, although in what is now past, there may have been but little that was tangible to excite the attention of those who love curious research, still it may be conceived that there was a certain degree of interest even amidst a mere didactic exposition of doctrines and sentiments, which is not wholly without the province of those who contemplate the history of the ages of the race of men; for the facts and events which mark the different stages of the hnman course are intimately connected with the spirit, and, as it were, the system of philosophy of each period, and it is impossible to estimate these withont taking a review of the doctrines publicly and generally taught, which can only be known by simply and patiently listening to what we find was delivered. In conclusion, we may be allowed to anticipate a reflection which will subsequently be often snggested, and to observe even from the little progress we have already made, how groundless is the surprise expressed by those, loving the ages of Christian antiquity, when they find them now by proud unbelieving men in such wondrous sort despised. The law of the moral world, we know, cannot be arrested, bnt fulfils itself without regard to any one's wishes. Human honour is yielded only to those who court it by corresponding thoughts and actions, and the world will love its own, and that exclnsively. How, then, is it possible that it should admire and reward, with the vain honours of its applause, these simple and strangely superhnman ages, when nothing was written or done for glory, bnt all in hopes of an invisible good, and of a fnture eternal recompense? To the eye of a proud earthy philosophy, there was nothing worthy of being described in elaborate histories, nothing to point the sentence of a splendid rhetoric, nothing to make men feel higher in their own esteem, or to snpport any of the inventions by which so many at present hope to extinguish for ever the torch of faith, and almost to dethrone the Almighty, as far as respects his government, of that earth which he gave to the children of men. For if there was grandenr in these ages too evident to be contested, and greatness more than human to which the most sublime geninses that ever moved in the intellectual system of man have paid homage, it was accompanied with such manifestations of the lowly idea, often to the eye of sense so trivial and ignoble in the form of its development, such symbols of hnmbleness and poverty of spirit, that independent of all ulterior designs of opposition, the sentiments of mere animal men are necessarily shocked rather than elevated at the remembrance; and the real glory—the glory worthy of an immortal being, created only to love and to adore—is overlooked in the hnmiliation of the cross. They who now profess such a regard for the appearance of material consistency nnder every circumstance, are highly offended at the contrasts presented in the institutions, manners, and character of the middle ages; bnt it should be remembered, that to them also the question of St. Fulgentius, which the Church reads in her office, wonld be a scandal if some of them were not themselves the type of inconsistency. "Quis est iste Rex Jndæorum?" asks that holy bishop. "Pauper et dives, humilis et sublimis, qui portatur ut parvulus, adoratnr nt Deus." So was it with these ages, in conformity to their divine model; they were at the same time poor and rich, humble and sublime; below the standard of hnman glory, and marvellous in the manifestations of the power and majesty of God. As St. Leo says of the great mystery from which their whole spirit and form emanated, "they were in such a manner tempered, that all humility was comprised in their majesty, and all

* De Anima A.

majesty in their humility." But in the prevalence of the judgment which now condemns them, there is assuredly nothing that ought to seem strange to those who have attained to a real knowledge of their character. So far from it, if the case were otherwise, if it were taught that these were annals, the study of which would furnish ambitious men with the science of the world, and the multiplied arts of glory, they might reasonably fear that their whole view of the history of these ages had been mistaken; for it is not within the mortal power to ordain against the law of highest God, that the heavenly crown should be reserved for those to whom the world has adjudged its own, and who by loftiness of spirit have secured a present recompense of gratitude and fame. Ages of faith are stigmatised as a period of darkness and barbarism; no sign of hate is unemployed by those who mention them; they are spoken of as presenting nothing but an universal blank, cheerless, disgraceful; but it is either by men illiterate, who let out their ears for hire to declaiming sophists who adopt the strain of ridicule, chiefly because it is the easiest process to win the character of being acute and judicious, or fanatical who merely repeat one after another, though, indeed, with all the sincerity of their hearts, what they have been told by founders and propagators of sects who sought to justify their schism, by publishing abuse and scandal, or else it is by men of higher capacities, but who still to lowliness have been willing strangers, persons evidently under the domination of the world, and of the philosophy which soars not above its brief contingencies; or else, what ought not to be forgotten, or spoken of in palliative terms, it is by men bound together in secret league against whatever is holy, whatever is divine, speaking in the language of that city which has so thriven in the warfare which the tongue dreads to designate, that we might almost apply to it the fearful words of the great poet, and say, that its name spreads over hell; men of undisguized impiety, guilty souls, that, if they change not, in the fire, must vanish. These are the teachers, who, from different motives, all agree in affirming that ages of faith were ages of folly, that piety was superstition, that contemplation was idleness, that humility was the extreme of degradation, that the world was in darkness, until the rise of modern philosophy, or as one who has written on the life of Philip Augustus says, "that heresy must be considered as the first cause of the march of the human mind."* And are humble Christians to be deceived by such clamours as these? Are the bold assertions of such men to prevent the memory of the just from being in eternal remembrance? When this cry of darkness is not too artless to merit reflection, ought it not rather, on any point, to lead the faithful to suspect the existence of spiritual light? And where it may so easily be confronted, as in this instance, with the unquestionable evidence of ancient writers, whom we can behold teaching and acting without any regard to what judgment posterity would form of them, ought it not to be received as the unsuspicious testimony of enemies to the consoling truth of the existence, during that long period, of a race of men eminently Christian, eminently deserving of the scorn and hatred of the enemies of the cross and grace of Christ; who, as true pilgrims and strangers on the earth, took no thought for leaving on it trophies of glory behind them, but only passed humbly on, as if in a solemn and continued procession, supporting and encouraging each other to persevere in following the royal road of the holy cross through a world which was not their home, through a world which they looked upon as a vale of tears, through a world which always stood aloof when it did not persecute, only scowling upon them in disdain and hatred, in the hopes of being able to reach in safety the portals of the celestial city, those gates through which had passed the King of Glory, and which were again to open, only to admit the humble and the poor? It will be time enough to prepare for joining in the accusations against them, when we shall find these supported by persons who unite in themselves the learning requisite to conduct an historical enquiry with the spirit and the sentiment, which are no less requisite to enable them to estimate rightly the result, and to know what they have really found—for it is not assuredly men who have relapsed to a heathen philosophy, who can respect or even comprehend, amidst the various institutions and manners of past ages, the humility of those who followed Christ. Meanwhile we are fully warranted in concluding from the whole, that these ages were, in an eminent degree, endowed with that poverty of

* Tom. II. p. 278.

spirit, which is so completely opposed to every form of the development of human pride. That they were ages of glory, in the heathen or revolutionary sense of the term, though they were ages of most singular heroism, may, indeed, be denied; that they were ages of any predominance of political dignity, in particular nations, according to the theories which have grown out of the extremely complicated relations of modern civilization, though the grandeur of their state is often admirable from its simplicity, may admit of question; that their philosophy did not admit of being clothed in that pompous and seductive language, with which sophists persuade society that it has advanced in general intelligence—though, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, it was not on that account to be noted as deficient; finally, that their moral instructions were not recommended with eloquence, though they were endued with a power greater than all eloquence; that their system of education was not calculated to make great men, in the worldly sense of the term, though it was eminently calculated to make the young gentle and engaging, and to bring back a primal age beautiful as gold; all this may indeed be argued with more or less plausibility. That they were ages of humility, or of what the divine sentence terms poverty of spirit, in public and in private life, in the institutions of states, in philosophy, and in education, no one can deny who has regard to the facts of history and to the whole tone and tendency of the contemporaneous writings; it was, in reality, the spirit of the times, the spirit which governed the lives of individuals, and which from thence extended its influence even over the affairs of nations: it was a spirit which on several occasions broke forth amidst the pomp and circumstance of royal courts; it was seen in many instances on the thrones of the world, and repeatedly in the triumph no less apparently calculated to involve it in danger, of unrivalled genius, and of an acknowledged intellectual sovereignty.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK II.



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SUMMARY.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

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THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

RISING to that second period of the heavenly strain, which said the "meek are blessed," a view at once so lovely and extensive in range of gracious objects presents itself, when we turn to mark how far this can be illustrated and verified in the annals of Christian history, that we seem then only beginning to enjoy the sweet consequence of meditating on the spirit and ways of faithful times. Still as we continue to ascend this delicious mountain, at every stage we shall find the air which gently smites our temples embalmed with some new fragrance, and at our feet we shall mark some new odoriferous and exquisitely painted flower which adorns the path of innocence; we shall be saluted with some new ravishing prospect which for a moment will make us forget the past, though it seem only to feed and strengthen that infinite desire which prompts us to press forward to enjoy other, and perhaps higher splendours, the splendours of the saints, which are reserved to bless even those eyes that are unworthy to behold the height of heaven. The first direction which our thoughts naturally take is towards the mild courtesy which characterised the manners of the middle ages so eminently, that even the least instructed are accustomed to consider them as synonymous with gracious manners, to which meekness gave the captivating charm. All works which represent the days of chivalry have occasion to be often conversant with this theme; but it was from the schools of holy men that the spirit of grace and harmony descended to shed a soft lustre on the ways of secular life; for as St. Augustin says, it is piety which leads to the second beatitude, "Beati mites."* A great poet of antiquity well distinguished between urbanity and the virtue which alone makes it precious; "I would labour in dressing the garden of the Graces, for they give delight, but men are good and wise by means of the divine assistance."

————Ἀγαθοὶ δὲ
Καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες
Ἐγένοντ'.†

"Urbanity when separated from religious charity, is rather the law of war than a treaty of peace between men." This is what Manzoni says.‡ Without that charity a man may appear courteous at times, but as St. Barnard said of Peter Abailard, he will be unlike himself—externally a John, and within a Herod.§ Even his apparent kindness will be sometimes exer-

* De Serm. Dom. in Monte.
† Pindar, Olymp. IX.
‡ Osservazioni sulla Morali Cattolica, 56.
§ Epist. cxciii.

cised with a view to wound more deeply. Don Alonzo the wise, king of Naples, hearing one day a certain man praising his enemy, "Remark," said he, "the artifice of the man, and you will see that his praises are only for the purpose of doing him more injury." And such was the fact, for he pretended to approve of his designs during six months, in order that afterwards people might be more disposed to give credit to the calumnies which he was preparing against him. Urbanity in the world seems only a kind of symbol to satisfy those who would have nothing to say in first accosting each other but words like those with which Lonis XI. approached the duke of Burgundy, "Mon frère m'assurez vous? mon frère m'assures vous?" The love of God and the direction of the intention to his glory is the only sonrce of real, and sincere and lasting courtesy. Divine love beholds Jesns in the person of the lowliest hrother, and, therefore, prompts a thousand kind, generous, and amiable actions, to serve, benefit, and please others, such as men unvisited from on high, would have been discouraged from performing hy many ohvious earthly reflections and interests, which are never directed by any higher motive than that of personal and selfish benefit even when they seek to gain respect and love. It is very curious to ohserve, how the religion of Catholic Christians tended to form the character, not only of a courteous and hnmhle gentleman, but also to dictate actions of that kind of generosity which seems so amiahle in young persons of nohle, open, and warm hearts. For it taught men to be generous and liheral, not indeed through vanity and the desire of passing for a person of a higher order, bnt for Christ's sake, reminding them that it was better to give than to receive; and that it was often as great charity to be liberal to hnmhle persons as to give alms to the poor. The great apostle of the nations furnishes a beautiful example in point when writing to Philemon concerning his poor servant Onesimus, he says, "If he hath wronged thee or oweth the aught, put that on mine account. I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it." Moreover the eye of faith has regard to the ineffahle mysteries of the Christian altar, of which every one may be a partaker; and the thonght of this seems to entitle the very persons of men to somewhat of veneration. The meek courtesy and loving address of holy men is so invariahle an attendant upon sanctity, that the Church at the second vespers of a Confessor Pontiff sings the Psalm which begins with "Memento Domine David et omnis mansnetndinis ejus," words which had also formed part of the introit for the day. The kindness and expressions of affection with which a stranger is received hy those who live a heavenly life, might be described in the words of Dante, where he says of one spirit which approached him in such guize:

So bright, that in my thought I said: The love
Which this betokens me, admits no doubt.*

Such was the greeting that St. Paul gave to St. Anthony when he received him into his cell in the desert, when there followed even a gentle strife, each contending who should give the other greater honour. Such too is the greeting which one is always sure to receive from a man of the interior life on entering his humble dwelling. In the chapels of Vallomhrosa, the affahility of its holy eremites is attested on their tomhs. May it be allowed me to mention an instance of the courtesy of religious men which occurred to me on a journey through the forests of Lucerne. Perhaps so lowly an instance will best accord with the present argument. It is one of those many humble themes which rest in the memory as if to mock the ambition of elevated mnsings. One evening then, arriving at the little ancient town of Snrsee, I took a walk ontside the wall, and finding a convent of Capnchins on the way side, I went into the church. Two old friars with long white beards were at their devotions. When it struck eight it seemed a signal to them to withdraw, hut as they rose np and saw me kneeling near the door, one of them returned and resumed his position. After a while he again rose and whispered to a servant who knelt hy his side. It was not till I rose to leave the church that the hrother advanced with the keys to lock the doors; for so great was their delicacy that they would rather abate a little of their rule than appear to act discourteously to an obscnre and youthful stranger. Such were those barefooted meek ones, who sought God's friendship in the cord.† Meekness must follow the humility which we have seen was the spirit of religious men; for the doctrine taught was this "non nocet, si omnihus te supponas: nocet autem plu-

* Parad. XIX.

† Dante, Parad. XII.

rimum, si vel nni te præponas;"* and it was even observed by writers of these ages, that the positive precepts of religion inspire politeness. Thus, speaking of our Lord's rule for those invited to a feast, John of Salisbury says, "Althongh this might seem rather the edict of religion than of civility, yet, 'ego religionis formam à civilitate non divido cum nihil civilins sit qnam cultni virtutis insistere.'"† St. Boniface, in his Mirror of Novices, gives them instrnction in politeness at table, which comprises every thing that would now be desired to qualify men for the most refined society. It is curious to find him noticing a thousand vulgarities which have been infused into the manners of France hy the sophists, and which shock every well hred stranger, rendering the connection between a religious education and real good manners very striking. Men of this world are so full of all unkindness, so steeled in proud selfishness and mistrust, that they cannot believe the gentle courtesy of monks and holy persons of the interior life to be sincere. They cannot believe that these men of God should, as they profess to do, really feel joy in serving a stranger, concern at not being able instantly to relieve each of his slightest wants, that they shonld really think themselves honoured hy receiving him into their poor cell, and afflicted at the thought of his going away: all this seems to them as something hollow, affected, ridiculous, hateful, "abominatio est superhis, humilitas," says St. Bonaventura. Alas, for them who know not what it is to love men in and for Jesus! "And why do you sappose," asks the Father guardian of Franciscans at La Flèche, in the Paradise of the Seraphic Religion of St. Francis,—"Why do yon suppose are our friars so gracions and gentle to every one who approaches them? Do you imagine that it is in order that they may conciliate their friendship, and take advantage of their good opinion, like those money-catchers whose kindness lasts so long as the good fortune of those whose purses they envy? No; hnt it is the property of these sublime souls to live always contented, and this interior joy of their conscience cannot bnt break forth ontwardly, since it is out of the abnndance of the heart that the mouth speaketh."‡ The beantiful passage in the Morals of St. Gregory, which condemns the false civility of the world, and commends the gracions simplicity of the just, comes in part of the office which every man separate to the Church recites in due conrse. "The wisdom of the world," it says "teaches to conceal the heart hy machinations, to veil one's sense with words, to shew as true what is false, and to prove false what is true, to love under a palliated name the wickedness of dnplicity, for perversity of mind is called urhanity. Whereas, on the contrary, the wisdom of the just is to feign nothing, to be open in words, to love what is true, and to avoid all falsehood; but this simplicity of the just is derided hy the wise of this world, to despise innocence and truth;"* and thns that sweet benignity, soft as young down, which encompasses the saintly, and even heroic character, loses that title of respect "Which the proud soul ne'er pays hut to the proud." As when one traverses the Campagna of Rome, and on some sndden fear hastens to a house which seems to offer shelter, hut finds it desert, empty, shnt up, or open only through decay, one feels then that the desolation is more horrihle and fearful to the imagination than the wildness of the waste where there is no such mockery of walls, so does the heart sink within one at the sound and shew of that hollow courtesy which smiles at a distance, hut which on approach suffers all to be barred and silent. But such were not religious manners in ages of faith, and warmth of affection was not exclnded, hnt expressed hy gracious manners. The description which Pliny gives of Fuscus Salinator applies to them. "Puer simplicitate, comitate jnvenis, senex gravitate."† The Catholic religion, by enahling men to live without being slaves to the world, facilitated the acqnisition of this youthful grace. The chorus says to Trugæus in the old play, that if he could finish his labonrs he wonld he seen to lay aside all his former harsh manners, and he would appear gentle.

Καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον, ἀπ-
αλλαγέντα πραγμάτων.

"Man," as Leo the great says, "created in the image of God was to he an imitator of his Author, and if this is the natnral dignity of onr race, if there should shine in us, as if in a certain mirror, the form of divine benignity." The social state in the middle ages had a degree of refinement from

* De Imit. lib. I. 7.
† De Nugis Curialium, lib. VIII. c. ix.
‡ Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, par F. Elzeare l'Archer. Paris, 1614.

* Lib. X. cap. XVI. in Job xii. † Epist. VI. 26.

the influence of religion which, at the time delighted and surprised reflecting men. Thus Petrarch describes his arrival at Cologne on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, and says, "I was astonished to observe in that barbarous land such civility, such a beauty of buildings, such gravity in the men, and such elegance in the matrons."* The greatest attention was even paid among the lower classes to the observances of civility, as the regulations of their own society shew; for in the fourteenth century in France, if a mason uttered an uncivil word, he paid a fine of ten farthings to the person he had offended. But the engaging manners of the poor proceeded from a very different principle from the fear of punishment, as may still, indeed, be seen in those happy Catholic cantons of Switzerland and the Tyrol, of Styria and Carinthia, where the children come forth to kiss their little hands to the stranger, the youths receive him as a brother, and lead him to the deepest pool, or to the wildest path that promises the sport most dear to them; the old men, like Homeric fathers mild, pass him by with smiles and looks of affection; the matrons invoke the adorable name of the Saviour to bless him, and where the form of greeting with all is to say, "Praised be Jesus Christ," that the sweet pledge of everlasting union may be returned in the answer, "for ever." Ah! it is here that God, through the meekness of his children, gives joy to the heart of youth. What traveller in Italy has not been struck with the meekness and benignity of the holy men who receive strangers to monastic hospitality! Dante, in Paradise, remembers

——— The bright courtesy
Of friar Thomas and his goodly lore.†

For one, at least, I can never omit an occasion to praise those venerable priests in the peaceful cloisters of Camaldoli, who with the noble air and imposing majesty of princes, waited like humble domestics upon me unworthy, disdaining no kind of servile office; men who knew how to unite the utmost dignity with the utmost grace, so that whom I venerated as angels I began to love as brothers; men of such rare benignity, so disinterested, so unearthly, that to one who before had friends they could give a new idea of friendship; men in short, who had learned to believe with

* Epist. iv. † Cant. XII.

Pope St. Leo the Great, that "the love of our neighbour is the love of God."* To observe their habit one would have supposed them ancient sages from the groves of Plato, but the sweetness and heavenly calm of their countenances, proclaimed that they were of the school of Christ. Ah! since it cannot be given me to recompense them, may I be allowed to leave this frail memorial of their goodness, and to satisfy the demand of my heart by testifying what an impression it wrought there. To recompense them is the privilege only of the Author of benignity, of the Source and Inspirer of love. I took leave of them with sighs, but it was only for myself, with wishes as fruitless that I could have added to their happiness; but the brief contingencies of the mortal course could not affect those who moved already in another sphere of being—they were already possessors of that peace which is to last for ever—"justi autem in perpetuum vivent et apud Dominum est merces eorum." The Church in the most imposing of her ceremonies, and in the person of her supreme pontiff, takes occasion to express this divine charity. The holy father on creating a new cardinal, before the solemn and august assembly of the sacred college, throws aside, as it were, his dignity, receives him in open arms, and twice bestows the kiss of peace. Each venerable brother then salutes him with the same marks of tenderness. Thus even in the most stately and formal parts of her ritual, there is some development of the loving principle, some sweet manifestation of charity, of a friendship that is to be eternal. For the general instruction of her children, the precepts and manners of the Church were express and uniform. The sweet evening hymn, in the little office that was so dear to men in the middle ages, that all the efforts of art were unceasingly employed in multiplying beauteous copies, in addressing her, who, above all, was meek, made equal account of meekness and of purity:

Mites fac et castos.

"O my soul," cries Bellarmin, "if thou art a garden of the celestial Husbandman, take heed lest thorns should be found in thee; but let there be the tree of charity, and the lily of chastity, and the violet of humility." Behold the model in all ages held up to the faithful. Men will speak

* Serm. ix. de Jejun.

vain things, and use violence, and study deceits all the day long, and speak great things against them, and challenge them to argument—hut they are to remember him who "as a deaf man, heard not; and was as a dumh man, not opening his mouth: who became as one that heareth not, and that hath no reproofs in his mouth."* St. Anselm, in his suhlime Meditations, prays to God that he would take away obstinacy from his sentiments, and rudeness from his manners.†

"Behold what is meek courtesy," says St. Ambrose. "The superior comes to visit the inferior, that the inferior may be assisted: Mary to Elizabeth—Christ to John."‡ Behold another divine example. St. Jerome remarks, that the other Evangelists, through respect for St. Matthew, are unwilling to call him by the vulgar name of his profession, hut use a word of double sense, Levi; whereas, St. Matthew names himself at once the Publican; shewing his readers that no one should despair of salvation, if he be converted to better things.§ St. Jerome gives a beautiful instance of Christian courtesy towards the great. "No one," he says, "ever snrpassed Paula in goodness towards all the world; no one could be more gentle and kind to humble inferiors. She never sought the society of the great; but whenever she found herself with them, she was never observed to hlame with a severity that might have seemed out of place those who sought the glory and perishable honour of this life. In every thing she knew how to preserve a just moderation."|| The same courtesy, from the same principle of charity, was inculcated by St. Francis. "If a friar," says one of that meek order, "should find himself at the table of some prince, or great lord, and should perceive the sweet odonr with which the cloth and napkins are perfumed, he ought not to shew his contempt for such luxury, but he should make it the subject of internal contemplation. We teach our scholars, on such occasions, to take all from the hand of God, and to judge all in good part, according to the command of our glorious father, St. Francis; who, in his rule, warns us, that, although we be poor and austere in our lives, we mnst not judge evil of men in the world, who live delicately, and feast well; for who knows, if, under these purple habits, there may not be concealed hair shirts and sackcloth. Was not that the custom of the king St. Louis, and of many other princes?"* "A man should endeavonr to gain the minds of others, and to render himself agreeable and amiable in all the occasions when it is his duty to instruct, to exhort, and to correct. No necessity will ever jnstify rudeness or hitterness." This is what St. Basil says in his Epistle to St. Gregory Nazianzen. "The intention of afflicting a man is always a sin. The most lawful action, the exercise of the most incontrovertible right, becomes a sin, when directed to this horrihle end. It is with this view," continnes Manzoni, "that the Catholic Chnrch lays down her morality."† What a contrast, then, was here, to the spirit of that people among the ancients, who in many respects approached nearer to the discipline and character of our ancestors than any other! For at Sparta the young were expressly taught to impart a peculiar sharpness and brilliancy to their sayings; and in later life, the public manners prescribed ridicule, the being ahle to endure which was considered the mark of a Lacedæmonian spirit; though, if any person took it ill, and asked his antagonist to desist, (and he would suffer mnch before he would avail himself of such a privilege,) the other was forced to comply. That the power of ridicule was not undervalued, may be inferred from the circumstance, that in the code of Charondas puhlic ridicule was assigned as the penalty of the adulterer and busy-body, the sycophant and coward.‡ It is hard, therefore, to conceive any thing more opposed to the Christian manners in ages of faith, than the discipline which encouraged such a spirit; which, though it may sometimes assume a form of gentle courtesy, when it is used in loving mood, to chace away black hnmonrs, yet oftener it doth indicate "harsh rage, defect of manners, want of government, pride, haughtiness, opinion, and disdain."

"The servant of Christ," says St. Chrysostom, "is to be called rather from the mildness of his manners than by the name given to him hy his parents." And St. Ambrose shewed the moral benefit which resulted, hy observing, that, "a mild man is a physician of the heart."§ "Would not the true philosophic nature possess mildness?" asks the disputant in Plato.||

* Psalm xxxvii. † Medit. cap. I. § 2.
‡ Hom. in Luc. cap. I.
§ St. Hieron. Hom. lib. I. Com. in Matt. cap. ix.
|| Epist. ad Eustoch.

* F. Elzeare l'Archer, Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, p. 648. † Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica.
‡ Diod. XII. 12. § Epist. lib. X. 82.
|| De Repub. III.

It was found so in after ages; for the utmost meekness appeared in all the discourses of the clergy, distinguishing their eloquence from that which Plato ascribes to the democratic orator, "who says the most severe and acrimonious things; and when speaking from the tribune—*βομβεῖ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται τοῦ ἄλλα λέγοντος.*"* The courtesy of the Christian writers, uniting the most uncompromising firmness with delicate and condescending language is most remarkable. For instance, St. Jerome thus writes to Læta: "Witness the family of your illustrious father; a man, without doubt to be commended, for the nobleness of his sentiments, and for his great knowledge on every subject; but unhappily still imbued with the errors of Paganism."† St. Augustin, in his correspondence with the pagan people of Madaura, calls them his relations and his brethren: "fratres mei, et parentes mei."‡ And the letters of St. Basil to Libanius the Sophist, present a still more striking instance of the courtesy and gentleness with which a doctor, full of Christian zeal, would address a Pagan. This spirit is evinced, also, by the chivalrous writers of the middle age. In Gyron le Courtoys, Phebus remains with a certain Payen, named Harsaan, of whom the romance says, "Il estoit moult gentil homme en la loy Payenne."§ Tasso commends, in glowing terms, the constancy and valour of Argentes, an Infidel:‖ and he even goes so far as to acknowledge the virtues of Emireno, a false Armenian,

That, in his youth, from Christ's true faith and light,
To the blind lore of Paganism did slide.¶

A beautiful instance of this ancient Christian courtesy, united with fervent zeal, combining the gentleness and innocence of the evangelical spirit with the polished refinement of the Platonic dialogue, and with a little of the Socratic irony, is furnished by Manzoni in his reply** to the objections advanced by Sismondi against Catholic morals, in his History of the Italian Republics.

It may be remarked, that the development of the courteous principle was, in many respects, similar even to the form of more recent manners. Thus in the sixth and seventh centuries, it was common to give the title of Abbot to any venerable or learned priest. Pope Adrian thus styles Angilbert, who was but a simple chaplain of the king's chapel; and Cassien applies it to many solitaries, who never had any command over a community. As it was become the custom of the Romans to give certain titles of honour to Bishops, such as the pious, or the blessed, or holy,—the delicate courtesy of the fathers, which we have spoken of, induced them to apply these even to men whom they had to condemn. In the Conference of Carthage, St. Augustin speaks of the holy Emeritus, and the holy Petilien, although these were Donatists. An author had often occasion to evince the same modesty as a knight of chivalry. Thus Suger, in his work on the Gestes of Louis VII., though he describes minutely the events of his time, says not a word respecting his own administration as Regent, nor the choice made of him to govern the kingdom, such was his modesty in not publishing his own great merit and services. And where merit had raised persons of low and obscure birth, like this celebrated Abbot, the meek sincerity inspired by religion must have preserved their manners from all that offensive vanity which would otherwise have so inevitably attended their sudden elevation. Willegisus, Archbishop of Mayence, being son of a carpenter, had wheels painted in all the chambers of his house, with an inscription, reminding him of his origin. Pope Urban, being son of a shoe-maker, decorated the churches of Troyes with paintings of his father's stall; and Cardinal Maicus, in the time of Paul II. having been a shepherd's son, had painted a lamb, with a book on its head, to shew his origin and his profession.* Suger, when Regent of France, repeatedly alludes to his own origin,† and says: "Representing to myself in what manner the strong hand of God raised me poor from the dunghill, and made me to sit with the princes of the Church and of the kingdom, in what manner he hath exalted unworthy me."‡ John of Salisbury, in the prologue to his great work "De Nugis Curialium," takes occasion to speak of himself as "a plebeian man." Indeed, St. Anselm says, that a man really humble seeks the lowest place with as much eagerness as a proud man seeks the highest: of which Palladius gives an example in the blessed Pasuntius, who, finding himself

* De Repub. VIII. † Epist. ad Lætam.
‡ Epist. 232. § F. cexlviii.
‖ Cap. xix. 1. ¶ xvii. 82.
** Osservazioni sulla morale Cattolica.

* Hier. Garimbert, 1. 2. de Vit. Pont.
† Const. I. ‡ Sug. Testam.

held in great honour, fled to unknown regions, and far-distant monasteries, dissembling his name, that there, as if a rude and new monk, he might discharge the lowest offices.

Isocrates, in his Panegyric, says, that philosophy forms the manners of men, and "makes them mild to one another."* But here we must distinguish: if it be the philosophy, or the love of God and truth, which saved men, and made saints, before the prophets and before Moses,—this may be true: if it be the philosophy of the proud schools of Athens, this is but an empty boast, not in the least degree borne out by what we know of the manners of the ancients; for to the men who came from those schools, as well as to the moderns who have lost the faith, we can only apply the phrase of Tacitus, "Ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius."† There is no security.

To the meekness of saintly men in ages of faith, belonged an outward expression of gentleness and benignity, which one cannot pass over in silence. "The saints," says the blessed John of the Cross, "have a certain air of dignity, majesty, and sweetness, which draws the veneration of the whole world to them." This is what struck me when I came first to Camaldoli, on the eve of the exaltation of the holy cross; for there I unwilling, was humbly waited upon by men, who had in their looks and air the majesty of princes: to portray them on canvass would have required the pencil of another Andrew Sacchi. It is recorded of St. Bernard, that he had an admirably sweet and gracious look, which proceeded rather from his "spirit than his flesh." The portrait of William of Wyckham, in the College which he founded at Oxford, is singularly expressive of meekness, intelligence, and sanctity. Indeed, on the monuments of these ages, we can seldom trace those countenances which now present themselves in every direction, bearing looks

Alien from heaven, with passions foul obscur'd.

They are such as rather might serve for angels, that would seem to say, with Beatrix to Dante, "I come from a place whither I desire to return, but love has conducted me here:" or like that spirit which appeared to Dante, who shewed "in look and gesture, seemly grace of reverent awe."‡

* Panegyr. 50. † Hist. lib. I. 82. ‡ Purg. XII.

The ancients seem to have had no models of this beauty of sanctity, notwithstanding their deep and lovely conceptions of grace; as, in fact, there was nothing in their philosophy to correspond with it. Cicero says, that in the countenance of a public orator, there should be a modest expression mixed with acrimony.* There is not a passage in all the most admired writings of their philosophers, which was capable of inspiring the sense which was expressed in these mild looks of Christian holiness. These looks are all derived from the Christian mysteries. No one who had not beheld the initiated, could ever have conceived the countenance of that deacon in Domenichino's painting of the communion of St. Jerome: that expression of deep, subdued, unaffected, unimpassioned piety, is exclusively to be found within the Catholic Church. At the first sight of that young priest who advances to the altar with joined palms and down-cast eyes, to sing mass, there are many present who cannot prevent their tears from bursting forth: it is a look of such profound humility and sweetness; such resignation and readiness to die for Christ: it is the countenance and air of a holy martyr. And remark here, that the least skilful artist in a Catholic country, can give an idea of this expression, and that the noblest genius among the moderns, in no instance, has ever succeeded.

"There have been many in this holy order," says Father Elzeare l'Archer, "who have converted great sinners merely by means of their manner and outward appearance. If I may speak of what I have myself seen, I can say with truth, that having been in company for twelve hours, three or four times, with a saint, whom all Italy holds for such; one, as Dante says, 'visibly written blessed in his looks,' I have learned more respecting the duties of my profession from marking his countenance, than if he had entertained me for three days with a continuous discourse upon mystical theology. Every one who knows him, will confess with me, that he is a man rather of heaven than of the earth, and who converses more with God than with men; and, nevertheless, he is of so sweet and agreeable a conversation, that he captivates every one. To see him when he is not performing his exercises, during which he appears as an angel of heaven, one would say that he was but an

* Ad Herennium, lib. III. 15.

ordinary man, and nothing more than another: so well has he learned how to cultivate that holy cheerfulness and joyous modesty."* Armed only with a crucifix and the looks of an angel, "severe in youthful beauty," St. Francis Regis stopped a troop of heretical soldiers, who were about to burst into a church, and prevented them from profaning it.

The writers of the middle age generally ascribe beauty to an internal excellence of the mind: thus Holinshed says of Henry VI. "His face was beautiful, in the which continually was resident the bountie of mind, with which he was inwardly endewed." "Where is now that beauty of countenance," asks St. Jerome, alluding to a young friend lately dead, "where that dignity of person, which like a beautiful garment, clothed the beauty of the soul?"† In speculation, the ancients had nothing to learn here; the beautiful and good were expressed by the Greeks conjointly in one term. Socrates says of bodies, arts, and domestic economy that, "in all these things there is a just order and a deformity, and that deformity and discord are sisters of evil speech and evil manners, in like manner as the contrary are of the contrary, being sisters and imitations of temperance and virtuous manners."‡ In fact, a life at enmity with God, seems of necessity to produce in the human countenance an expression of deformity, which is not found in any of his innocent creatures. The eye naturally turns aside in disgust from the face of the beardless libertine, the avaricious slave of wealth, the epicure, the unfeeling minister of law, the haughty proud man, or the energumen of any of those political theories connected with impiety. The countenance of the moderns is characteristic of their philosophy and of their manners,—cold, stiff, affected; it wears a tone of cunning and malice, of duplicity, curiosity, and disdain. There is nothing in it playful, natural, and benign: it is subject, like that of Julian, to immoderate changes of gloom and laughter; and betrays the inward and almost ceaseless storm of passion: not like that of the king Don Alonzo IX., who, in the bloody battle of Las Navas del Toloso, evinced throughout an equable serenity of countenance. Savedra mentions that no accident was ever known to develope the least symptom of passion in the person of king Don Fernando the Catholic.* The countenance of the middle ages is now chiefly to be found among the peasantry in Catholic countries, —the look of manly dignity, with innocent abandonment—the joyous and yet modest expression—the free and benign look which is never disconcerted by the presence of grandeur, and never clouded by the artifice of pride. All travellers remark the graceful dignity of the Tuscan peasant, and the respectful sweetness of expression which belongs to the youth of Ireland. It was, no doubt, these considerations, which made the holy men of ages of faith so indulgent and favourable to beauty. They would have reproached no one for being beautiful, but would have repeated the Homeric lines against those who should do so.

οὔτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἑκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο.†

In proof of which assertion, it might be sufficient to appeal to that passage, where St. Ambrose evinces such a delicate sense of beauty and grace, in describing the human body;‡ a subject which always draws from holy writers remarks of a similar kind. The ancient fathers had predicted evil of Julian, from observing the deformity of his countenance.

It is impossible to pass from this view of the meekness of men, during ages of faith, without delaying to cast a glance at the spirit and manners of that renowned chivalry which appeared in them, and which was the result of religion acting upon heroic minds, under circumstances which drew forth all the energies of human nature. So great was the meekness of noble manners, that spiritual writers used even to propose it as a model to those who wished to embrace a religious life. Thus brother John, a Carmelite, says, in his Instruction to Novices: "There are as many degrees of patience as of gentleness, and noble manners rest on patience. How common is it in the banquet-halls of the world, where the sense of honour is so delicate, that there should arise many provocations to anger, by looks, words, and actions, et tamen quo quis nobilior est et honoris expectatio major, eò patientius adversa ferre discit. Therefore the servants of God, who aspire to eternal honours, may well repress their anger, and shew a pacific heart to the contradictions of

* Le sacré Mont d'Olivet, 270. † Epist. xxxv.
‡ De Repub. lib. III.

* Christian Prince, I. 351. † Il. III. 65.
‡ Hexæmeron, lib. VI. cap. ix.

men."* The knightly portrait is never without this feature, whether we look for it in history or in romance. From the former we are presented with an early instance in Boëmond the Franc, as described by Anne Commeneus, who observes, that he united in his person all the perfections of the human form; adding, that "he stooped a little, not from any defect of the spine, but from a custom of youth, which was a mark of modesty."† This is curious, as the portrait of a youthful barbarian by a Greek; but even the heathens knew, that, as Plautus says, "modesty became the young." An example more to our immediate purpose, is that of John duc de Berry, brother of Charles V. given by Christine de Pisan: "Il est prince de doulce et humaine conversacion, sans haulteineté d'orgueil, benigne en parolle et responce, joyeus en conversacion, et en toutes chose très traictable."‡ Again, of Louis duc d'Orleans, son of King Charles V. she says "Doulce response et amiable rent à toute personne qui à luy a à besoingnier."§ And respecting prince Charles, afterwards Charles VI., she dwells at greater length. "In his great benignity, sweetness, and clemency, he is past compare; humane to all kinds of people, without the least pride; and, to speak briefly, so full is he of great benignity, sweetness, and love, that God demonstrates it even on his countenance to such a degree, that he has so singular a grace of Divine Providence, that all people who see him, whether stranger, prince, or others, become in love with him, and are rejoiced in his presence; so that, oftentimes, I have been seized with admiration, to see how the people, of all sorts, women and children, have flown through the streets, to see him pass."|| Don Diego Savedra Faxardo says, that in Spain, the royal young princes were always to be visited familiarly by every one, until Philip II. abolished the ancient custom, on occasion of his anger against Don Carlos.¶ The writers of the old romantic histories love to paint the gracious meekness of their heroes in its most engaging colours, though it often presents a singular contrast with the scene which their imagination created for the development of their energies. Here we are only concerned with what is amiable in these extravagant portraits, and with what was most assuredly drawn from living manners. Of these books one of the most celebrated was the History of Gyron le Courtois, which seemed compiled for the express purpose of exhibiting the grace of courtesy, under every variety of circumstance, and of shewing what a revolution had been effected in the manners of those same Gauls, with whom the væ victis! had once been the style of conquerors. Here both knight and varlet are equally meek, resembling Spenser's gentle squire,

Of myld demeanure, and rare courtesee.

Their respectful manner of address is always described in this style: "Il le salua moult doulcement et humblement." Gyron's favourite expression is, "Je ne vaulx ung garcon au regard de vous." On one occasion such honour is shewn to an old worthy, that the narrator is obliged to borrow a similitude from devotion: "Tous luy faisoient si grant honneur comme se il feust ung corps saint."* The scenes which follow are not without beauty and instruction for those who regard gestures as proof of noble spirit. Brehus being interrogated respecting a strange knight, who accompanied him, replied, "Sire, I do not know his name; for he so carefully conceals it wherever he goes, that to no man of the world will he ever say any thing respecting himself. So he travels about, concealing himself. And if he is among knights he is so humble, and so coy, and so silent, that he never says a word, and never holds any parlement respecting any deed that he has performed. If you were to see him, then you would certainly think that he was not and could never be worth more than a poor boy. And when he is armed, and comes to perform any great feat, then you would behold wonders openly. We do not know whether he be of a king's lineage, or that of a count, or of low people; but he is the best knight that I know of at present among errant knights. And, in addition, he is so handsome a knight, that I do not believe there is another equal to him in all the world. Sire, I tell you of this man, that in my judgment, he is a perfect knight, and he has borne arms for xv. years." This was Gyron himself.† Dante evinces the same humility, when, on being questioned by Guido del Duca, he modestly declines giving his name:

* Instructio Novitiorum, 209.
† Liv. XIII. cap. 6.
‡ Livre des faits et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V. chap. xii.
§ Liv. II. chap. xvi.
|| Chap. xv.
¶ Christian Prince, Tom. I. 78.

* F. IX.
† F. CCXXXVIII.

To tell ye who I am were words mis-spent,
For yet my name scarce sounds on rumour's lips.*

To the manners of Dante, in this respect, Philip Villani bears a beautiful testimony, where he says, that "if it had not been for the courtesy which he always evinced, his countenance would have worn a melancholy tone." How admirable is that trait of a delicate and courteous heart when he beholds in purgatory the wretched souls of the envious, and being himself invisible, scruples to advance.

It were a wrong, methought, to pass and look
On others, yet myself the while unseen.
To my sage counsel, therefore, did I turn.
He knew the meaning of the mute appeal,
Nor waited for my questioning, but said,
Speak, and be brief, be subtile in thy words.†

But let us return to Gyron, the pattern of courtesy. When a contrary spirit was evinced, there is an amusing passage related, to shew that it ought to be ascribed to some deformity of constitution, and only pitied as incurable. Messire du Lac knocks at the gate of a tower in the forest, and begs to enter: a voice from the top of the battlement begins to insult him: the knight replies that this person is not too courteous whoever he may be: the voice from over the gate answers, "Je suis tant courtoys en toutes guyses que je nay mye de longueur cinq pieds non mye quatre se comme je croy. Je ressemble a vous trop malement qui estes grant et long comme ung dyable et cuyde certainement que tout ainsi comme vous estes plus grant que ung autre, aussi estes vous plus maulvais du tout. Tous ces grans vilains tonte suoyes et tous ces grans chevaliers veons nous maulvais, pour quoy je croy que vous soyez du tout maulvais. Et pour ceste raison vueil je que vous aillez vostre chemin et delivrez la nostre porte qui nest gueres plus grant de vous. Autant estes vous grant comme elle est. Cest ung grant ennuy de vous veoir tant estes grant." The knight sees it is but a dwarf who thus speaks, a little old man, not four feet high, with a head as large as a horse. "Sire, chevalier," cries the dwarf, "ne vous est il mye avis que je soyes beau bachelier et bien fait de tous membres? Vrai est que vous avez en vous de vostre part la grandesse du monde et je ay de ma part toute la petitesse du siecle. Mais je ay tant de reconfort que je pourroye encores croistre, si Diëu vouloit pource que je suis encores trop petit, mais vous ne pourriez croistre, car vous estes plus grant que ung geant." Du Lac cannot help smiling; but the dwarf continues to revile him, and to imprecate evil on him: "et messire Lac ne respond a ceste chose ne a ses parolles car il cõngnoist bien tout clerement que en cesluy me pourroit il trouer nul bien ne nulle courtoysie en nulle maniere du monde."* The hero of chivalrous fable was, in this instance, more true to meekness than Don Alonzo III. in real history, who so resented the trifling incivility of Sancho of Navarre, in withdrawing after the battle of Arc without taking leave of him, that he had never rest afterwards till he deprived him of his state.

When Gyron le Courtois and the king Melyadus are engaged in battle, and some one leads a horse, and offers it to Gyron, that knight immediately presents it to his adversary, and says, "Sire, take that horse and mount upon it, and I will take another for myself and mount. You are so good a knight, that were I to mount, and leave you here on foot, it would be too great villany." When the king heard this word, he was abashed, and replied, "Sir knight, do you really offer me this courtesy?"—"Sir knight," answered Gyron, "certes I say truly, for I ought not to leave such a preudhomme as you are on foot."—"But, sir knight," continues the king, "I think that you ought not to offer it to me here, since I am in this place your mortal enemy: and if I were mounted, and found you on foot, do you not suppose that I would seek to revenge the shame to which you put me at the tournament?"—"Certes," said Gyron, "I believe verily that you are my mortal enemy, as I have lately seen quite clearly: but for all that you mortally hate me as I see, I do not believe that so good a knight as you are would do villany to me or to any one else, car bon chevalier ne doit faire autre chose que bonte et courtoisie pour nulle advanture du monde."†

All this representation of meekness and courtesy might be drawn from real history. At the magnificent tournament which took place at Florence in the square of the holy cross, Lorenzo de Medicis was delared conqueror. He speaks of himself on this occasion, with the modesty of a knight of romance: "I jousted upon the square of Santa Croce, and although I was not strong in arms or in blows, the first honour was still adjudged to me; that is an helmet all furnished with silver." Du Guesclin on his death-bed, after he had devoutly received

* Purg. XIV. † Purg. XIII.

* Fol. LXX. † Fol. XXX.

the last sacraments, called the Mareschal de Sancerre and Messire Olivier de Mauny, and other knights, and said to them, "Seigneurs, par vos vaillance et non par moy m'a tenu fortune en grant honneur en toute France, en mon vivant, et a vous en est deu l'honneur, qui mon ame a vous recommende."* The same style, so gracious from its humility, was employed in speaking also of friends, as in the Homeric instance, where the son of Nestor says weeping, "My brother perished," and only adding of him, οὔτι κάκιστος Ἀργείων.† And Homer, in allusion to Patroclus, even furnishes language which might convey an idea of that mildness of manner, which belonged to men in Christian ages:

——πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίστατο μείλιχος εἶναι,
ζωὸς ἐών.‡

To all equally mild, not like those who have ever a smile for the great and a frown and denial for the poor, hut one of those souls which Montaigne calls souls of different stories or floors, which can be shewn freely to all men; which can converse with a neighbour about his building, with a carpenter about his work, with a gardener about his plants, which can make itself one among the least of the persons that are present. John the Deacon relates a saying of St. Simeon a short time before his death. "Mi optime Joannes, neminem mortalium unquam sperne: sunt etiam inter rusticos et mendicos qui Deo sint charissimi." A French nobleman, who lately died, used to salute every poor person that he met on the way, and was the first to evince respect. Spenser describes a scene, drawn from the ancient manners of the Christian society, which might be studied with advantage by the moderns, who shew so little regard to strangers when they do not find themselves in the vein to meet them in exchange of gracious conversation; and who seem to think with the old pagan:

Lupus est homo homini, non homo
Quum qualis sit, non novit.

Spenser says,

He comming neare gan gently her salute
With curteous words, in the most comely wise;
Who, though desirous rather to rest mute,
Then termes to entertaine of common guize.
Yet rather then she kindnesse would despize,
She would herself displease, so him requite.§

In the middle ages, the respect shewn to strangers was perfectly Homeric. It was not then in the higher classes studied as a noble art to render to all persons unknown such aspect as cloudy men use to their adversaries. All were similarly disposed in this point; the poor man, or the domestic, said, "gaber chevalier estrange est trop grant vilennie."* The nobleman said, with the Roman poet,

Cum te non nossem, Dominum regemque vocabam,
Cum benè te novi, jam mihi Priscus eris.†

St. Pacomius was a young Roman soldier, whose conversion originated in his observing the extraordinary kindness with which he was treated by some Christians, who received him to hospitality. At the same time the ancient manners possessed a civility which was not forgotten or unimproved by the Christians. Father Bouhours remarks in his dialogues, that the graces were represented always of little stature, in order to shew that this virtue consisted in little things, in a gesture, a smile, or a respectful air. The traveller, indeed, might have learned humility and meekness of demeanour, from the verses of that Roman poet, who, exiled amidst the desolate wilds of Thrace, had yet the sense and candour to admit, that it was he who was the barbarian, since he was not understood by the natives:

Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor illis.

It belongs rather to a particular review of chivalry, than to the general glance which we are now throwing upon ancient manners, to dwell upon the courteous interchange of words, which strangers used to practise to each other: but in a history relating to the middle ages, there is one instance associated with a name of such poetic interest, that I cannot forbear adducing it. When Petrarch was on his road from Vaucluse to Montrieux, between Aix and St. Maximin, he met with a company of Roman ladies, who were going on a pilgrimage. By their air and gait he distinguished, at a distance, their country and their birth. Drawing near, he stopped and politely asked them from whence they came and whither they were going. The sound of an Italian voice spread joy through this little company. The oldest of them answered, "Rome is our country; we are going on a pilgrimage to St. James. And you Sir, are you a Roman? are yon going

* Chronique de Du Gues. c. 442.
† Od. IV. 200.
‡ Il. XVIII. 671.
§ Faery Queen, V. 6.

* Gyron le Courtoys, LXVIII.
† Martial, lib. I. epig. 113.

to Rome?" "I am not going there immediately," replied Petrarch, "but my heart is always there." This answer inspired the pilgrims with confidence; they surrounded Petrarch, and replied to a thousand questions which he asked them concerning the state of the republic: Petrarch then asked these ladies if he could be so happy as to serve them in any respect. "Every thing," says he, in a letter to Lelius, "urged me to make them this offer, God, their virtue, their country, and their love of you. I wished to divide with them the sum I had brought with me for my journey: their answer was, 'pray to God that our journey may be successful: we ask only this of you.' This reply delighted, but did not surprise me: I perceived in it the dignity and disinterestedness of Roman ladies." Petrarch, charmed with their discourse, would have passed the day with them; but they were bent on hastening towards their pious design: and he was also eager to behold his brother, the monk at Montrieux. "While our discourse lasted," adds he, "I thought I saw those holy virgins who made so distinguished a figure in our Christian annals: Prisca, Praxedes, Prudentia, and Agnez."

Shakspeare ascribes to Theseus a most delicate regard for humble persons offering their honest but unskilled civility, where he says,

> Our sport shall be, to take what they mistake:
> And what poor duty cannot do,
> Noble respect takes it in might, not merit.
> Where I have come, great clerks have purposed
> To greet me with premeditated welcomes;
> Where I have seen them shiver and look pale,
> Make periods in the midst of sentences,
> And in conclusion, dumbly have broke off,
> Not paying me a welcome: trust me sweet,
> Out of this silence, yet, I pick'd a welcome:
> And in the modesty of fearful duty
> I read as much, as from the rattling tongue
> Of saucy and audacious eloquence.*

It must be admitted, however, for such courtesy there is less occasion in countries under the influence of the modern spirit, for there the poor are themselves sufficiently disdainful; reminding one almost of that portrait in the Odyssey, though, indeed, wanting all its dignity, where Ulysses, though in the dress of a beggar, is ready every moment to assume a countenance that strikes the beholder with terror, *ὑπόδρα ἰδών*. But this subject of the gracious courtesy of manners in past ages, must not detain our steps. It has been, in fact, exhausted in other works, and after all, respecting the form of manners in which the principle of meekness developed itself, there can be no enquiry of any great importance instituted; for this is subject to the changes to which every thing that relates to the conventions of men is exposed. The Christian society has survived many revolutions in the form of manners, as well as of languages, philosophy and empire. It beheld the hollow professions of flatterers and sensualists, under the Roman Cæsars; the savage roughness of the barbarians of the North; the courtesy of the chivalrous middle ages; the politeness and refinement of the court of France, in later times; and finally, since the revolution in that country, and wherever the new philosophy has spread, it has marked a strong tendency to affect a certain tone of proud isolation and personal insensibility to the ancient harmonies of a social state. Undeserved importance should not be attached to these things, which have no relation whatever with beatitude, beyond what they may derive from that one living source of meekness and benignity, which will never be sought for in vain among those who have raised their eyes to the mountain, whose conclusion will always be that of the wise king, saying, "it is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide the spoils with the proud."*

That spirit may, indeed, yield to the impression of different external forms; for the fancies of men, which give birth to the language of signs, are capable of being as various as their wants and miseries; but no change in this respect, that the caprice or circumstances of mankind may hereafter demand, will ever be able to efface the traces of its constant operation in the manners of our ancestors, or render doubtful the fact which is so beautifully attested by all kinds of concurrent evidence, that under the simple and manly discipline of ages of faith, modesty and gentleness were virtues belonging to all classes of society, admired in a Bayard or a Chandos, as constituting the courtesy of the accomplished gentleman, revered in an Ambrose or an Anselm, as being the result of saintly meditation, and of holy prayers; as proving the sincerity of a faith which has no lovelier fruits than those which are offered to the Creator in ministering to the necessities of men, to diminish the multiplied wants and to form even some sweet harmonious tones out of the very discords of our common nature.

* Midsummer Night's Dream, V. 1.

* Prov. xvi.

CHAPTER II.

THE history of the middle ages, for reasons which we cannot now stand to discuss, may be considered as a continuation of that of primitive Christianity. We must be prepared, therefore, to meet with the same contrast to the whole spirit and manners of heathen times, and of all nations who subsequently have cast off the authority, and the traditions of the Christian Church. The development of the principle of religious obedience, as belonging to the character and to the blessedness of the meek, is the subject to which our attention must now be directed. History bears testimony to the wide extension and efficacious operation of this principle, during the ages of faith: it was the key-stone of the whole fabric of the spiritual society, and the test by which all efforts to advance were estimated. Disciples of him who was obedient unto death, who came from heaven not to do his own will, but that of him who sent him; in whose heart was written the desire of doing the will of God, men in these ages believed with St. Gregory the Great, that, "it is obedience which produces in the soul all other virtues, and which after producing, preserves them." Accordingly, those who entered the orders of the Carthusians, and the Benedictines, that is to say, those who aspired to Christian perfection, made no other vow but this, on their profession, "Promitto obedientiam secundum regulam;" for that they conceived was to vow every perfection. "Be subject one to another in the fear of Christ," said the Apostle of the nations.* Implicit obedience, where neither religion nor common sense can discern a sin, was prescribed by St. Basil,† by St. Fulgentius,‡ by St. Bonaventura, St. Jerome, St. John Climachus, Cassien, the Abbot Sylvain, St. Bernard, and St. Francis de Sales. It is prescribed, not alone to the Jesuits, but to all the religious orders, not merely as a distinction, but as being one of the primitive and fundamental characteristics of all who embrace Christianity. Let us hear their sentiments: "What perished and is dead in Adam, hath risen and lives again in Christ. Whatever rose again and lived in Adam, hath perished and is dead in Christ. But what is that?—true obedience and disobedience."* Disobedience and sin, are one and the same. There is no sin but disobedience; and what springs from disobedience.† What is sin, unless the creature wishing contrary to the will of God?‡ "Consider this when we speak of obedience, of the new man, of true light, of true love, and of the life of Christ; all these things are one and the same. Where one of these is present, all are present; and where one is wanting, all are wanting; for all these things are truly and in fact one."§ Let us now hear Lewis of Blois; "No action, however pious or laudable, pleases God, if it be contaminated with the sin of disobedience."‖ "In all our works, words, and thoughts, we must sincerely seek God, and refer all things to his honour, and have a heart pure and free. It cannot be said, how grateful to God and fruitful to ourselves will be this holy intention; if a man were only to move his foot, or his hand, or his tongue, purely on account of God, or to incline his head, or to have the least thought, or the least desire according to charity, there would be a great reward for him."¶

Original justice is only obedience; for it consists in these three things, in perfect subjection of the will to God by sanctifying grace, in entire subordination of the inferior powers to reason, and in obedience of the body to the soul. This was the philosophy which presided over education. "What, then, will the youth know on leaving the college?" asks Bonald, "Nothing; for what can one know at eighteen? But if nature has seconded education, and education nature, he will have the mind opened and the body disposed; he will have the knowledge of order, sentiments of affection for others, the habit of obedience."**

As the test of piety, and the rule of genius, obedience may be seen in continued

* Ad Ephes. v. † See Reg. xxviii. ‡ In Vita, c. xxvii.

* Theologia Germanica, cap. xiii. † Id. xiv. ‡ Id. c. xxxiv. § Id. cap. xliii. ‖ Enchirid. Parvulorum, lib. I. Doc. v. append. ¶ Id. lib. I. 1. ** Législation primitive, III. 100.

operation. St. Gregory, of Tours, relates his conversation with the monk Wulfilaïch, who had lived the life of a Stylite in the diocese of Trèves, till he descended for the purpose of destroying a Pagan idol, a statue of Diana, whom he had persuaded the people to forsake. "I was then preparing to resume my former mode of life," says the humble monk; "but the bishops came, and said to me—the way that you have chosen is not the right way, and it is not for you to imitate Simeon of Antioch. The climate does not permit you to endure a similar suffering: descend, then, and dwell with the brethren whom you have collected. At these words, that I might not be accused of the crime of disobedience towards the bishops, I descended, and went with them, and took a repast with them. One day, the bishop having drawn me far from the village, sent some workmen with hatchets, to destroy the pillar on which I used to hold myself. When I came back the next day, I found it destroyed. I wept; but I would not rebuild it, lest I might be accused of disobeying the bishops. Since that time I dwell here with my brethren."* Behold, now, obedience as the rule of genius. St. Theresa speaks as follows, in the Prologue to the Castle of the Soul. "Of all the things which obedience obliges me to perform, there is not one which appeared to me so difficult as to write upon prayer: both, because our Lord has not given me sufficient genius to do it well, and that I had no intention to undertake it; and, also, that for the last three months I have suffered such weakness of health and disorder, that I can hardly write upon the most urgent affairs; but, as I know that obedience can render possible what appears impossible, I engage in it with joy, in spite of the resistance of nature. So it is only from the goodness of God that I expect assistance."

Œlred, of Rievaulx's cloister that Bernard of England, concludes his Speculum Charitatis with the same testimony. Addressing the person for whom it was written, he says, "I beseech you do not introduce this mirror before the public, lest, perchance, charity should not shine in it, but only the image of the author be found there. If, however, as I fear, you should involve me in that confusion, I beseech the reader, by the sweet name of Jesus, not to suppose that I undertook this work from presumption, since I was

* Greg. Tour. I. 440.

compelled to do it by paternal authority, fraternal charity, and my own necessity to obey my superior, to converse with my absent brother, and preserve my own mind from idleness."*

That I have not overstated the importance which was ascribed to the spirit of obedience, will be clear to every one who is conversant with the moral history of the middle ages. Guizot, speaking of the chapters of St. Benedict's rule De Obedientia and De Humilitate, takes occasion to remark, what a part this monastic rule of obedience, as he terms it, has played in the history of European civilization. "It is," he says, "in the monastic institute, that it has been truly developed. It is from thence that it has spread itself through modern civilization. This," he adds, "is the fatal present which the monks have given to Europe."† This opinion of a writer, who on several occasions, has spoken with more respect of the middle ages than many Catholics, should not be passed by in silence. Let us consider briefly the two questions which it involves. What was the origin of this principle. Did the monks invent it? And can we justly regard its effects as injurious? Is it fatal? Words may, indeed, not tell of that blissful certainty, respecting all such questions, which belongs to the initiated in the heavenly courts, yet these will not disdain the use of human evidence.

And, therefore, let our reasoning serve, though weak,
For those whom grace hath better proof in store.‡

The virtue of obedience, as far as relates to mortal agency, commenced with the creation of the race of men. In paradise it had its action, and it revived immediately after the fall. "The tree of knowledge was good in itself," says St. Theophilus, "so was its fruit. It is an error to suppose that it had a property of causing death. This fatal effect was not attached to the tree, but to the disobedience of man. There was nothing in the tree but knowledge, which is good, provided it will be well employed."§ In paradise was heard that eloquence which now sounds forth on all sides, recommending the contempt of authority in the pursuit of knowledge, artfully or ignorantly passing over the danger of disobedience, which alone rendered it injurious.

* Speculum Charitatis in fin.
† Cour. d'Hist. Mod. II. 75.
‡ Dante.
§ Ad Antolyc. lib. II. 25.

——— Knowledge forbidden?
Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envy them that? Can it be sin to know?
Can it be death? And do they only stand
By ignorance? Is that their happy state,
The proof of their obedience and their faith?
Envious commands, invented with design
To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt.
——— Is knowledge so despised?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
Longer thy offered good ———.*

So reasoned Satan with those primal creatures whose life was in obedience, and from their fall dates the inclination of the human will to resist that of God, which all other creatures obey; for "nothing resists God," says St. Augustin, "but the will of sinners."—"I speak of that worship of obedience," says St. Eucher, "which even creatures, wholly material, render to their Creator. Behold the stars, how equable and constant their course; the flowers and fruits, which succeed, without interruption, to serve for our pleasures and our necessities. Behold, in a word, the whole creation constantly subject, in the interest of men, to the will of God; and, in the midst of this creation, man alone dares to emancipate himself from this universal subjection, and alone revolts, while all obeys around him!" Father Diego de Stella says, that "the beginning of all our misery was Eve's curious disputing about the commandment of God. If she had been obedient she would have replied to Satan, when he asked her why did God forbid her to eat, that the authority of God was sufficient for her, but because she went about to dispute the matter at large, and to exercise her private judgment, she utterly undid herself."† On the other hand, a converse offering of obedience was known to be the principle of man's recovery. Thus, in apostolic times, St. Irenæus pursues the argument of the apostle, and says, "As the human race was involved in death by a virgin, so is it delivered by a virgin. Virginal obedience is weighed against virginal disobedience."‡ Here, then, were sublime, mysterious examples, ever present to the minds of the faithful when they were tempted by heretics, and called upon to examine, with the serpent, with Eve and Adam, and not obey authority, with all the saints who ever passed to life from the beginning of the world. "From the school of the demon," says Drexelius, "cometh this, Why, quare aut cur hoc?" So also the guide of Dante,

* Par. Lost, V.
† On the Contempt of the World, III. 480.
‡ Lib. adversus hæreses.

Seek not the wherefore, race of human kind.

Short is the next step of the fatal way, when Eve's conclusion is approved.

In plain, then, what forbids he but to know?
Forbids us good? forbids us to be wise?
Such prohibitions bind not.

For these ambitious hopes of false freedom religious obedience presented a secure preventative, and the instructions of faithful ages can only be understood by a reference to this knowledge, and profound consideration of the original malady of the human race. "Believe," says Taulerus, "every day lost in which you have not resisted your own will for the love of God."*—"Self-will not consenting to the Divine will is the chief evil of man," says Drexelius. Remark, here, how well they distinguished between our own will, and a will contrary to God. "We ought not," says St. Anselm, "always to wish what God wishes; but we ought to wish that which God wishes us to wish. For God wished that the blessed Martin should be taken from this life; but if his disciples had wished this they would have been cruel. They knew what God wished; but they wished what God wished them to wish."† The master of the Sentences shews how two wills may exist in man, that of man, and that of the Christian. As Bede says of Christ—"As man he prayed that the cup might pass from him; yet again," he added, "Sed non quod ego volo, sed quod tu vis."‡

"Some one may ask," says the author of Theologia Germanica, "since this tree, that is self-will, is so contrary to God, and to the eternal will, why did God create it, and place it in paradise? To this it may be sufficient to answer, that a man, truly humble and illuminated, does not wish that the secrets of God should be revealed to him, to know why God does or defers this or that; on the contrary, he wishes rather that he himself should be reduced to nothing, and should be void of will, that the eternal will might live in him, and be opposed by no other will."§ God created the will, not that it should be self-will, but that it should be conformable to his own, yet with such freedom as was necessary to constitute a distinct agent. Then came the Devil and Adam, that is false nature, and arrogated this will to themselves, and rendered it self-will; and this is the fatal

* Epist. viii. † De Similitudinibus, cap. clix.
‡ Sentent. lib. III. distinct 17. § Cap. xlviii.

eating which brought death and all our woe—"for as long as there is this self-will, there can be no rest."* "God alone," says St. Anselm, "ought to wish any thing of his own will. When man wishes any thing of his own will, he takes away from God, as it were, his crown; and as the proper will of God is the source and origin of all good so the proper will of man is the beginning of all evil."† That there is no exaggeration in this statement of the evil of self-will, would appear equally certain, both from posterior and prior reasoning; whether we argued philosophically or theologically. What in fact, can be a greater proof of its involving some great moral disarrangement, than the very circumstance of that disposition which we can always discover in it, to resist and disobey merely for the sake of disobeying? "Made, as we are, by false nature," says one who deeply studied the human heart, "it is almost always sufficient, that a thing be ordered or forbidden, to make us feel tempted to resist. Nothing can be more strange or unreasonable, but nothing is more true."‡ Experience, moreover proves that his own will is a source of misery to the mind of man. "Voluisti, domine, cries St. Augustin, "et ita est, ut omnis inordinatus animus sibi ipsi sit pœna." "Oh how great a punishment is a man's own will unto himself! If that would cease, hell would soon cease also. Whereupon doth the fire of hell work, but upon the will of man? And if any trouble afflict thee, what is the cause of thine affliction, but thine own will?" These are the words of Father Diego de Stella. "This will of our own," says St. Bernard, "is a great evil whence it comes to pass that your good is no good to you; for of this blood-thirsty parent, there are two insatiable daughters ever crying bring, bring; for the mind is never satiated with vanity, nor the body with lust: self-will, subverting the hearts of men, and blinding the eyes of reason, is a restless evil, which always pressing upon the spirit, meditates things that are beyond thought and unattainable."§

On the other hand, what peace and joy belonged to the ancient fathers, amidst all their tribulations, because they were meek and full of obedience. There were not wanting to them tribulations, "nam quo quis sanctior, hoc plerumque afflictior:" but that equable serenity of mind proceeded from the conformity of their will, with that of Jesus Christ.* Dear to them were

Soft silence, and submisse obedience,
Both linckt together never to depart,
Both gifts of God not gotten but from thence,
Both girlands of his saints against their foes offence.†

Christ apprises men that his yoke is a light and easy burthen, although he had warned them before, that the way which led to him was narrow and strewed with pains. A moment's reflection to an instructed mind, will be sufficient to shew the advantage of religious obedience, and the folly of that sentence of condemnation, which the modern philosophers have passed upon it. In the first place, these men can claim no exemption for themselves from the general law of nature, which condemns all men to serve: we are servants by nature and by purchase. The world is full of obedience; but it is the "obedience of cupidity or of necessity, whereas the obedience of Christians is that of charity." "Behold," says St. Bonaventura, "the obedience of those who serve worldly masters: what promptitude, what zeal, what prevention! No regard to danger, or suffering, or difficulty; no view even to personal advantage. They obey, and do not even wait for orders; but watch the countenance of their master: and the least sign, or even a look, is sufficient for them."‡ "Every man, says St. Anselm, "is born to labour as the bird to flying. Does not almost every man serve either under the name of commanding or of serving? Quid refert, exceptâ superhiâ, quantum vel ad mundum, vel ad Deum, quis vocetur servus?"§ Ah! when will human weakness serve God as well as it serves the world; serve heaven as well as it serves the earth; serve virtue with as much zeal as it serves vice! This is the exclamation of St. Peter Chrysologus. And what an unjust, ungrateful master is the world! It hateth and despiseth those who love it: it abandoneth its friends. "Peccavi, tradens sanguinem justum," cried Judas to those for whom he had sacrificed friendship, honour, and all that is dear to the heart of man; for whom he had betrayed the innocent, betrayed his God, and condemned himself to everlasting infamy. But they replied, "quid ad nos?

* Id. iv. † S. Anselmi simil. c. viii.
‡ P. Judde œuvres spirit. tom. IV.
§ Serm. LXXI. in cant. et serm. in verba, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.

* Drexelius de Confor. human. Vol. cum divina, III. 6. † Spenser, iv. 10.
‡ De sept. grad. vit. spiritual. cap. xliii. xliv.
§ Epist. lib. I. 15.

tu videris." How exactly the language of the world, in all times, to its deluded slaves! "Quid ad nos? tu videris." But then it is too late, wretched mortal, to enter upon another service.

That golden sceptre which thou didst reject
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience.

Better that thou hadst never been born. On the other hand, observe that the obedience of Christians is not that of necessity. "The will is every thing," says St. Bernard. "Therefore our Saviour spoke those words: 'Take my yoke upon you,'—as if he had said to them,—I do not impose it upon you against your inclination, but take it yourself if you will; otherwise I say unto you, you will never find peace unto your souls, but trouble and vexation."* "Beatific love is free," says the meek Hildegard. "Freewill is preserved in faith," as St. Irenæus says. St. Augustin shews, that man can only believe by willing: and speaking of the Jews, where it is said in Scripture, that they could not believe, he adds, "Quare non poterant? Si à me quæratur, cito respondeo: quia nolebant."† A holy man was accustomed to say, "Whatever you wish, that you are. Quicquid vis, hoc es: for such is the force of our will, joined to the Divine, that whatever we wish to be, seriously, and with a true intention, that we become. No one ardently wishes to be submissive, patient, modest, or liberal, who does not become what he wishes." This is what that holy man used to say. Faith, according to the doctrine of the Church, is a virtue, and therefore it must depend upon the will: thus St. Thomas says, "Credere est actus intellectus assentientis veritati divinæ ex imperio voluntatis:"‡ and St. Bernard says, "Take away free-will, and there will be nothing to save;" adding, "take away grace, and there will be no means of saving."§ As is read in the schools, "This is the true essence of all religion, that it should be the voluntary and free-tribute of the whole man, that he may be capable of merit or of demerit. And therefore the evidence of this truth is such, that they who wish to see, can see; and they who wish obstinately not to see, do not see."‖ "The Christian religion," says Melchior Canus, "is not like the Pythagorean, which obliged its followers to follow blindly the words of a master, without rendering a reason for them. This is the custom of ignorant persons, Saracens, Pagans, and hereticks, who embrace the rash dogmas of their sect, without exercising their judgment, and receive them without any reason. These are not instructed, but confined; not taught by reason, but acted upon as if by charms and incantations; but God does not will that his disciples should be thus constrained. Eusebius relates, that Lucian of Antioch, being asked by the judge why, being a rational and prudent man, he followed a sect for which he could render no reason, replied; 'We Christians are not, as you suppose, constrained by the error of any human persuasion; nor are we, like others, deceived by the tradition of parents, received without enquiry,' and then went on to make an eloquent apology for the faith."* "We say there are three kinds of liberty," says St. Anselm. "There is the liberty of action, which all wish; that is, that they may do what they like; there is the liberty of the understanding, which all do not wish: there is also the liberty of right-will, which is always good, and which very few wish; that is, that they may wish those things which they ought to wish. It is to be noted, that the liberty of action, without the liberty of good-will, is always evil. Libertas actionis sine libertate bonæ voluntatis semper est mala: the liberty of the understanding is mediate, being good, when joined to liberty of right-will, and evil when without it."†

If now, from the abstract doctrine of obedience, we pass to the institutions and rules of life which proceeded from it, we find the same contrast to the ignoble servitude of the world. True, every one, however low in authority, was to be obeyed in the fear of God; but in this system, no one was tyrannically required to bow down to the superior talents or strength of a fellow creature, according to the principles of those gross politicians and preachers of false religion, who are continually ascribing to visible men the grandeur of the invisible God. Man never felt himself the slave of his equal, nor was he subject to an arbitrary law. Besides this perfection in principle, the positive exercise of obedience was the highest freedom. Guizot says, that the code of St. Benedict offers a singular mixture of despotism and liberty. Implicit

* De amore Dei. † Tract. in Joan. 53.
‡ S. S. quæst. II. art. 9.
§ De Grat. et Liv. arbit.
‖ La Hogue Tractat. de Religione, cap. ii. prop. 3.

* Melch. Can. de Locis Theologicis, lib. XII. cap. iv. † De Similitudinibus, cap. clxxxii.

obedience is the principle, and yet the government is elective—the monks are to obey, but the abbot is to consult them. Thus in the third chapter we read, "Whenever any thing of importance is to be transacted, let the abbot convoke the whole congregation, and let him explain the matter, and hear the opinions of his brethren, and then let him judge. Let him call all the brethren to the council, because God often reveals the best advice to the youngest:" and in conclusion, he admits, that within the cloister, that is, where the principle of obedience was in full operation, men were governed by a more reasonable authority, and in a milder manner, than they would have been in civil society.* There was nothing tyrannical in the ecclesiastical theory of rule. Witness what said the Irish synod in the VIIIth century. "Non debet facere quicquam sine concilio subjectorum, nisi pauca in liberationem vinctorum, et in consolationem pauperum et viduarum."† What mildness and benignity is here! The sovereign authority of monastic superiors was totally removed from any thing arbitrary, for all was regulated beforehand: traditions and customs directed the least actions of the monks; they prescribed to them how they were to proceed to the chapter-house,, or to the refectory; how to return from it; how they were to assist at the nocturnal office. There were laws for speaking and for silence. The monastic code had regulated every thing down to the mortifications of penance and the innocent enjoyments of the cloister. History records at what epoch of the year, in the monastery of Cluny, beans and herbs were to be seasoned with oil or butter, on what occasions the monks were to have fruits, eggs, spices, and fish. The greatest punishment which a superior could inflict upon a disobedient monastery was to abandon it, for his absence was regarded as the being abandoned by heaven. This is what Michaud says.‡ All this may be seen at any time in a Catholic college, where the greatest discipline and order are united with real freedom and Christian love: for the Catholic religion teaches men to bear rule in God's name, so that their superiors need not keep up their authority by an affectation of superiority and mysterious reserve. All assumption of authority in the Christian state was the work of mutual love. This is indicated in many parts of the ritual and order of the Church, which was in ages of faith the model or basis of the ceremonial of civil society, so that a study of it will throw the greatest light upon the whole theory of the ancient civil government. Thus in every parish church when a new curate was installed, the ecclesiastic who conducted him to the seat of authority, and he who was to take possession gave each other mutually the embrace and kiss of charity. In short, veneration, consisting of love, fear, and shame, was shewn by sons to their parents, by subjects to their rulers, and by all men to priests and to God, whose greater glory was known to be always furthered by obedience to superiors. And we may observe by the way, that generally men were left in no doubt to know what was the will of God. "Quicqnid abducit à Deo contra Dei voluntatem est: quicquid ad Deum invitat, ad divinam voluntatem est," said Drexelius.* The will of God which Christ taught was thus expressed in the tract, ascribed to St. Cyprian, on the Pater. "Humility in conversation, stability in faith, modesty in words, justice in deeds, mercy in works, discipline in manners; to do no injury, to keep peace, to love God, to prefer nothing to Christ, to adhere faithfully to his cross." The source of slavery and of disorder lies deep in the heart of man, where it must be sought, and not in the defect of civil institutions. The general and outward anarchy in a state, says Plato, "Proceeds originally from an internal democracy in the mind of each man who belongs to it: when the sentiments of pleasure and pain which constitute that power in the soul answering to the populace in a state are suffered to prevail, there ensues in that mind an intellectual democracy or anarchy, which is the last and most dreadful evil in a state, and in the soul of man."† Against this the principle of religious obedience was directed, and thus anarchy and servitude were attacked in the sphere of intelligence; and hence the world was not become as in later days,

A stage to feed contention in a lingering act.

The spirit of religion was essentially the spirit of order, as the spirit of the religion of later times is that of disorder and confusion, according to which every man rejects the

* Cours d'Hist. II. † Dacher. Spicileg. tom. IX.
‡ Des Monastères au Moyen Age.

* De Confor. Voluntat. Hom. lib. I. c. iv.
† De Legibus, lib. III.

guidance of a common legislator, and lives as he likes best, *κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων*. The ecclesiastical discipline was received as an universal law; the desire of the ancient sage thus became the mark at which principles were aimed, and anarchy was taken away from the whole course of human life,* so that the visible results could justify the rapture of the ascetic, when he cried, "O sweet and grateful service of God, by means of which man is rendered truly sanctified and free."† "When man arrogates to himself a liberty for the sake of sin, or what is contrary to God, he can endure no disappointment or misery. Then rise up to heaven the interminable murmurs of his bitter discontent. This is not a true divine liberty from a true divine light, but it is a natural, unjust, false, erring, and diabolic liberty, from a natural, false, and erring light."‡ It is not strange that men under the influence of this liberty should regard the obedience of faithful ages with aversion and disdain. They are strangers to obedience unless in case of a command, like that of Ulysses telling them to remember eating and drinking, and then they obey as readily as the companions of that hero.

οἱ δ' ὦκα ἐμοῖς ἐπέεσσι πίθοντο.§

Dante describes them in these terms:

————Nor curb
Avails you, nor reclaiming call, heav'n calls,
And, round about you wheeling, courts your gaze
With everlasting beauties. Yet your eye
Turns with fond doting still upon the earth,
Therefore he smites you who discerneth all.‖

The effects of religious obedience in these ages may be considered in relation to the temporal and spiritual authority, in both of which respects they appear equally admirable. With regard to the first. "See what a dignity it is, men said, to acknowledge none over thee but God, and what is greater than to be under him?"¶ By obeying God in man, I never obey my inferior or my equal; but only him whose service is a kind of empire and royalty. Nothing can be more flattering to all the noble sentiments of nature than to be called upon to exercise holy obedience. In such a service no one is found to pray to heaven like the watchman of Æschylus, for a remission of his nightly and servile labour.* I am created for God. All below God is unworthy of me. The ascetical writers observe, "that here we cannot be too proud, since such pride is but justice, and that the natural sense of dignity may be at the bottom only a motion of this true greatness misdirected."† This is the spirit which entitles a man to the praise bestowed on Job, when it is said "fuit vir unus," always consistent with himself because united to the divine will. Satan and his accomplices having rebelled, God created man, and subjected to his service angel wings, and established him as his representative, and as his knight against the devil. The moral dignity of persons who act from religious obedience, seems something above humanity; they move then like blessed spirits, conformable in all things to the eternal order, and one beholds in them, as it were embodied and shadowed forth, the majesty of him whom they serve. In relation to the spiritual authority, the religious obedience of these ages might suggest innumerable reflections; the first and most obvious is that of Louis de Blois, where he says, "Heresy has no other source but pride and disobedience; for heretics obstinately follow their own sense, and are unwilling to submit their own judgment to the decrees and judgment of the Catholic Church."‡

Such were the men described by Dante:

Who journey'd on, and knew not whither: fools
Who, like to scymitars, reflected back
The Scripture-image by distortion marr'd.§

To their reproaches, the Catholic might have replied in the words of Milton:

———— Still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains.
———— This is servitude,
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against his worthier.

Omitting all higher considerations than those of the present life, what a loss of wisdom and of peace was theirs! They had no moral dignity arising from a sense of their own position with regard to the universal order. In society they were seen

* Plato De Legibus, XII.
† De Imitat. III. 10.
‡ Theolog. Germanic. cap. xli.
§ Od. X. 178.
‖ Purg. xiv.
¶ Meditat. for the use of the English Coll. at Lisbo, IV. 3.

* Agamemnon, I.
† P. Judde Retraite Spirit. 68.
‡ Enchirid. Parvulorum, lib. I. doc. v. append.
§ Parad. XIII.

ever hanging upon the tongue of strangers, in hopes of some novelty, ever anxious, and curious, and unsettled, loving debate and discussion μήστωρας ἀυτῆς: prying into the opinions of others, and ready to acknowledge that they were themselves without conviction; as attentive to a libertine or an apostate, as our ancestors would have been to a man of the interior life. The Holy Ghost thus describes them: "Arundinem vento agitatam, folium quod vento rapitur."*—Having abandoned the rule of truth, they found themselves on a moving soil on which their reason could not find rest. The last extravagance of human error is to make a religion of independence. The sentiments of eternity which the Christian revelation has imparted to men, left without authority in faith, expose the human mind to speedy destruction. Physicians themselves have remarked the fact, that the spirit of sect favours the development of mental alienation, while Catholicism imposing obedience, that burden of Christ which has wings not weight, presents to it the greatest obstacle. The extravagance of a religious zeal without discipline and order, to which every ardent mind without the Church is subject, is one of the primal sources of insanity; and this is for ever excluded from the meek communion of Catholics: for

In its devotion, nought irregular
This mount can witness, or by punctual rule
Unsanction'd; here from every change exempt,
No influence can reach us.†

But independent of all temporal considerations, their error was most manifest: and here I must anticipate a theological argument, and give it in the words of Fenelon. Jesus Christ speaks thus: "If any one hear not the Church, let him be unto you as a heathen and as a publican." "Remark here," says Fenelon, "that he saith not, if any one hear not the Church of his country, or that to which among different churches he is attached by his birth or by his inclination; he does not suppose many churches between which each one might choose according to his liking; he supposes but one, which was to be his spouse for ever. Schism, which establishes many churches in spite of Jesus Christ, who desires that there should be but one, is therefore the greatest of all crimes. In vain do our separated brethren maintain that the ancient

* Matt. xii. Job. xiii. † Dante, Purg. XXI.

Church was fallen to ruin, and into the desolation of idolatry. If the visible Church was for a single day to have become idolatrous, Jesus Christ would not have said, absolutely and without restriction of times and nation, 'If any one does not hear the Church.' On the contrary, he would have said, 'If any one hear the Church during ages of error and idolatry, let him be unto you as a heathen and a publican.'"* In fact, the moderns have transferred their obedience to a human society upon the principle of the ancient world, "Deos patrio more et ex instituto civitatum colendos:" though according to their own system, obedience to any authority ought to be equally condemned: to recommend it is raising a Doric pæon in the Athenian camp, adding only distrust and confusion to their own allies.† A purely domestic state of religious society is what is called natural religion, and the public state of this society is revealed religion. "One may remark," says Bonald, "a great parade of domestic affections in all sects who wish to bring back domestic religion into public society, and at the same time a great indifference for public duties."‡ In the patriarchal times, when the rule of faith was by domestic tradition, to refrain from following the religion of one's parents would have been a fatal apostasy; but under the Christian dispensation, this authority was transferred to the public society of the Church, which all the nations of the earth were to obey. "O my daughter, hear and behold; lend an ear to my lessons, forget the house of thy father, and then the King of heaven will have pleasure in thy beauty." It is thus that God speaks to the soul of man in the 40th Psalm. Thus does he wish that after the example of Abraham, this soul should quit its country, its parents, should abandon the regions of the Chaldæans, that is to say, the places which are subject to the empire of the demons, to fix its abode in the land of the living, which is the Church, that cherished land, the object of the ardent sighs of the prophet, when he said, "I hope, yes I hope to behold one day the riches and the perfections of my God in the land of the living."§ To resist this authority and yet retain the title of those who would defend the faith, must render men the very objects of that angelic reproof.

* Lettres sur l'Eglise.
† Thucyd. VII. 47.
‡ Législation Primitive, Tom. I. 421.
§ St. Hieron. Epist. ad Eustoch. Virg.

——— And could'st thou faithful add? O name,
O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!
Faithful to whom?

Indeed, in the commencement of the deplorable separation, no such inconsistency could be charged upon the innovators. As they are described by the contemporaries, the son was armed against his father, the brother against the brother, the servant against his master.

Les enfans sans raison disputent de la foy,
Et tout à l'abandon va sans ordre et sans loy;
Morte est l'authorité: chacun vit en sa guise;
Au vice desreglé la licence est permise:

Thus writes Pierre de Ronsard, in his Discourse on the Miseries of his time. "Alas! how sad is the present condition of Christians," said Fuller, "who have a communion disuniting!" The reply of these men whom no yoke could bow, and no bridle hold, to the invitations so affectingly addressed to them by Catholic pastors, reminds one of that answer given to the Prince of Angels in Milton.

——— Err not, that so shall end
The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style
The strife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this heav'n itself into the hell
Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
If not to reign.*

But it is not strange that disobedience should produce such fruit on earth, when it was able to change into demons those who, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty, were once in the delights of the paradise of God.† Let us return to those that were faithful, found among the faithless, to that one fold of which all the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd, follow him and fly from the alien,‡ to those who had no idea of a perfection that did not consist in obedience, and who were content with the knowledge that the meek are blessed.

CHAPTER III.

I approach a subject of the highest importance, which demands all our attention: of infinite extent and requiring the tongue of an angel, I can but present a few detached fragments to employ the reflections of the reader, and summon to my aid the sentences of angelic men, who have treated upon it in their writings. As in some vast metropolis, when a civil rage has burst through all restraints, and pushed to open war, a thunder of artillery has shaken its most solid towers, and each man who loved order, has been exposed to death; if at the drawing on of evening shade, some pious recluse is heard to sound the angelus bell, which recalls the days of meek obedience; then tears burst from the eyes of many, who before seemed unmoved by all the desolation: so does joy well from the heart of those, long conversant with heretic debate, when their thoughts return to the Church of Christ, to that house of sweet untroubled order, of gentleness and peace.

Religion is the reason of all society, since, without it, man cannot find the reason of any power or of any duty. Religion, then, is the fundamental constitution of every state of society. Civil society is composed of religion and state, as the reasonable man is composed of intelligence and organs. Man is an intelligence which ought to make its organs serve to the end of its happiness and perfection. Civilized society is nothing but religion which makes political society serve to the perfection and happiness of the human race. These are the observations of the illustrious Bonald,§ whose theory of government might be taken for a history of what existed among men during the ages of faith.

The Church is defined by theologians, to be "the society of wayfaring men, who profess the true doctrine of Christ." When our eyes are once opened upon the wisdom and providence of God in the establishment and government of his Church, we are filled with astonishment at the new points of view which are unfolded in history; and, as Bonald says, "we feel confounded at the thought of the number of books which require to be re-written." From whatever side one regards the spirit and the institutions of the Catholic Church, one is ravished with admiration; as in every thing that relates to it, one perceives

* Book IV. 288. † Ezech. xxviii.
‡ Joan X. § Législation, Primit. II. 132.

the assistance and the action of the Divinity. The more one fathoms the secrets of this mysterious spouse of the Divine Word, the greater are the torrents which seem to hurst forth, of a light as dazzling as it is nnexpected. There is nothing, even in the smallest detail of its belief and practice, which does not offer more truths, and more real wisdom, than can ever be discovered by the investigations of science or genius. Well may she address her children, in the beautiful words of Dante,

> To rear me was the task of power divine,
> Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.

The sentiment of their own dignity, as being members of the Holy Catholio Church, made the meek men of faithful ages feel their hearts beat within them. In their faith they possessed all things; they could find all things; while without it, there was only nothingness, fatigue, and affliction of spirit.* But observe well with St. Cyril of Jerusalem, that it is of the Catholic Church we speak, that which possesses throughout the universe an unlimited power. Therefore adds this holy hishop, if you should ever arrive as a stranger in any city, do not ask merely where is the Church? the heretics dare to give themselves this name: but ask where is the Catholic Church; for that is its particular name—that is the special title of this holy mother of all the faithful, of this glorious spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, only Son of God.† Soon after the ages of faith there arose churches, established by human law, systems raised np like the walls of Athens, bearing marks of having been constructed in haste, and to meet the peculiar circumstances of the moment; for it is the property of all sects to pander to the temporary passions of men; and it is their end to be despised and forsaken hy the nnstable troop that followed them, as soon as that passion subsides: hence it was easy to detect them. The parts were not jointed into each other; hut laid on just as each person, man or woman could throw them; and among them one might have discovered many pillars from tombs, στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων, and carved stones which had been hrought to the work from a distance.‡ Bnt as for the Church of the ages of faith, the Christian, the Catholic, or if men will, the Roman or papal, for all these mean the same thing, any one could, in an instant, point it out, for there was no other like it. As Nausicaa says to Ulysses, speaking of the honse of her royal father, in the city of the Phœcians:

> ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἂν παῖς ἡγήσαιτο νήπιος.*

This was Catholic: not merely, as we shall see hereafter, from catholicity of doctrine and of time, hnt also of necessity from catholicity of places. There could be no region where its name had not reached.† This was visible, and men were not then infected with the hatred of all visible authority; hut they knew that man, body as well as mind, cannot be governed hy pure abstractions without reality. Even its adversaries admitted generally, with Melanchthon, that a Church must be visible, of which the Son of God said, "tell it to the Church;" and of which the apostle said that it was made a spectacle to the world and to men. They admitted with him, that "the portentous disconrses which denied the visibility of the Church, destroyed all the testimonies of antiquity, abolished judgments, and introduced an endless anarchy.‡" This Church, in its threefold state of being militant, patient, and triumphant, comprised the three divisions of all that belongs to men, with respect to the earth, purgatory, and heaven. This was commemorated as not having spot or wrinkle; hut yet, as St. Augustin says, "such words were not to be understood in reference to its present, hnt to its future state, when it is to appear glorious: for now" he adds, "on account of some ignorance, and the infirmities of its members, it has daily reason to say, Dimitte nobis dehita nostra."§ But as a remedy for the woes of man, and a source of needful truth, it was universal and infallible: it was a light to guide his feet into the paths of peace. If it did not remove every shade which rests upon the ways of the mortal life, it furnished a steady lustre, which not only sufficed to guide him safely, hut which made him discover even charms in the darkness at his side, so that he might exclaim, in the words of Dante:

> O sun! who healest all imperfect sight,
> Thou so content'st me, when thou solv'st my doubt,
> That ignorance not less than knowledge charms.‖

As St. Hilary said in his book on the

* Revue Catholique, tom. I.
† S. Cyril. Catechesis, XVIII.
‡ Thucyd. lib. I. 93.

* Od. VI. 300.
† La Hogue tractat. de Eccles. LXI.
‡ Opera, Præfat.
§ S. August. Retract. Lib II. cap. xviii.
‖ Hell, XI.

Trinity, "The Church offered a remedy against all diseases of the mind and heart, it comprised so great a number of truths, that it could pursue error under all its forms, and in all directions. Its truth was ever manifested by what its adversaries held. It was unchangeable it its essence, but it was known and appreciated better in proportion as the attacks against it were multiplied. It was the sublime prerogative of the Church that it should triumph when attacked: that its truths should most shine forth when men wished to accuse it of error; and that it should repair its losses by new conquests. After separating from it, the adversaries separated from one another; and in attacking each other and gaining victories over each other, they, in fact, conquered for the interest of the Church, whose factors they were; for thus the errors of one sect were overthrown by another; her foes slew themselves, and their controversies ended in confirmation of the Catholic doctrine."

The moderns practically divide the human race into two classes. It is either, their country, their political party, their school of philosophy, their domestic circle, their immediate family, and the whole rest of mankind whom they are willing to dismiss from their thoughts, or to speak of them with contempt or anger, as the impulse of the moment may direct them. In the ages of faith also, men divided the human race into two classes, but only one of them had a real, visible, and present existence, and this was the Church of Jesus Christ; that immense society, embracing men of all ages and all nations, and all schools of philosophy, and descending by a series of saints and great men, from Jesus Christ and thence from the patriarchs and the cradle of the universe. The other, the world condemned by Jesus Christ, was known only in theory as an abstraction, and referred to the Omniscient Judge who was to make the final separation. With respect to the institution of the Church, what we are chiefly called upon to consider in this place is the measure employed by the providence of God to preserve it in unity; and here is a theme that demands everlasting admiration, to be described only in the celestial language of the saints. St. Peter and St. Paul are martyred at Rome, "which obtains," says St. Ambrose, "the principality and the headship of nations, that where had been the head of superstition, there might rest the head of sanctity; that where the princes of the Gentiles dwelled, there might inhabit the princes of the churches."* Celebrated is the passage of St. Leo, where he speaks of St. Peter coming to Rome. "What were the nations of which there were not natives there? Here were to be overthrown the opinions of philosophy; here were to be dissolved the vanities of earthly wisdom; here was to be abolished the worship of demons; here was to be destroyed the impiety of all kinds of sacrilege; for here was collected with the most diligent superstition, all that was ever instituted by vain error. To this city then, O blessed apostle Peter, didst thou fearlessly come; and into this wood of roaring monsters didst thou enter with that companion of thy glory, Paul: trusting thyself upon this ocean of most turbulent depth, with more constancy than when thou didst walk upon the sea."† St. Peter concludes his first epistle, speaking of the Church of Rome, as that which is collected in Babylon; for by Babylon he meant Rome, according to the interpretation of Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, Orosius, and others; and it was so designated on account of the influx of all kinds of error and superstition. And now behold, through the amazing grace of highest God, what a change is here. Tacitus said of Rome, "that to that city from all sides, every thing atrocious and shameful flowed in;" and we may say of Christian Rome, that thither flowed in from all parts of the world, whatever was illustrious and holy. Do we seek the testimony of genius? Petrarch having to choose between being crowned by the university of Paris, or by the senate of Rome, prefers the city where dwells the pontiff, who holds in his hand the whole race of men that worship Christ with knowledge. V 'siede il successor del maggior Piero. Even Dante forgets his prejudices, as a Ghibelin, when he beholds the gracious vision of Matilda. Is it the opinion of the learned that we demand? "Of all the places of the earth that I have visited," says the author of the martyrs, "Rome is the only one to which I should wish to return, and where I should be happy to pass my life." Is it the opinion of those who study heavenly wisdom that we require? "If you approach Italy," says Tertullian, "you have there the Church of Rome, whose decisions and doctrines give to ours all their authority."‡ Do we

* Serm. LXVI. De Natali S. Apost. Pet. et Paul.
† S. Leonis Papæ Serm. I. de S.S. Apost.
‡ De Præscript. xxxvi.

desire to learn what were the sentiments of the saints? St. Vincent de Paul wrote from Rome, to say that "he was so consoled to find himself in that city, the metropolis of the Church militant, containing the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of so many other saints and martyrs who have shed their blood for Jesus Christ, that he counted himself happy in walking upon ground which had been trodden by so many holy personages, and that this consolation had moved him to tears." Is it the judgment of the intelligent and deeply reflecting writers of the middle age that we desire to know? Suger's early acquaintance with the court of Rome, is assigned as one source of his subsequent wisdom of administration, when, as regent of France, he merited the title of the father of his country. Even John of Salisbury, when relating his first conversation with Pope Adrian IV. at Beneventum, respecting the scandalous reports that prevailed against the administration, founded upon the riches which were drawn to Rome, has the candour to say "unum tamen audacter conscientia teste profiteor, quia nusquam honestiores clericos vidi quam in ecclesia Romana, aut qui magis avaritiam detestentur." The pope reminded him of the fable of the belly and the members, and concluded by saying, "Such, my brother, is the case in the republic of the Church. Be slow, therefore, to condemn, but attend to the general utility."*

May a rude and recent pilgrim be allowed to add his humble testimony? Of all the cities in the world which his eyes have looked upon, there appears most faith, most piety in Rome. In no other place, does human nature as exalted by the religion of Jesus Christ, appear so innocent and so worthy of the grandeur of its Maker. All is spiritual within those holy gates. There one sees the saintly host of men separate to the Church, there walk innocent troops of holy students, angels of modesty; there are the lovers of wisdom, who exercise rule with meekness under the great pontiff who succeeds to Peter's chair; there kneels a multitude of poor continually in the churches, like those described in the mysterious vision of the blessed John, who had no rest day or night, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come!" Rome, in her monuments, in her traditionary exercises, in her ceremonies, in her inscriptions, in her tone of manners, preserved by the fostering rule of Popes, speaks more forcibly to the reason and to the heart of man, than any book that ever was written to prove the truth of Christianity. While the civil power has imparted a certain tone of paganism to nearly all other states, there religion is made to the eye of all men, the one thing of paramount necessity. There only Christ seems to reign unopposed; from thence only seem to have fled the enemies of our Lord's cross; there only seems to have already conquered the Lion of the tribe of Judah. He who finds himself at Rome, wonders not that he should have past seas and lands from far to visit it, but rather why all men who worship Christ do not flock eagerly thither to supplicate and adore. Thence returning, he looks with careless indifference upon all other cities which now seem to him as only the fit residence for barbarous courts and unlettered merchants; from henceforth there remains only the care of cherishing precious, inestimable recollections; this earth can present no higher testimony; all is seen.

But it is necessary to speak more at large respecting the doctrine of the supremacy of Rome, which was universally acknowledged in ages of faith, and which was the foundation of all their spiritual greatness. The language of holy antiquity, adduced in evidence here, will render unnecessary any other explanation or any further comments. St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, the second from St. Peter, begins his Epistle to the Romans, "Ignatius to the Church that is sanctified, which presides in the region of the Romans." St. Irenæus says, that all Churches of the world are to submit to the Roman Church."* Tertullian again says, "could Peter be ignorant, who was called the foundation stone of the Church, to whom was given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing upon earth."† St. Cyril, of Alexandria, in his book against the Greeks cited by St. Thomas, says, "All bow their head to Peter by divine right, whom the primates of the world obey as if the head Jesus. We, therefore, that are members ought to obey our head, the Roman Pontiff, and adhere to the Apostolic See." St. Chrysostom says, "that St. Peter deserved to become for ever the fixed and indestructible foundation of the Church."‡ "Always remain united in

* De Nugis Curialium, lib. VI. cap. xxiv.

* Advers. Hæres. † De Præscript. cap. xxii.
‡ Serm. on the 12 Apost.

heart and mind, in communion with the chief of the Roman Church," says St. Jerome, "and however prudent, however firm in good principle you may believe yourself to be, never lend an ear to any one who would speak to you of a faith which is not that of St. Peter, of whom the existing Pope is the true and only successor." This is what St. Jerome says,* and again, he asks Rufinus, "Is our faith that of the Roman Chnrch, or is it that contained in the books of Origen?" If he answers it is Roman—then we are Catholics. "Si Romanam, ergo Catholici sumus."† Again "whoever you are that assert new doctrines, I beseech you to spare Roman ears: spare that faith which is praised by the voice of the Apostle."‡ "Be it known that the Roman faith cannot be changed." The fourteenth Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, proves how nniversally and completely this doctrine was established at that time. The sermons which remain of St. Asterus, Archbishop of Amasia, who died at the beginning of the fifth century, form a precions evidence respecting the universal jnrisdiction of the sovereign pontiff as well as other parts of Catholic discipline. Even a heathen writer of the fourth age says, "In episcopo Romano positam esse præcipuam Christianorum antoritatem."§ Hence arose, in the distant provinces of the empire, a confusion of names, similar to what now exists among the populace of England; for the heathens of Gaul used to call the Catholics, Romans. Thus the pagan king, Theodegisilus, thought to account for a miracle by saying, "Ingenium est Romanorum et non est Dei virtus." St. Gregory of Tours adds here in a parenthesis, "Romanos enim vocitant homines nostræ religionis."‖ The constant exercise of primal jurisdiction by the Roman Pontiffs is to be remarked. In the second century Pope Victor proposed to excommunicate those who did not celebrate the paschal festival on the same day as the Roman Church. In the third centnry, Pope Stephen acted similarly with respect to those who held the necessity of rebaptism, and neither the Asiatic nor African Churches ever objected to this as an invasion of their rights. "In the Apostolic See," the fathers of the fourth conncil of Constantinople recognise "the whole and true solidity of the Christian religion." Prayers were offered np for the Pope in the Eastern

* Epist. ad Demetriad. † Advers. Ruf. Lib I.
‡ Epist. xii. § Ammian. Marcellin. lib. XV. cap. vii.
‖ Greg. Turon. Miracul. lib. I. 25.

Churches nntil the fifth century, when Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, dared to erase his name from the sacred Dyptychs. "The Roman chair," says St. Augustin, "is the rock which the prond gates of hell do not conqner."* "Infidelity can have no access to the Roman and principal See," says St. Cyprian.† "It is on St. Peter alone," he says in another place, "that the Lord has fonnded his Church: it is to him that he confided the care of feeding his sheep, and although after his resurrection, he gave to all his apostles an eqnal power, saying, "As my Father hath sent me, so send I you," nevertheless, in order to make all enter into nnity, he established only one chair, and this chair is that of Peter. Doubtless the other apostles were all endowed with the honour of the same fnnctions, bnt by this disposition of the Saviour, all is confined to unity, all flows from this unity. The supremacy is given to Peter, in order that there may be only one Church of Jesus Christ, and only one chair whence truth may be extended to all the world. And is he who will not preserve this unity to believe that he can preserve faith? Has he who resists the Church, who abandons the chair of Peter on which the Church is fonnded, has he the presumption to believe that he is within the Church? As for the Christians of all ranks, as for us above all who are bishops and guardians of the Church, it is our dnty to preserve with care, to defend this precious nnity, in order to prove by this that the episcopacy also is one and indivisible. Let no one seek by falsehood to deceive his hrethren. The episcopacy, I repeat it is one. The Church is one as there is hnt one light, although the sun has an infinity of rays. And as the innumerable branches of a great oak united with the trunk and roots form but one tree, so the Chnrch has bnt one chief and one principle. Woe then to those who separate themselves from this unity, without which there can he nothing solid and immntable in the Chnrch. In separating themselves, they detach themselves from the principle of life, as the branches which have been cut off from the trunk whence they derive nutriment, fail not soon to languish, and to lose all the lnstre of their freshness and verdure."‡ Accordingly, he says of Novatian, that despising apostolical tradition, he rose from himself, and, therefore, he calls him, "Episcopnm adulterum

* In PS. cont. Part. Donat. † Epist. lv.
‡ Lib. de Unitate Eccles.

et extraneum qui humanam conatur facere ecclesiam." Admitting that he might have had ordination, he had no mission.* In answer to Antonianus who had asked what was the heresy of Novatian, he replied, "Be it known to you that we have no curiosity to enquire what he teaches, since he teaches without. If he were to be slain for the name of Christ, without the Church, he could not be crowned."† According to the universal doctrine of antiquity, schism was a crime which not even martyrdom could expiate. It rendered useless even a right faith. "Why when they believe rightly," says St. Jerome, "do they make themselves Arians by their obstinacy, dividing the Church, though convinced of the truth?" St. Bernard, so deeply instructed in the faith of all preceding ages, speaks as follows to Pope Eugene. "Come let us examine who you are, and what person you bear for a time in the Church of God. Who are you? A great priest, a great pontiff. You are the prince of bishops; you are the heir of the apostles; in primacy you are Abel, in government Noah, in patriarchate Abraham, in order Melchisedech, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, in jurisdiction Samuel, in power Peter, in unction Christ."‡

Such, then, is the universal sense of Christian antiquity upon this subject. It might seem superfluous to produce similar testimonies from the documents of the middle ages, whose sentiments on this point were so faithful and exact; but the attempt of some modern scholars to claim a sympathy where they might least expect to find it, (for there were more heresies in the primitive Church, than during the middle ages) will render it necessary to prevent their objections by evidence from the very quarter which they have deemed vulnerable. Neander, in eulogizing the character of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, has the courage to maintain that he was opposed to the claims of the Roman supremacy; and some English writers have attempted to defend a similar position, with respect to the early churches of Britain and Ireland. These, however, are the paradoxes of controversial writers, which no historian has been found to advocate. Truly, what that time was when England was Christian before being Catholic or Roman, if men would rather, I think scarcely sphynx can tell. Guizot quotes

* Epist. 55. † Epist. 65. ‡ De Consideratione.

the saying of St. Boniface, that "Rome is the centre, and the Pope the chief of Christianity;" and he even says, that in converting Germany, St. Boniface "gave it as it were to the popedom." In an epistle to Pope Stephen, St. Boniface says, "If any thing should be found, said, or done, by me, less skilfully or unjustly, with a ready will and humility I declare myself desirous of being corrected by the judgment of Rome;"* and again he says, "we have decreed and confessed that we will maintain the Catholic faith and unity, and subjection to the Roman Church, to the end of our lives. Moriamur, si Deus voluerit, pro sanctis legibus Patrum nostrorum, ut hæreditatem cum illis æternam consequi mereamur."† In another epistle he signs himself a bishop, discipulus Romanæ ecclesiæ.‡ Such were the sentiments of these Anglo-Saxon missionaries, whom some late writers have attempted to describe as founders of what they term their national liberties. Their maxim recorded, was that of all Christian antiquity, "quid enim prosunt bonorum operum emolumenta," said they, "si extra Catholicam gerantur ecclesiam?"§ The constant intercourse between Britain and Rome may be well conceived from the sentence of the Saxon Chronicle, "This year there was no journey to Rome; except that King Alfred sent two messengers with letters."‖ To the doctrine of the Irish Church, down to the eighth century, that is long before its reception of the Pallium,¶ express testimony is borne by the decree of the synod, published by Dacherius, in his Spicilegium. "Patricius ait: si quæstiones in hac insula oriantur ad sedem Apostolicam referantur."** Alas, reader! forgive me, and speak now as with a friend. Walks there a man this day upon the earth, so remorseless, as to turn away from these testimonies of ancient British faith without some touch of pity, misgiving, or amaze, when he contrasts them with what now passes "through distortion of misguided wills?" Say, how comes it that gentle minds, so formed for truth and love, should still remain closed to such plain accumulated evidences, and that men who have ever stood beneath the mountain should give utterance to such fearful words as we hear:

* Epist. xci. † Epist. cv.
‡ Epist. xci. § Id. Epist. xliv.
‖ P. cxii. ¶ S. Bernard. vit. S. Malach. c. xv.
** Tom. IX. lib. XX. cap. 5.

——— Is there no place for union left?
None left but by submission; and that word
Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame,
After so long a course
Of other promises and other vaunts,
Than to submit——

If it had been possible to have followed some of the first seducers into the deep recesses of their hearts, and to have seen the doubt and desolation there, how surely would the strain have changed!

———— Ah me, they little know
How deadly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan.
Such Joy ambition finds.——

This would be the place to speak of the meek reverence with which the sovereign pontiffs were treated in ages of faith: clearly it must have corresponded with their elevation, since it was generally the piety of the faithful which gave force to their dignity; yet the presence of Pope Leo I. clothed in his pontifical vestments, made even Attila tremble, and obliged him to retire and abandon his resolution of destroying Rome. When Pope Stephen V. came into France, the Emperor Lewis repaired to Rheims to meet him. On coming into his presence he prostrated himself three times, and then maintained with grandeur, during the interview, the majesty of the throne. "It is the interest of princes," says Don Savedra, "to have their eyes like the Heliotrope, always turned upon the sun of the pontifical tiara. Don Alonzo V. of Aragon, in the article of death, charged his son Don Fernando, king of Naples, to esteem nothing so much as the authority of the apostolic see; and to take care never to offend the sovereign pontiffs, whatever right might be on his side. Impiety or imprudence make it a point of honour to shew fierceness towards the popes; but humility towards them is not a weakness; it is religion: it is no dishonour; it is a glory: the most submissive deference of the greatest princes, is only a pious magnanimity, which serves as an example to subjects, to shew respect to all that is sacred: no infamy results to those who render it, but rather an universal praise, as that which attended the Emperor Constantine, when he took the lowest seat in a council of bishops; and the King Egiquez, when he prostrated himself on the ground at another celebrated council in Toledo."*

And here a reflection suggests itself forcibly to the reason of man; for that in every country of the world differing from each other so widely in manners, tastes, opinions, and supposed interests, there should be always in every age, such a number of persons profound in learning, ardent in enterprise, and full of patriotism, entertaining sentiments so perfectly opposed to all natural and human notions of society, all agreeing to maintain and willing to die like Sir Thomas More and Fisher, for the doctrine of the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs; a doctrine such as the heathen world could never have conceived, and which we may, at the same time remark is the object of detestation with all who systematically attack revelation, is a fact assuredly most striking and unparalleled, and enough to make all reasonable men pause before they acquiesce in the judgment of those who lament it as the result of error. The intervention of God in the establishment and preservation of his Church, is the miracle of history. Mabillon remarks as an instance, that at no time were the faithful of various countries more devoted and reverential in their professions to the Holy See, than in times when unworthy popes had succeeded to the apostolic chair. Thus Sergius, Archbishop of Cologne, and Rogerus Hammaturgensis modestly besought Sergius III. to bestow the pallium. How reasonable might it have seemed to condemn the person with the acts of Stephen VII. in his conduct to Formosus? And yet Auxilius, who wrote to Stephen in favour of Formosus, speaks thus to him: "omni humanæ potestati subditi esse debemus, et quam maxime apostolicæ."* With the same reverence did Fulco of Rheims apply to this unworthy pontiff; and the letters of Hatto of Mayence, and his suffragans, to John IX. contain these words: "Noverit sublimitas sanctitatis vestræ quod nulla Fratrum unanimitas sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ potestati subjecta, fidelior atque devotior ac subjectior apparet, quam nos, qui vestræ dominationi et capiti omnium ecclesiarum omni mentis intentione subjicimur." Theolmar of Salzburg, and other bishops of Bavaria, wrote to the same John, declaring, that by no reports of perversity could they ever be recalled from obedience to the Roman See. "We never believe, that from that holy and apostolic seat, which is to us the mother of sacredotal dignity, and the origin of the Christian religion, any thing of

* Christian Prince, II. 502.

* In lib. II. cap. 17.

perversity can flow, but only doctrine and the authority of ecclesiastical reason."* Thus stood erect the pillar amidst the greatest wreck of high ordained spirits, as when the synagogue was most obscured, a more than ordinary sound from the voice of prophets announced that it had not fallen. We may add to the observation of Mabillon, that the veneration of men has also been always most strikingly exhibited towards that primal seat, at moments when, to the eye of the world, its glory seemed to have been nearest to the point of extinction. Cardinal Pacca has described scenes in confirmation of this truth, which in point of sublimity and pathos surpass perhaps all instances recorded in the past history of the Church: but the account given by a late illustrious philosopher of what he beheld on the return of Pius VII. will perhaps be most interesting, as the unsuspicious testimony of a stranger. "I went out," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "with almost the whole population of Rome, to receive and welcome the triumphal entry of Pius VII. that illustrious Father of the Church, into his capital; a man whose sanctity, firmness, meekness, and benevolence, are an honour to human nature. He was borne on the shoulders of the most distinguished artists, headed by Canova; and never shall I forget the enthusiasm with which he was received: it is impossible to describe the shouts of triumph and of rapture sent up to heaven by every voice. And when he gave his benediction to the people, there was an universal prostration, a sobbing, and marks of emotions of joy, almost like the bursting of the heart; I heard every where around me cries of 'the holy father, the most holy father! his restoration is the work of God!' I saw tears streaming from the eyes of almost all the women about me; many of them were sobbing hysterically, and old men were weeping as if they had been children."† Thus ended the persecution of the eighteenth century, to which one may apply the words of Nieremberg, "Such waves against the Roman Church have never been wanting in any age, which by battering her have broken themselves. Her enemies run to their ruin, swelling like waves against her rock, whose end, though they rage for a time, will prove foam and froth, into which others before them, no less proud and swelling, are vanished."

* Præfat. in V. Sæcul.

† The Last Days of a Philosopher, Dial. III.

It remains for us to consider the Church in its relation to the civil government of the state, and briefly to describe the controversies to which that relation has given rise.

"The tendency of the independence of the clergy over the body of the people (and by this Guizot means the civil power in general) is, in some manner, the history of the Church from its cradle."* This admission will dispense us from replying to those reasoners who would date the ecclesiastical power from the age of Charlemagne. Constantine gave great power to the bishops in civil affairs, and wished them to wear crowns but they refused.

In the time of St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, the Bishops of Alexandria were invested with much temporal authority. The power of Pope Celestin was great; for he was able to deprive the Novatianists of their churches, and to prevent them from assembling openly.† But as Thomassinus observes, the Popes had a moral dominion in temporals before they possessed the judicial. Kings and people easily threw themselves upon the side to which they inclined. Hence the tears of Pope Gregory the Great, fearing lest so much secular business should separate him from the love of God. In Italy dominion came upon them, as it were, visibly by divine providence; for there was no one to discharge its duties, and they were called upon to save the people by fulfilling them.‡ John of Salisbury bears evidence to the sufferings consequent upon this pontifical power. "I call to witness," he says, "Lord Adrian, whose times God made happy, that no one is more miserable than the Roman pontiff, for if nothing else should occur to injure him, the mere burden and labour must quickly overcome him; he assured me that all former bitterness was pleasure to what he now experienced. He says the chair is thorny, and that the crown which seems so bright is of fire: had he consulted his pleasure, he said he would never have left his native soil of England. and his concealment within the cloister of the blessed Rufus, but he did not dare to resist the divine appointment; he often used to tell me that ascending to the rank of sovereign Pontiff, step by step, from his cloistered obscurity, he never gained by ascending in tranquillity of life."§ It was a com-

* Cours d' Hist. Mod. VI.

† Thomassinus, De Vet. et Nov. Discip. III. lib. I. cap. xxvi. ‡ Id. III. lib. I. cap. xxvii.

§ De Nugis Curialium, lib. VIII. cap. xxiii.

mon saying in the time of St. Ambrose, "that emperors rather desired priesthood, than priests empire."* "Cum infirmior tunc potens sum" was the rule to the new ambition of the Roman eminence, addressed to a successor of the fisherman, and to a disciple of the cross. His empire consisted in piety, virtue, tears, and prayer. Men rushed forward to give dominion to pontiffs, who like the kings of the golden world, were pastors of the people. On beholding the solemn grandeur which surrounds the meek father of the Church, it is an emotion full of joy and gratitude, which comes upon the mind unprejudiced, for it immediately draws the inference, that the world has become Christian, and that the warlike youth of nations are deputed to pay their innocent honours to the vicar of Jesus Christ. Never did the world behold in so eminent a degree as in the grandeur of the papal power, the verification of the divine promise to exalt the humble. These Gregories and Hildebrands, when they did not go forth to meet the wolf, were as meek and humble as the lowliest of their flock. If we would desire an instance of humility in its utmost degree, we shall find it in the acts and language of the chief pontiffs of the Church. Witness that letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon, which I cite not as a more eminent but only as a more recent instance, in which he expressed his sorrow and penitence for having agreed through the weakness of his age and sufferings to the concordat which was injurious to the discipline of the Church, ending with these affecting words, "Our conscience opposes insuperable obstacles to the execution of these articles which we acknowledge, to our confusion and grief, we incautiously subscribed, not from want of a right intention, as God himself is witness, but through human frailty, as dust and ashes."

With respect to the opinion which prevailed of the origin of this temporal power, it may be well to pause an instant. In France, many modern writers, not excepting even Bossuet, thought fit to found upon this supposed opinion, a charge of ignorance against the scholastic doctors of the middle age. With them St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, St. Anselm, St. Antoninus, St. Raymond of Pennafort—are men who only groped their way in a dark age. Their grand offence consisted in supporting the false decretals. It may be well

* St. Ambrose, Epist. 35.

then to state the simple fact to shew the extravagance of this declamation. The acts of councils and the papal decretals of the eight first centuries, formed the common law of France, as also of England, though Sir Matthew Hale, with singular boldness, appears to know of no obligation prior to the legislation of Henry VIII. and the authority of Parliament.* In the ninth century, appeared a compilation of these decretals and acts, which are truly given as they really existed, excepting that certain dates and names are confounded; but these anachronisms were of no importance, for the substance being still the decretals and acts of the eight first centuries, really was the common law. The scholastic doctors, therefore, had only fallen into the error of a date or a name. This is shewn by Marchetti, the Archbishop of Ancyra, in his criticism of Fleury. Even the Protestant Blondel proves that these false decretals were composed nearly in the very words of the ancient canons. But, however defencible, they were always regarded as doubtful by the learned; and Dante might have known that they were publicly disowned in the tenth century. As for the scholastic doctors having believed in the donation of Constantine, it is to be remembered that this donation never passed for certain with them; that Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, treated it as supposititious, and that it was two scholastic divines, St. Antoninus, of Florence, and Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. who first absolutely rejected it. Before them Adrian I., Nicholas I., and Gregory VII. omitted all mention of it in acts where they certainly would have alluded to it if it had passed for genuine. Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who lived at the end of the tenth century, excluded it from his collection, and the gloze upon Gratian's decretals adds, that it is never read in the schools. Dismissing then the question as to the origin of this power, let us briefly notice the attacks which have been directed against it from other sides. "Some men," says John von Müller, "speak against the Pope, as if it had been a great misfortune that there was an authority which had regard to the practice of Christian morals, which could say to ambition and despotism—thus far and no farther." "I know indeed," says Scotti, "that God who calleth the despised things of the world to confound the strong, in the first ages of Christianity,

* Hist. of the Common Law of England, 24.

shewed innnmerable wonders, and made all nations behold the omnipotence of his arm; hut the need for prodigies ceasing, and wishing that the operations of grace should be hidden under the shade of nature to increase the merit of faith, he hath wished that his Church should follow a certain natural order for the maintenance of its own independence and influence."* Vain attempts have been made to represent this power as inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian Church: and oft hy men with minds at the moment so little open to the light of faith, that when they looked for succour, they spoke of

That high Providence which did defend,
Through Scipio, the world's empery for Rome.

But in the first place, the passage which is quoted from St. John,† is read iu the Greek text ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, which gives his kingdom is uot from this world, but from his father. Besides, it is clear from the passage ln the Gospel of St. Matthew,‡ where our Saviour adds, "quomodo ergo implebuntur Scripturæ quia sic oportet fieri?" that his words, as related hy St. John "Regnum meum nou est de hoc mundo," must be nnderstood as alluding to a temporal kingdom, which would have prevented him from being delivered to the Jews, and from being crucified to save the world. Snch a kingdom would be utterly subversive of the Catholic Church, or rather there would in that event have been uo Christian people to be governed. Nothing can be more extravagant than to make such a text an argument against the economy and government of the Catholic Church, which rest wholly npon the fact of that death and passion; so that the Church could not have existed if that kingdom had been established which the moderns now so vainly ascribe to the Church. This was a kingdom which ought never to have excited the fear of any other government that was founded on justice. The ecclesiastical and the civil power have been alwsys recognised as essentially distinct, hut directed hy God to one end, which is, to the eternal and temporal happiness of the people.§ Walafreid Strabo, Ahbot of Fulda, in the ninth century, shews that while they differ in offices, they have one and the same end in view, that, "hy means of the union and love of both orders, the one house of God may be constructed, the one body of Christ edified."* "Attentively reflect," says Pope St. Leo to an emperor, "that the royal power has beeu giveu to you hy God, not only to govern the world, but principally to defend the Church."† It may be observed that in a certain sense, the distinction of the two powers is founded in nature and discernihle in every government of men. Œdipus arriving in a strange country, asks τίς λόγῳ τε καὶ σθένει κρατεῖ; who possesses the moral and physical force, or authority and strength?‡ Catching at certain expressions, and misinterpreting deeds of meekness, you complain that the civil power was under the dominion of the clergy! σὺ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνεμώλια βάζεις. For have not other men a right to reply that you only want it to be under the dominion of your philosophy? Since in one sense the civil power must, of necessity, be always under the dominion of the spiritual, so that the only question is ought it to be for or against the Church of Christ, under the dominion of truth or of error? The distinction of the two powers has been always invariahly maintained by the tradition of the Church, although as Catholics in relation to Catholic states, it was impossihle to believe them reciprocally independent, since the divine law was comprised in the spiritual order. In the middle ages there were no concordats to regulate the connection of the two powers, because God then reigned over man, and religion over law. Still less were there any constitutions like that proposed for Poland, by the Abbé de Mahly, in which the authority of Rome was to be wholly rejected. The lessons given to princes were the necessary result of their professing the Christian religion. It will be well to take examples in proof of the sentiments of the age, though it must be understood that the occasions which gave rise to them, were, after all, remarkable as presenting exceptions to the general spirit of meek obedience which was evinced towards the pastors of the Chnrch. The possihility of a collision between the two powers was apparent from the first ages. When the Emperor Constantius wished to ordain something connected wlth religion by his authority, the legate who presided at the Council of Nice, wrote to him as follows:—"Do uot meddle with ecclesiastical matters, lest you prescribe precepts to those from whom you should rather learn; to you hath God

* Teoremi di Politica Cristiana, I. 298.
† xviii. 36. ‡ xxvi. § Scotti, Teoremi, 248.

* De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap xxxi.
† Epist. lxxiv. ‡ Œdip. Col. 68

given empire, to us he hath entrusted the things of the Church, and as he who should deprive you of empire would resist the ordinance of God, so fear lest by arrogating ecclesiastical power, you should be guilty of a great crime. It is neither lawful for us to govern the earth, nor for you to touch the censer."* The laws of Justinian prescribed certain rules respecting ordination, but no attention was paid to them, and in some instances contemporary councils established a contrary usage.† Theodosius the younger, in his Epistle to the Synod of Ephesus, informed the fathers that he had sent to them Candidianus, but with express orders that he should take no part whatever in their controversies, "for it would be most atrocious," he added, "if one who is not inscribed in the catalogue of most holy bishops should meddle with ecclesiastical consultations." So that the princes who were present at councils attended only to protect the peace and freedom of the assembly. When the Emperor Maurice proposed a law forbidding soldiers to profess a monastic life, and wrote to Gregory the Great to publish it, the Pope replied, "I indeed, subject to the command, have caused the law to be transmitted to different parts of the earth, and because the law itself does not agree with what we owe to Almighty God, behold in an Epistle I have declared so. 'Utrobique ergo quod debui exsolvi, qui et imperatori obedientiam præbui, et pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.'" Vincent, of Beauvais, says, "that they who make iniquitous laws, or statutes contrary to the law of God, and to ecclesiastical liberty, as many princes and counts are accustomed to do, 'ipso jure,' the laws are invalid, for no law can avail against God."‡ When St. Hilary found that the Emperor Constance was resolved to attack even the faith of the Catholic Church, he wrote no more to him, but against him; "the time for speaking is arrived, the time of silence is passed. Let us raise our eyes towards the Christ, for here the Anti-Christ reigns. The pastors ought to make their voice be heard for the mercenaries have taken flight. We contend against an enemy who seeks to deceive us, against a persecutor who caresses us: he does not deprive us of life, but he enriches us in order to drive us to eternal death: he does not grant us the liberty of a prison, but he honours us with the servitude of palaces: he does not kill with iron but with gold: he professes Christ to deny him; he desires union that there may be no peace; he honours priests that they may cease to be bishops; he builds churches and he destroys faith." Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who enjoyed such favour at the court of Charles-le-Chauve, shewed no less apostolic courage, in his treatise on the Divorce between Lothaire and Teutberge. "Some sages affirm, that this prince being king, is not subject to the laws or judgment of any one except God alone who has made him king, so that whatever he may do, he ought not to be excommunicated by bishops. Such language is not Christian and Catholic; it is full of blasphemy. The authority of the apostle says, that kings ought to be subject to those whom it institutes in the name of the Lord, who are to take care of their souls. When it is said that the king is not subject to the laws or judgment of any one but to God alone, this is true if he be king in deed as well as in name: he is called king because he governs. If then he govern himself according to the will of God, directing the good in the right way, and correcting the wicked to lead them back from the evil way to the good, then he is king, and subject to the judgment of no one but God—for laws are instituted not against the just, but against the unjust; but if he be an adulterer, a homicide, unjust, a plunderer, then he ought to be judged secretly or in public by the bishops."* When Louis III. in the year 881, interfered with a canonical election, Hincmar wrote to him as follows: "As for your reply, that you will do nothing but what you have done already, be assured that then God will perform what pleases him. The Emperor Louis le Debonnaire did not live as long as his father Charles;† King Charles the Bald your grandfather, did not live as long as his father; your father Louis did not live as long as his father; and while you are living amidst all this pomp at Compeigne, cast your eyes on the spot where your father rests; and if you do not know it, ask where did your grandfather die, and where lies he: and let not your heart be lifted up

* Apud. S. Athanas. Epist. ad Solitar.
† Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, Tom. V. c. 5.
‡ Speculum Doctrinale, lib. X. c. lxxxvii.

* Hincmar, Op. de Divort. Loth. tom. I. p. 693.
† The allusion in this particular instance, was not just, for Louis the Pious renounced the right of interference with elections, and restored liberty to the Church, but his immediate successors deserved all the reproach of Hincmar. Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. V. c. vii.

before the face of Him who died for you and for us all, and who afterwards rose again and who now dieth no more. Be assured that you will die, and you do not know what day or what hour; you have need then like us all to be ever ready for the call of our Lord—you will soon pass; but the holy Church with its chiefs under Christ, and according to his promise, will remain for ever."* This solemn argument of Hincmar was repeated so late as in 1576, by the canons of the states of Blois when they demanded their ancient liberty of elections. They observed that the Carlovingian race had been of short duration, from having arrogated the right of disposing of ecclesiastical offices, while the Capetian, which from its origin, and after the example of its founder, had habitually respected their independence, had reigned for more than five centuries. In fact, Hugues Capet, on his coronation, abdicated the dignity of Abbot of St. Germain and of St. Denis, with which he had been invested, and restored in all the monasteries of his dominions the freedom of election, which had been denied them for a century before. "Without doubt," exclaims John of Salisbury, "whoever oppresses ecclesiastical liberty, is punished either in himself or in his offspring."†

St. Cœlestin wrote to Theodosius the younger, saying "the cause of the faith ought to be dearer to us than that of the kingdom, and prosperity attends him who has the greatest care of things most dear to God." And St. Bernard wrote as follows to king Conrad, "Whoever tries to make the cross subject to the throne, either does not love the king, or little understands what becomes the royal majesty, or seeks some interest of his own, or does not much care for the things of God and of the king."‡ In another place St. Bernard says, "May my soul never come into the council of those, who say either that the peace and liberty of the churches are injurious to the empire, or that the prosperity and exaltation of the empire are an injury to the churches."§ "The office of the emperor," says the Council of Mayence, "is only discharged when he lives in right faith, and true humility of heart, subjecting the height of royal dignity to holy religion, being more delighted to serve God in fear, than to rule over the people in fear, tempering anger with mercy, and power with benignity; being more the object of love than of dread: and always remembering, that he is a son of our holy mother church, endeavouring to promote her peace and tranquillity throughout the world: for the empire is more maintained and propagated by consulting, in every part of the earth, the interest of the ecclesiastical state, than by combating in some one part for temporal security."* At the fourth council of Toledo, king Sisenand devoutly fell at the knees of the bishops and fathers, begging with tears, that they would pray to God for him, and that they would diligently attend to the interests of the ecclesiastical discipline.† It is examples of this kind which made Savedra say, that "it is an heroic obedience, which kings yield to the vicar of Him who gives and takes away sceptres: let kings glory as much as they please in not being subject to foreign laws, but never in being independent of apostolical decrees. It is their duty to give them vigour, and to make them be observed religiously in their states."‡ In the sainted Isle of England during the ages of faith, we find the same meekness on the tongues of kings. In 694 Wihtred, king of Kent, spoke to the council of Bapchild, and said, "I will that all the minsters and churches that were given and bequeathed to the worship of God, in the days of believing kings, my predecessors, and in the days of my relations, of King Ethelbert, and those who followed him, shall so remain to the worship of God, and stand fast for evermore. For I, Wihtred, earthly king, urged on by the Heavenly King, and with the spirit of righteousness annealed, have of our progenitors learned this, that no layman should have any right to possess himself of any church, or of any of the things that belong to the church. Kings shall appoint earls and aldermen, sheriffs and judges; but the archbishop shall consult and provide for God's flock."§ We have also here the beloved authority of Alfred, for "he used to say, that the dignity of a king is real only in that case, where in the kingdom of Christ, that is the Church, he considers himself not as a king, but merely a simple subject, where he does not rise up proudly above the laws of the bishops, but submits with humility and obedience, to the laws of Christ as proclaimed by them."‖ "Princes,"

* Op. tom. II. p. 199.
† De Nugis Curialium, vii. 20.
‡ Epist. xxiv. 243.
§ Epist. ccxliii.

* Concil. Mogunt. sub Annulpho, c. II.
† Ribadeneira Princeps Christianus, I. 12.
‡ Christian Prince, Tom. I. 270.
§ The Saxon Chronicle, LIX.
‖ Harpesfield Hist. Angl.

says the great Mabillon, "are but the first children of the Church, and should show an example of submission to her doctrines. Whenever they have attempted to usurp what belongs to her, they have only injured instead of benefitting the Church. All these conciliations, invented to calm rebellious spirits, and to lead them back to unity, have authorized them in their separation and revolt; their authority has perpetuated errors whenever it desired to assume the part of leading them back to truth"* We have heard the sentiments of virtuous princes, in ages of faith, and beheld their meek obedience. Their merit will appear greater as we proceed to notice the examples which were before them, of the oppression of ecclesiastical liberties, and even of systematic resistance. The middle ages were spared the desolation of beholding a king who, like the caliph of England in the sixteenth century, constituted himself the head of both temporal and spiritual power; but yet there were found some few Cæsars, who effected a way to Olympus, by persecuting the Church. At one time, it was by interfering, like the present sophists of France, with the rights of the episcopacy, in order to avail themselves of its authority, and to counteract the influence of the Christian freedom. Thus by a law of Justinian, bishops were prohibited from ordaining any colonus or rustic, without the leave of the proprietor of the land to which he belonged;† and though the clergy soon succeeded in defeating this anti-christian ordinance, and the same emperor affected to give leave to ordain rustics, even without the consent of their masters;‡ yet the spirit of paganism was so infused into the civil governments, that it was not till a very late period in France, that the law formally sanctioned scholastic education of the sons of peasants and mechanics, or permitted them to educate a son for the Church.

At another time, it was by a systematic plan to assume an influence and a power over ecclesiastical discipline; such appeared in the conduct of the Ghibellines of Italy, and in the doctrines of the Gallicans in France. The Ghibellines were lax in faith: in this character, Ottaviano Uboldini, who used to be styled the cardinal, is even introduced by Dante:§ their chiefs were men of an iron and despotic nature. Voigt, in his history of Gregory VII. says, that in reading the Saxon histories of Henry IV. we might imagine we were reading of Nero.* The student of history must be on his guard, with respect to this subject, against the writings of unworthy ecclesiastics, who, like Otho Von Frisingen, because he was nephew to the sacrilegious emperor Henry V. took part with him against the Church, and wrote as an apologist for the Germans, and not as a Christian author. He must be apprised also, that there were some who were meek and holy men, like Ives of Chartres, who yet did not rightly estimate the importance of the debate between the pontiffs and the empire, respecting investitures; and who did not generously feel for holy Church, in her combat for freedom. This was not strange, since owing to the providence of God, the first German emperors exercised the power of investiture with great piety. Germany had most holy bishops under Conrad I., Henry the Fowler, the three Othos, Conrad II., and his son Henry the Black. No sooner did Henry IV. rise up, than God opposed to him his intrepid servant Gregory, who undertook not only to prevent the present sacrilege of this wicked emperor, but to abolish for ever the principle of the danger. Frederick Schlegel points out the iron character of the Ghibellines, so fearfully displayed by Henry VI. in Naples, the bloodthirsty Ezzelin in Lombardy, and even the emperor Frederick II.† The same character, in a greater or less degree, belonged also in France to the men, who, under the name of Gallicans, were disposed to look with an eye of jealousy upon the supremacy of Rome; and in every country, and in all ages, it has distinguished that class of reasoners, who were for governing solely by the civil authority; that is, by human principles, without the intervention of the Church, and what is superhuman. The violence of the clergy of Paris, during the league, must be ascribed to the Gallican principles adopted by the university at that period. But every where such men are marked by the same hard severity of principles, the same insensibility to any mercy which would plead in opposition to a general law: like that veteran described by Tasso, of whom he says, when it is proposed to punish Rinaldo with death,

Old Raymond praised his speech, for such men think
They ever wisest seem when most severe:—

* Petit carême. † Cod. Just. l. I. tit. iii. l. 16.
‡ Nov. Just. CXXIII. c. 17.
§ Hell, X. 121.

* P. 256. † Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 151.

There must the rule to all disorders sink,
Where pardons, more than punishments appear;
For feeble is each kingdom, frail and weak,
Unless its basis be this fear.*

Every where they shew the same disposition to exult in the execution of their legislative enactments, despising the nnseen power of truth and sanctity, and even addressing the Holy Chnrch in words like those of Kopreus to the suppliant Heraclidæ:

οὐ γάρ τις ἐστὶν, ὃς πάροιθ' αἱρήσεται
τὴν σὴν ἀχρεῖον δύναμιν ἀντ' Εὐρυσθέως.†

Every where also they indicate the same laxity in faith, whatever may be the vehemence of their professions; though it may resemble the zeal of those who trust the fond belief on every occasion,

That heaven
Will truck its armour for the lilied shield,‡

for they are the ready advocates of that modern wisdom, which discards all consideration of religion in its schemes of policy, and is the last to sympathise with the sufferings of a people who are oppressed by the enemies of their religion. In opposition to the Ghibellines and the Gallicans, the spirit of the Church is now acknowledged by all historians to have been favourable to the freedom and happiness of mankind. Even Machiavel is forced to observe continually, throughout his history of Florence, that the party for the Church was regarded as the maintenance of the public liberty. On this point, our English writers, who, alas! are still the con temporaries of Cranmer, are left alone; their continental brethren having completely abandoned their favourite positions. All are passed to the side of that Fenelon who wept over the old institutions of his country, and who recognised in the Holy See, the eternal defender of the charters of the middle age, and of the genuine liberty of nations.

In the memorable debate concerning investitures, the grand object of Gregory VII. was to behold the Church free, and the victory of the things of God over those of man. The character of this illustrious pontiff breathes all the energy and self-devotedness of the ages of faith. He alone felt sorrow on being invested with the supreme authority; "Our promotion," said he, "which administers to you and the rest of the faithful, a pious and joyful expectation, produces in us the bitterness of internal grief, and the pressure of too much anxiety."* In his epistle to all the Germans, he expressed himself as follows, "to this end we feel ourselves ordained and placed in the apostolic seat, that in this life we should seek not our own, bnt the things of Jesns Christ, that by many labours, following the footsteps of the fathers, we may pass with the merciful aid of God to the future and eternal quiet."† What a noble testimony was he able to bear to himself, when he said, in allusion to the emperor Henry IV., "Never, by any prayers or manifestations of friendship or of enmity, could he obtain from us the consent to say or think any thing for his sake, contrary to justice. In this course, by the help of God, we will constantly persist so long as we shall live, not daunted by any peril of life or death."‡ In France, the usurpation of the monarchs was often resisted by the meek men of God. In the eleventh century, when St. Gaultier, Abbot of St. Martin, at Pontoise, was installed Abbot, king Philip being present, wished to deliver to him the cross with his own hand: St. Gaultier took it, bnt laid hold of it at a part above the king's hand, saying, "Non à te sed de snrsum." I take this charge, not from you, Sire, bnt from God. It was said that this action of the holy man filled all the lords of the court, and even the king himself, with admiration. The holy man, however, it must be observed, had only a king of nine years old to deal with. The history of this controversy abounds with scenes of the highest interest, and of the ntmost sublimity. Let us view for a moment these Roman pontiffs, in the presence, as it were, of the barbarous and raging kings of the earth. Such an occasion was presented at Chalons, when the ambassadors of the emperor came there to treat with Pope Paschal II. The inhabitants were filled with terror at the sight of this procession of martial troops, escorting the duke of Bavaria, before whom a naked sword was carried. He was a man of gigantic stature, and had a voice which made men tremble when he spoke. His nobles and attendants had so fierce a countenance, and bore themselves with such haughtiness, creating such a noise and confusion, that one would have thought they were going to give battle to

* Book V. 39. † Eurip. Heraclid. ‡ Dante. Par. VI.

* Epist. i. 39. † Epist. iv. 24. ‡ Epist. v. 7.

some formidable enemy, and not to kiss the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The holy father replied to them with firmness, and in a strain of the most affecting piety; but when he had concluded, the barbarous Germans became furious, and proceeded even to address insulting words to the pontiff: but feeling that their party would not be the strongest in France, they withdrew crying out, "Non hic sed Romæ gladiis determinabitur querela." A more remarkable scene followed in the very church of St. Peter, at Rome, when the emperor came there to be crowned, upon a mutual understanding with the pope, that the emperor was to relinquish his custom of investiture, and the bishops of Germany to abandon their dukedoms, marquisites, and other principalities; a proposition originating with the emperor, and eagerly approved of by the pope; but which the emperor had kept secret from his German nobles, hoping to gain all their possessions in exchange for the abandonment of a form. The emperor, after kissing the pope's feet, who received him at the portal, was seated under a royal canopy near the altar, and the pope began the mass. Having finished the offertory, at the moment when the ceremony of the coronation was to commence, he turned to the emperor, and asked him aloud whether he was resolved to observe the treaty that had been agreed to; and if so, he begged that he would then declare his resolution publicly. The emperor, who did not expect this, appeared a little confused; but resuming his presence of mind, he rose from his seat, and said he was ready to do so, provided the prelates of Germany consented; but he must first confer with them: and accordingly, for this purpose, he withdrew into the sacristy. The result was soon known, for the Germans became furious at the first intimation of the case in agitation, and all returned into the church with great noise and tumult, declaring that they would never part with the possessions which former emperors had given to their churches. In vain did the pope attempt to appease them, by reminding them of the true glory of the Church, which was independent of such privileges. At length a gigantic warrior advanced with a fierce countenance, and addressed the pope with haughty insolence, saying, that it was for him to crown their emperor, as his predecessors had done those who were before emperors, and to make no innovations. The pope seeing himself thus treated at the foot of the altar of his church, spoke as sovereign pontiff, and said that he would never cowardly betray the interests of the Church; and then he rose up from his chair and advanced to the altar, without proceeding to the coronation, to finish the mass. The emperor greatly irritated, called out from his seat to the pope to crown him; but there was no reply or notice taken of his words. Then making a sign to his guards, they approached and surrounded the altar. The Pope perceived their intention, but evinced no fear; and finished the mass with a tranquillity and presence of mind truly admirable. No sooner had he descended to withdraw, than the emperor's guards arrested him, as well as many cardinals and bishops, a great number of priests, clerks, officers, and gentlemen who had served in different functions at the altar. In an instant a fearful noise filled the whole church. The people began to cry out on all sides, "they are taking the life of the holy father!" The German soldiers drew their swords and fell right and left upon the helpless multitude, who fled to the door, where numbers were suffocated and massacred. As the guards were dragging the pope and cardinals to a secure place near the emperor's quarters, one only of the German nobles had courage enough to speak in behalf of justice and piety. This was Conrad, Archbishop of Salzburg.

——— faithful only he:
Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrify'd,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal.

Filled with horror on beholding the pope dragged along like a criminal, he could not keep silence, but expressed his detestation, before all the world, of such an enormous act, saying, in the ardour of his zeal, all that piety could inspire him with, unmoved by the fear of instant death, with which they threatened him; for a German nobleman advanced with a drawn sword, and swore that he would strike him on the spot, if he continued to speak; but the generous bishop offered him his throat, saying, "Strike if you will, let me perish rather than give room only by my silence, for any one to suppose that I approved of such an infamous action." Historians remark that St. Athanasius did not suffer more from the Arians than did this archbishop afterwards from Henry V. In vain did the German writers endeavour to excuse the emperor: all Europe was inflamed with indignation. The escapes and sufferings in the same cause of the holy Pontiff

Gelasius II. who succeeded him, would occupy too long a space, but I cannot refrain from mentioning one event. After landing at Caieta, for he was obliged to fly from Rome in consequence of the emperor's furious return in search of him, the night being wet and tempestuous, and the castle of Ardea, where he was to take refuge being two leagues distant from the spot, the venerable old man not having sufficient strength to walk, and there being no horses, the Cardinal Hugo d'Alatre, who had saved him the preceding night from the hands of the emperor, now performed an action deserving of eternal praise: for taking him upon his shoulders he carried him the entire way, and arrived in safety at midnight with his precious burden. The conception of these scenes fills us with horror as we read of them in history: how must they have affected the minds of men in ages of faith! Five centuries have not obliterated the memory among the faithful of that blow given to Boniface VIII. by the hand of a Colonna, and for five centuries have they recognised in the sterility of his vast domains the vengeance of Almighty God. Gelasius II. met his holy death in the monastery of Cluni. The multitude of monks and devout people who flocked to his funeral was almost infinite: they sought to honour the obsequies of a martyr, for in this light he was regarded, since his whole pontificate, which had lasted but a year and four days, was a continued persecution, during which, like St. Paul, he might have reckoned chains, prisons, stripes, wounds, exile, perils by land and by sea, treasons, and false brethren. In France the opposition was more systematic, but attended with less violence. The establishment of the pragmatic sanction, which the Popes had never recognised, constituted the clergy of France almost theoretically in a kind of rebellion against the holy See. This was formally abolished in the reign of Francis I. by the concordat with Leo X., though the parliament and university were both violent in opposition to it. The theories of Gerson Almain, Jean Major, and their disciples, began to produce their fruit in the rise of the Quesnellists and Jansenists, the end of whose principles was so clearly pointed out by Fenelon. When the kings of Europe became alarmed, and began to take violent measures against the new spirit of resistance to authority, they were only reaping what they had sowed, for since two centuries they had, as it were, been conspiring against the only power which could protect them from it. While Francis I. was exercising such severity against the Protestants in France he was courting the friendship of the Protestant powers abroad, and making common cause with them; he was intimately allied with Geneva, with the eighth Henry, with the Protestant princes of Germany, and with Turkey. Charles V. finding it for his advantage that the religious disputes should cease, published the famous interim in which he made concessions that violated the rights of the holy See. Henry II. while he persecuted the Protestants in France as opposed to his crown, refused to receive the decrees of the Council of Trent with respect to discipline. Thus began the development of that artful and criminal policy carried to such perfection by Cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin, and ratified in the peace of Westphalia, which separating its interests from that of religion, finished, as de St. Victor says, by persuading the people that religion itself was only a matter of policy.* What greater contempt for religion could revolutionary agents evince than had been displayed by the government of that brave Henry, on occasion of Jean Châtel, when the Père Guignard was tortured and put to death? Did Julian ever publish a more cruel decree against the Church than that of her eldest son, which closed the nine colleges of studious youth, and said to her in words that seemed like mockery, "thou needest labourers, but more thou shalt not have?" The conduct of that Louis, whose end was glory towards the holy father, relative to the sanctuary in the hotel of his ambassador, was as dangerous as it was mean and impious. "What a triumph," cries de St. Victor, "for a king of France, to prove himself more powerful than the Pope as a temporal prince, and in this respect to make no difference between him and the Dey of Algiers, or the republic of Holland. Louis, who pushed his conquests to the Rhine, after humbling the temporal princes of Christendom, resolved with the instinct of despotism, to attack freedom itself in the pontifical dignity: and for this purpose, his flatterers stirred up the affair of the régale. The avocat-general on this occasion pronounced a discourse worthy of Cromwell, and the parliament that gave to the will of the eighth Henry the force of law. This was the moment when the dragonades were exercised upon

* Tableau de Paris, tom. XI. p. 1070.

the Calvinists, and when it was resolved to revoke the edict of Nantes. Le Pere la Chaise, Jesuit and confessor of the king, opposed this latter measnre as far as he was able, and it is certain that in so doing he spoke the sentiments of the Pope. The fatal articles issued from the cabinet of the surintendant solely in consequence of the personal pique of the great king, because the holy father had not thought proper to cringe to all his wishes. Bossuet himself confesses that this was the origin of these famous articles, the basis of the Gallican liberties. Louis nourished from infancy according to the modern system, concluded that he had at length brought the monarchical government to its perfection in himself. "The state is myself," said he, and this political egotism proved that his views were narrow, and that he had but imperfectly understood society as it had been formed by the Catholic religion in ages of faith. The power of Christianity emanating from God, has two principal characteristics—it is universal and independent, for God cannot have two laws or two wills. It is the universality of this law, its independence, and its continual action upon intelligences, which constituted the wonderful social state called Christendom. Christianity, therefore, as an universal ruler has precepts equally obligatory on those who govern, as on those who are governed; kings and subjects live equally in its dependence and unity, and it would be a blasphemy to suppose that there could be any thing in the world independent of God. Louis, as if he had expected to reign for ever, had sacrificed the authority of the Church to the establishment of his despotism, and he died leaving his power isolated amidst all the natural resistances of society. The popular opposition gained strength under the regency, and continued to extend till the last explosion; but the agents of the revolution were not more impious in violence against the authority of the Church than the parliaments had been in 1749, on occasion of the refusal of the sacraments, and in 1754, under the succeeding Louis. Choiseul, of haughty and imperious soul, was as great an enemy to the holy See as the worst minister of Elizabeth, and it was at length reserved to the calamitous times which preceded the fall of empires to behold in the person of a German Cæsar, the chief of the conspirators against the spiritual authority. This imperial minister of a base philosophy, who shewed, perhaps, the smallest portion of sense of all the wretched men who ever bore a sceptre, descended into his grave unloved, unpitied, unrespected by his own impious advisers, and summoned as if by one voice from the brave and generous people over whom he had arrogated the spiritual authority to account for their injuries before God. But let us hasten to more noble recollections. What a lesson has been conveyed in the history of later times to prove that neither kings nor subjects can be independent, and that the meekness of the ages of faith was after all the wisest and safest policy for them both. In France the opposition which came from kind heaven was crushed amidst shouts of victory, and at the same moment began this other opposition which comes from the cruel earth, and supplies its place. Delivered indeed from the sovereignty of Him who said that his yoke was easy and his burden light, these independent kings soon found themselves in face of the sovereignty of the people, that is to say, of a master "whose yoke breaks crowns, and who at his pleasnre, makes them pass from the throne to the scaffold."* One argument of those who condemn the doctrine of the ages of faith is, that "the condition of a Christian and a Catholic prince, was then worse than that of a heathen, for he has God alone supreme, but the other had the chief pontiff."† Such an argument methinks is enough to make subjects reflect rather upon the real dangers to which they are exposed, than upon those that are imaginary and things of air. Let us hope that the cry of the Jewish Deicides may be no longer that of any people professing to be Christian—"non habemus Regem nisi Cæsarem;" let us hope that none may any longer rush like willing slaves to give execution to the will of some remorseless despot, in order that they may trample on the sweet and gentle yoke of Christ. And if again we look to the character of the popular power when it aspired to independence, and rejected the spiritual authority, is not the same lesson taught in terms irresistible? For who that has studied the history of its assemblies, and that has assisted at its councils, and will not be forcibly reminded of them when he hears the poet sing of the first deliberations of those spirits that highly raged against the highest, hurling defiance towards the vault of heaven? Is

* Documens Historiques concernant la Compagnie de Jesu, 19.

† La Hogue de Ecclesia, 257.

it a calumnious comparison, and does history bear no witness to obdurate pride and stedfast hate? Does it record nothing of the fixed mind and high disdain, the unconquerable will and study of revenge? Nothing of immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield? Tells it of no cries like "here at least we shall be free?" Of no orators who uttered "high words that bore semblance of worth not substance?" Of no countenances like that described "cruel his eye, care sat on his faded cheek, but under brows of dauntless courage and considerate pride?" Of no arguments to ridicule the power of him who reigns only "upheld by old repute, consent or custom?" Of no counsels like those "who can think submission?" Let us live to ourselves free and to none accountable, preferring "hard liberty before the easy yoke of servile pomp?" The combat sung by Milton is stated by the prince opposed to angels to be "the contest between servility and freedom;" and are we to fall down in admiration at the feeble parody of still vainer mortals, because it bore no less high a title? If then so fearful a comparison be justified by the evidence of history, was such a power, we may ask, likely to legislate for the advantage of mankind? Could its influence tend to promote a freedom consistent with justice? I have not considered these liberties in relation to the interests of the Church itself, because the delusion attempted to be practised on this point is so egregious that one would feel it a needless indignity to enter upon its refutation. The sophist in Plato who thinks he can be pious while he prosecutes his own father, and affirms that piety or holiness, being only a part of justice, is confined to the worship of God in temples, and that the rest concerned with the conduct of life belongs to another sphere, this sophist reasons like the moderns.* But Socrates cuts him short by requesting to know what he means by the worship of the gods, whether like the art of dressing horses or dogs as discharged by the groom or the huntsman, it is the knowledge of exercising a certain service to the gods which confers a benefit upon them? The prince or sophist imbued with these principles, would also speak eloquently upon piety; he too would have temples and solemn psalmody, but it would be only a contrivance to save appearances in banishing God from the society of men. We have seen the steps of this famous process, and from henceforth nothing can be less uncertain than the motive which actuates it; first, religion must be separated from government; then it must be separated from literature, according to the Gallican advice of Boilean; then it must be excluded from the manners of life; the laity must leave it to the clergy, the clergy to the Jesuits, and finally the Jesuits are to be driven from the earth as opposed to the reign of liberties and legal order. "The liberties of the Gallican Church," says Fenelon, "are real servitudes."* Even Fleury acknowledged that they would furnish ample matter for a treatise upon servitude. These liberties agreed equally well with the views of Louis XIV.; of the jacobins of the first revolution; of Buonaparte; and of the present sophists, who are endeavouring to rule France exclusively in the interest of their own club at the selfish and unstable city. The real liberty of the Church opposed to these inventions is of faith, and all servitude is heretical by its essence.† By liberties is meant the subjection of the Church to the will of despots or of sophists who legislate against God. The Church abhors such liberty, and considers its freedom to consist in being under the dominion of those rulers who are placed over it by Christ. In this sense the word which is engraven on the walls of the cathedral of Sienna might belong as the rightful motto to every consecrated spot that acknowledges the Roman Pontiff, Libertas. This is a liberty which is favourable and not contrary to all just and rational civil freedom. Historians admit that down to the fifth century, while the principle of authority prevailed, the utmost liberty and activity reigned in the Church of Gaul, while the civil society was in a state of slavery and decay.‡ Revolted governments decree and even oblige men to swear contrary to a matter of fact, when they affirm blindly that the Roman pontiff "hath no jurisdiction within their realms." The power of the vicar of Christ extends necessarily wherever there are any Catholic Christians, to the palaces of emperors and kings, to the castles of nobility, to the towers of knights, to the houses of bishops, to the chambers of the poorest clerk, to the halls of the college, to the cell of the recluse,

* Ethyphro.

* Epit. cxxv. au Duc de Chevreux.
† Mémorial Catholique, tom. I. p. 164.
‡ Guizot Cours d'Hist.

to the shop of the mechanic, to the hut of the shepherd. Long and uninterruptedly has it been adored in lands where human legislators, in the pride of their collective wisdom, decreed that it had passed away for ever—loved has it been, and submitted to with filial meekness by succeeding generations,

——— Who for the testimony of truth have borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for that was all their care,
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged them perverse.———

One word more to those who are jealous of the exercise of the spiritual power. The wisdom of the ancient world, as expressed by some of the sages who collected the traditions of the human race, and the sense of the universal reason, may often cause to blush men who fall far short of it, though under the light of that heavenly revelation which has purified those traditions, and given security and permanence to that sense. Socrates concludes a discourse on government with these words:—"I say then this, expecting indeed opposition, but nevertheless I say it, compelled by truth, that neither a city nor a state, nor a man, can ever be perfect, until to these few real lovers of wisdom who are not evil men though they are called useless, a certain necessity from fortune should fall, that whether they wish it or not, they may take the management of the state, and that the people of the state may be subject to them, or else until to the sons of those kings who at present exercise the sovereign power in states, or to those kings themselves should fall the true love of the true philosophy from a certain inspiration of God.* Until then the love of wisdom and political power shall be united in the same men, there can be no cessation of evils to a state, nor, I think to the human race; nor can a perfect republic be born under any other circumstances, or see the light of the sun."* Does not this celebrated sentence of the Homer of philosophers, seem almost like a prophetic vision of what afterwards did actually occur during the ages of faith, when a certain necessity from God did fall upon the true lovers of wisdom, obliging them against their wills to take the management of states, and when to kings themselves did fall the true love of the true wisdom from a certain inspiration of God? "I do not say that this is impossible," to resume the discourse of Socrates, "for if so we should deservedly be objects of ridicule as saying vain things resembling vows. It is not impossible that this should be, though it must be confessed we speak of things most difficult; and if such a necessity shall hereafter fall upon them in any barbarous region far removed from our view, it will then be easy to shew that this perfect state can exist, when that Muse shall become mistress of the city."† A state of perfect order and exemption from evil, is incompatible with the existence of a race of creatures who are placed upon earth as upon a stage of combat, to make proof of fidelity to their Maker; the supposition that such a state would result from the circumstances demanded, is only a proof that the sage who had indulged in it, had never understood the real nature of their difficulties, nor the true end of their existence; but his speculation is still a sublime and magnificent testimony to the wisdom of that spiritual government which had so wide an influence in the ages of faith, and the facts of history which shew a cessation of so many evils, and of so much misery in states, and to the human race resulting from it, prove, far beyond what he had ever any reason to expect, the extent of its moral advantages.

* Plato de Repub. VI. 138.

* Id. lib. V.

† Lib. VI.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM the spiritual let us pass to the temporal government of these ages, and view it with regard to the principles of the meek. In the Church as we have seen all was obedience and liberty. Hence a twofold influence was exercised by the clergy; for while they consoled the lower ranks by their doctrines of independence and evangelical equality, they gave strength to rulers by their principles of subordination; their language might have seemed contradictory without being the less sincere. As a French writer observes, "the priest was near the sovereign to remind him of the equal rights of the children of Adam, and the preference which the Redeemer granted to the poor; and this same priest was near the people to preach submission, and to induce them for conscience sake to render to Cæsar what belonged to Cæsar." Religion in these ages, as Bonald observes, "placed as the foundation of the public laws of every Christian people, active obedience for good and passive resistance to evil, whereas the modern doctrines inculcate passive obedience and active resistance, and place man perpetually between slavery and rebellion."* St. Thomas says, "that wisdom and power are companions of true religion." Christianity sanctioned the possession and exercise of power, the necessity of which is so obvious to reason, for

Whoso upon himself will take the skill
True justice unto people to divide,
Had need of mightie hands for to fulfil,
That which he doth with righteous doom decide,
And for to maister wrong and puissant pride.†

It is an axiom of political science, that when a general power does not exist, every one attempts to establish his own particular power, in which event excess of liberty, as Plato says, will always lead to servitude:‡ for the doing any thing over-much is sure to produce the contrary effect, in times, and in plants, and in bodies, and in political states no less, and therefore a tyranny both private and public results always from an excess of liberty.* But religion did not, according to the theory of Bentham, recognize, in policy, an authority superior to all others, which does not receive the law, but which gives it, remaining mistress of the rules themselves; a maxim which Bonald justly denominates false, servile, and abject: but it declared in the language of Bossuet, that the most absolute power is regulated by fundamental laws, against which, whatever is done, is null of itself. Among the nations that worshipped Christ, in ages of faith, it would not have been thought a subject of praise to resemble that "free people" in Æschylus, of whom Pelasgus says to the supplicants, that they "love to tax authority with blame."† Still less would it have been deemed wise to encourage them to do so. The authority of Paschal is here against the modern sophists: "all the opinions of the people," he says, "are very sound, yet they are not in their heads, because they believe that truth is where it is not. Truth is, indeed, in their opinions; but not in the point where they imagine it to be: it is their sentiments, their feelings which are sound and true. Their folly is made the foundation of the security of states and thrones; for kings and magistrates are strong only in the opinion which they raise by external marks of power. The greatest and most important thing in the world, has thus for its foundation, weakness; and this foundation is admirably sure; for there is nothing surer than that the people will be weak: what is founded on reason alone, is very ill founded, as the esteem of wisdom."‡ It is a mistake to suppose that the wise and heroic ancients placed any moral dignity in the spirit of resistance to just authority. Epictetus says, that it is decorous to yield obedience to a ruler or prince.§ The preference of all the followers of Socrates for the state of Sparta, is well known, not from the supposition that all forms of government were united in its constitution, but because as Müller says, "the animating soul of all these forms was the Doric spirit of fear and respect for ancient and established laws, and the judgment of elder

* Législation Prim. 108. † Spenser, book V. 4. ‡ Epist. viii.

* Plato de Repub. VIII. † Æschyl. Suppl. ‡ Pensées, I. part viii. § Sententiæ.

men; the spirit of obedience towards the state and the constituted authorities, πειθαρχία, and the conviction that discipline and a restriction of actions are surer guides to safety, than a superabundance of strength and activity directed to no certain end. "We moderns," says Müller, "on account of our preconceived notions with respect to the advancement of civilization, do not read, without partiality, the lessons which history affords us: we refuse to recognize the most profound political wisdom in an age, which we believe to have been occupied in rude attempts to form a settled government. Far otherwise the political speculators of antiquity, such as the Pythagoreans, and Plato, who considered the Spartan and Cretan form of government, i.e. the ancient Dorian, as a general model of all governments; whereas the Athenian and Ionic democracy, Plato altogether despises as an annihilation of government, rather than a government, in which every person striving to act as much as possible for himself, destroyed the unison and harmony of the whole."* Nothing is more celebrated than the loyalty of the middle ages, which was an obedience of the heart. Their history derives from it a brilliant page which is familiar to all who have been trained to gentle studies. While attacked, like every other principle of good, by cold and bitter sophistry, this characteristic of ancient manners, has generally been admired by modern writers of genius. The loyal attachment of Tasso to the duke of Ferrara, has been represented in glowing terms by Goëthe, and made the occasion of delivering a formal eulogium upon the virtue of chivalrous fidelity.†

The Church lent her sanction to the spirit of obedience towards the prince or government of the state, and by her daily prayers admonished the people that submission was a religious duty, and at the same time, she took occasion to teach important lessons, both to people and to kings. St. Paul, that true apostle of the nations, since he teaches the science of society, commanded that especial prayer should be made for kings, and for all who are placed in authority; and St. Augustin supplied this comment, "because they are at a greater distance from Christian humility, by reason of the pomp and pride of their estate;" and, therefore, the apostle adding that it is well before God our Saviour, to pray for such men, concludes thus, "In order that no one may despair before our God who wishes the salvation of all men; and that truth may come to the knowledge of all; who wishes to exclude no rank, but who chooses whom he pleaseth in all classes of society, indifferently."* No inference was to be drawn from her prayers, with respect to the justice or injustice of the princes who governed. Following the apostolic precept, she offered constant prayers for the safety of the civil rulers, though these might be heathens, in order that there might be even a temporal peace for her children. "As long as the two cities are confounded together here below," says the venerable Bede, "the peace of Babylon is also our peace. The people of God are enfranchised from the domination of the profane city, only on condition of finishing this pilgrimage within its walls, and the goods of this world are common to the just and to the wicked."† "The Church," says the angelic doctor, "has a peace peculiar to herself, a peace which cannot be communicated to the impious; but besides this peace, there is another, common to the just and to sinners, and the Church has also need of this peace."‡ The decree of the second session of the Council of Trent, assigns for the motive of ordering prayers for kings, "the tranquillity of the Church, its peace, and the augmentation of the faith." So when the Roman Church implores heaven for the person of the emperor, it is in order "that the enemies of peace being put down, Christian liberty may offer to God, in security, the glory which he demands from it."§ When, at another time, she desires that principalities and powers may recognize her divine authority, it is in order that her children may accomplish in peace the work of their salvation.‖ If she prays to be delivered from obstacles that might retard her course, it is that being disengaged from all bonds, she may fulfil with liberty the divine well.¶ If she prays for spiritual blessings, she no less demands temporal aid, in order that her children may be delivered from the perils of this life."**

It should be observed, that in these ages,

* Hist. of the Dorians, vol. iii. 9.
† Torquato Tasso, by Goëthe.

* Enchirid. cap. xxiv.
† Interpret. in Epist. i. ad Tim.
‡ Commentar. in Epist. i. ad Tim.
§ Missale Rom. Orat pro Imperat.
‖ Orat. fer. VI. in parasceve.
¶ Orat. Dom. XIX. post Pent.
** Orat. fer. VI. post Dom. IV. quadr. Dom. XXIII. post Pent.

all persons in authority were regarded with real respect, by those above them, as well as by their inferiors. Even in the persons of men, objects of veneration were multiplied. The mayor of a little town was not looked upon differently by the great and by the poor. Indeed, in France, royal power became jealous of the dignity, so that there was no mayor of Paris, Lyons, or Toulouse. On the election of these magistrates, grand entertainments used to be given, as also when they returned from an annual pilgrimage or procession. The sheriffs of the municipalities used to be addressed with "Monseigneur." Society was then inexhaustible in supplying men to exercise these municipal authorities, who were truly respectable, like those citizens of the Flemish towns who came to Paris, of whom Victor Hugo says, "personages who all bore written in their countenances, that Maximilian of Austria had reason, as he said, "de se confier à plein en leurs sens, vaillance, expérience, loyaultez, et honnes preudomies." "The reverence or contempt shewn to magistrates," says John of Salisbury, "passes to the honour or reproach of subjects; hence it is that in the constitutions of princes and edicts of magistrates, by a prolepsis, there is a conception of many persons, that it may seem to be not so much the constitution of one person as of the whole community."* In ages of faith, there was less reason to complain in the words of Tacitus, that all things were done servilely for the sake of rule.† Religion taught men that the office of all social ministry was a service, according to the divine word "Let him that would be the greatest among men, become their servant." "Sublime words," adds Bonald, "which passed into all Christian languages, when the highest civil functions were denominated always a service." The emperor Charles says, in a letter to Petrarch, "you know not the burden of empire: we who are charged with it feel this truth. It is love for mankind alone that can surmount the difficulties of government." King Charles VII. would have preferred being a private knight, a Dunois, a Poton, a La Hire, or a Xaintrailles. "Every thing," says Bonald, "concurs to prove that in the middle ages, there were only public functions, no titles purely personal, functions to maintain the welfare of society, and no titles to amuse the vanity and self-love of individuals. Those personal titles which indicate weakness of soul, were unknown to the Sieurs de Joinville, Duguesclin, Clisson, and Bayard, who were only distinguished in private life, by the religious denomination given to them in baptism, and in public life by the political denomination of the office they discharged. When the person became distinguished to the ear by a pompous title, he wished to be distinguished also to the eye by exterior marks, not by the habits belonging to public functions which commanded respect, because they announced a duty, but by ribands and medallions, pure decorations of the person, which wound the sentiments of men, because they have no relation to any duty, and arise from no social motive."* Men would then have shrunk from a dignity which would not have had a just foundation. It is in the spirit of those ages, that the poet cries,

The scorne of knighthood and trew chivalrye,
To thinke without desert of gentle deed
And noble worth, to be advanced hye,
Such prayse is shame:——

Plato well describes the insane ardour of wicked men, who desire by all means possible to get hold of the helm of the government in a state, being convinced that the getting possession of it and the attaining to the art necessary to manage it, are incompatible, and that the essential thing is to get possession of it;† and being full of disdain and anger for all who endeavour to teach that the art is necessary, and that it may be acquired by learning. "In that city," he says, "the government will be best and most secure from revolution, where they who are to govern have the least desire to rule: in this happy state, the rich only will govern: but what kind of rich men? they who are rich οὐ χρυσίου, ἀλλ' οὗ δεῖ τὸν εὐδαίμονα πλουτεῖν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ ἔμφρονος."‡ The history of the middle ages abounds with instances to verify this observation. Such was the scene presented at the memorable assembly of Etampes, when king Louis-le-jeune, and the nobles of France resolved upon departing for the holy land. On the third day, after invoking the Holy Ghost, and hearing a discourse of St. Bernard respecting the qualities which should be possessed by whoever was elected regent during the

* De Nugis Curialium, lib. V. cap. 4.
† Hist. lib. I.

* Législation Prim. II. 309.
† De Repub. lib. VI.
‡ Id. lib. VII.

king's absence, the king choose to waive his right of nomination, and leave it to the decision of the princes and prelates of the kingdom. These retired into a neighbouring hall, and after half an hour's deliberation returned with St. Bernard, having chosen two regents, a layman and an ecclesiastic, the Count de Nevers and the Abbot Suger. The king and every one approved of the choice; but no persuasion could overcome the resolution of the Count de Nevers to decline the honour. This prince was a man of great piety; and being pressed to assign his reasons, he confessed that he had resolved and vowed to enter into the Carthusian order: wonderful example to confound the pride and ambition of a court. Thus the Abbot Suger remained sole regent of France, and he accepted the dignity only on compulsion. The princes and the prelates declared that they would elect no one else, and still he refused till he was commanded by the pope to accept the charge, for the good of the kingdom.* Nothing can be more affecting than the letters of this great man to the king, pressing him to return, and expressing his own fatigues and sufferings. "Senex eram, sed in his magis consenui pro quibus nullo penitus modo, nisi amore Dei et vestro me consumpsissem." The crime of usurpation was rare. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, and Hugues Capet were not usurpers; they had every sanction which the provisions of the age required. The infant Don Fernando, was seen encompassed with glory, and endowed by heaven with many crowns, for refusing to accept that which was offered to him, belonging to his nephew. The infant James of Aragon, refused the crown, though against the will of his father, and preferred a religious life in a cloister. Instances of this kind are endless. In these ages, the magisterial character and office were in harmony with the spiritual tone of society. A painting of the crucifixion was placed in the centre of the great chamber of the parliaments,† and over the seats of justice. Those vast solemn paintings of holy subjects, done in the thirteenth century on the walls of the great hall, at Sienna, in which the grand council of the republic used to assemble, are, in reality, an evidence of the tone of government. There you see the adoration of the shepherds, and along with a heavenly portrait of our blessed lady, the saints of Sienna, St. Bernardin, and St. Catherine. The almost sacerdotal gravity of the judicial office might be inferred from the expression which occurs in one of the capitularies of Charlemagne. "Let no count hold his plaids, unless he be fasting and fed with sense."* The plaids were the placita generalia, a kind of council. The duties of the town sheriff indicate the humane influence of the municipal governments: he had to visit the round of the walls at night, to see that the watch had sufficient firing; he had to inspect the provisions destined for the poor. John de Vienne, the old governor of Calais in the time of Edward III. is represented, weeping for the calamities of its inhabitants, and speaking of them as if they were his children. By the canons of the council of Arles, in the year 314, those of the faithful who became governors of provinces, were to receive letters of communion, in order that the bishop of the place of their residence, might have a watch over them, and might excommunicate them if they did any thing contrary to discipline; and by the canons of the council of Mâcon, in the year 585, judges are forbidden to decide any thing respecting widows and orphans, without having previously consulted with the bishop, their natural protector, or in his absence, with one of his priests. We can collect the character of these men, from what is witnessed on their vaulted graves. In the collegiate church of Fouju, was a tomb with an inscription of the date of the thirteenth century, which only stated that it was of a holy man, who was versed in jurisprudence.

> Foujucii lumen, pietatis gemma; volumen
> Justitiæ, cinere jacet hic: Deus, huic miserere!
> Stephanus hic lenis fuit, et miserator egenis:
> Virtus vera Dei noxia tollat ei. Amen.

The magistrates of the ancient Catholic states had been generally tried in pleasure and pain, like gold in the fire, as Socrates had wished; so that afterwards they were not men to change their opinion in labours or terrors or in any vicissitude whatever.† Plato would have been satisfied also with the absence of all base inducements to desire power: his maxim was, that if men in authority who governed the state, should avowedly receive rewards for governing, they are hirelings; if they take things secretly, they are thieves; if they govern for

* Hist. de Suger, lib. VI.
† Monteil, Hist. des François, tom. IV. 155.

* Ann. 803. bal. I. col. 393.
† Plato de Repub. VI.

the sake of honours, they are lovers of honours; whom he thus reckons among hirelings and thieves. In Christian states, good men, compelled by charity to assnme offices of power, were, indeed, entitled to receive payment, to enable them to snpport the proper dignity, and facilitate the exercise of their dnties; bnt it was not a payment in proportion to the extent of their service. Down to the fifteenth centnry, the connsellors of the parliament of Paris, those high jndges who were entrusted with the reformation of the laws, who received officially the complIments of the pope, to whom princes of the blood shewed reverence, who disposed of the sovereignty of provinces, received only fifteen sous per day. Those of the parliament of Bordeanx had no more, and those of the parliament of Thoulouse had scarcely the half of it.* A cloak for the winter, and another for the summer, were added to the moderate allowance of the presidents of justice. In Spain the high offices of state were entirely nnconnected with emolnment; and even in England the institution of the magistracy still retains this noble feature of the middle ages. Kings themselves, as may be still seen in Spain and Italy, lived in a plain and simple manner, without great personal expense: often their sons were trained to the discipline of common rustic yonths. Charlemagne and St. Louis dressed like their snbjects and lived like them: even bad princes, in those days, were frugal. Charles VII. of France, did not expend more than sixty livres per day; and Lonis XI. was never dressed in cloth of gold bnt once in his life, and that was to entertain the constable, Saint Pol; and he told him so.

History is full of examples of the grave and holy manners of men in anthority, during the ages of faith, of men truly endowed with patriotism and heroic devotion, qui pro multis perire malunt qnam cum multis.† Instances may be taken as they occur, for each is the representative of an entire class of men: they appear early in the history of Christendom. Jovin, Citizen of Rheims, and a Christian, made consul by the Romans under the emperors Valens and Valentinus, became a model of heroism, justice, and piety. His tomb was one of the finest monuments at Rheims, in the Chnrch of the Abbey of St. Nicaise, which was built on the spot where his palace formerly stood, it being the house in which St. Remi concluded his treaty with Clovis, in the name of his flock. Machiavel thns describes John de Medicis: "He died generally regretted on account of his great virtues: he was charitable, not waiting till the poor should come to him, bnt going out to search for them: he loved men; he praised virtue; and he had compassion upon the wicked. He never aspired to honours and enjoyed them all: he nsed never to go to the palace excepting when he was called thither; he was always the friend of peace; with one hand he supported the nnhappy, and with the other he pnshed forwards those who prospered: his only passion was for the public good; he was affable: his words were full of sense, bnt he had no eloqnence. He died rich in renown, and in the love of his fellow-conntrymen."*

The Catholic magistrates of France, down to very late times, were men of learning and constant study, of simple and even austere habits. John Rotrou, the old French poet, having an authority nnder the French government at Dreux, in the days of Cardinal Mazarine, spent his time between the exercise of his dnty, prayer and study: in a spirit of religion he refused to leave the town of Dreux in 1650, dnring a contagion which carried off every person that was attacked by it. The lieutenant-general was absent. The mayor was dead, and he was advised to withdraw; bnt he replied that he would never abandon the inhabitants who were confided to him. "It is true," he wrote to a friend, "the danger is great, since at the very moment while I am writing, the bells are tolling for the twenty-second person who has died this day. They shall toll for me when it pleases God."† What greatness of soul was shewn by these men when victims to political enemies. In the reign of Charles VI., John Desmarets, falsely accused of being an accomplice to the disorders in Brittany, was drawn to the scaffold. "Master John" some one said to him, "cry mercy of the king that he may pardon you." Desmarets replied, "I served King Philip, his grandfather, King John, and King Charles his father, well and loyally, and never had these three kings occasion to grant it to me, and neither has the present if he had knowledge of man. To God alone I will cry mercy." Sir Thomas More, the last Catholic chancellor of England, shewed

* Monteil, Hist. des François IV. 18.
† Cicero ad Herennium, lib. IV. 44.

* Hist. of Florence, lib. IV.
† Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, tom. xvi. 136.

equal magnanimity at his death. Much may be learned from hearing the instructions which used to be addressed to magistrates and persons in authority. About the year 798, Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was sent by Charlemagne with Leidrade into the Narbonnaise, to observe and reform the administration of these provinces. On his return, he composed a poem entitled, "Parænesis ad judices, or exhortations to judges." It opens with a religious discourse, then follow the praise of Charlemagne, a description of their journey, a view of the danger to which magistrates are exposed, and a warning to avoid bribes and corruption. It is full of passages breathing the tenderest humanity. Witness this :—

Qui patre seu matre orbatur, vel ei qua marito,
Istorum causas sit tua cura sequi:
Horum causiloquus, horum tutela maneto;
Pars hæc te matrem noverit, illa virum;
Debilis, invalidus, puer, æger, anusve senexve
Si veniant, fer opem his miserando piam;
Fac sedeant qui stare nequit, qui surgere prende;
Cui cor, voxque tremit, pesque, manusque, juva;
Dejectum verbis releva, sedato minacem;
Qui timet, huic vires, qui furit, adde metum.

In more recent times, a certain seigneur of Spain, lieutenant of Seville, had written to the celebrated father J. de Avilla, requesting advice as to the conduct he ought to observe in the exercise of his office. The idea which was then entertained of the magisterial duties may be collected from the following reply.* "Great is the error of those who think that the principal affair of a good government consists in restoring and maintaining the walls of the city, paving the streets, providing for the markets, laying in stores, punishing crimes, and giving justice to all who demand it at the tribunals. These things are good and necessary, but not alone sufficient; the last end of a Christian government should be to promote the Christian virtues of the people, to remove obstacles to salvation of souls, and to contribute to extend the love and honour of God. The government, therefore, can only be good when it is founded upon love: as for the punishment of crimes, this is a sad and miserable office, the necessity of which should be removed if possible. God has compassion even in his vengeance,† and the Son of God wept for Jerusalem that was to be destroyed; and since the Creator inclines to compassion, much more ought a mortal judge when he condemns another man, like to himself or perhaps less vicious. It is not reasonable that he should sleep the night before passing sentence of death, but he ought to spend it in sighs and prayers, beseeching our Lord to console, strengthen, and compassionate this his poor brother, to whom he is obliged to give the pain of condemnation: he is bound to act thus in such cases, both to satisfy his duty to his neighbour, and also in order to propitiate the mercy of God for himself, when he shall appear before the divine tribunal. Love therefore is required both to prevent and to punish crimes. Moreover, the governor should consult with holy men; for as the Scripture saith, "The soul of a holy man sometimes announceth true things more than seven watchmen seated on high."* In the Council of Chalons, it is enjoined to all who govern the people, that they should take counsel of bishops in affairs of importance, and in doubtful cases. The Emperor Justinian commanded this to be done, and the ancient kings of Castille have always observed it, one of whom demanded of the bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, that they would give him laws by which he might govern his kingdom well, and they gave them to him. It is not because bishops have a great knowledge of human laws, but because of the celestial light which results from the contemplation of God, by means of which, they acquire a knowledge superior to all human prudence. The governor should also study parts of the holy Scripture, and above all, the New Testament; and also he should read passages from the holy councils and the pastoral of St. Gregory; for there is much to learn from these even with respect to temporal government. The governor should also read the lives of the saints, not only out of curiosity, but for his own advancement in the science of the saints, and by so doing he will not lose, but on the contrary, he will gain time, to govern himself and others. It will be well also that some good monk should speak to the governor once a week, or at least once a month, and oftener during the holy time of Lent. The governor should charge his officers to beware of requiring oaths in cases of temptation and doubt, lest they should give rise to perjury, which will be to oppose the great end of all government; he should be most careful to provide at the expense of the

* Spiritual Letters of de Avilla, Epist. xlv.
† Isai. i.

* Eccles. xxxvii.

city, good masters for the schools of the poor; and for this purpose he should cause them to hear the charge of some good monks, and he should reward the best masters by inviting them to dine at his table, shewing humility after the example of our Lord, who did not disdain to wash the feet of his poor disciples. In great cities many children of ten years and upwards, spend Sundays and festivals at play without hearing mass; and it is a great pity to see them afterwards when grown up publicly committing mortal sin. When the children do go, the churches are full of elder people, who are angry at the disturbances which always attend a collection of children. There should be therefore a church on purpose for this little people, and sergeants should go about the streets to collect the little stragglers and lead them to the church, where some good priest after mass should instruct them in their duties. Great care should be taken that the streets of the city, and places of public resort should present no danger to the eyes of unguarded youth, and above all, no profit should accrue to the city from the lives of vicious and miserable men. Prisons should be attended to, and no delay suffered, and justice should be quick in execution. All persons employed in offices should be devout and fearing God. The bull-fights are things very dangerous for the conscience of him who gives orders or leave to have them; and many learned men think that it is a mortal sin. Let the governor then do his duty, and if he cannot prevent the evil, at least he will deliver his own soul from the danger. Lastly, it is right that the governor should shew reverence to the Church and to ecclesiastics, not considering how indeed we are unworthy, but having regard to our Lord Jesus Christ, who desires that all who approach him should be treated with respect.* A great distinction between the character of men in public stations in these ages and in our time, is the circumstance that they rather disdained than desired the talent of oratory and of public speaking. We have heard Machiavel record of John de Medicis, that he was not eloquent; in the Homeric style, we might say of him, such were his qualities ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι.† It was rather in praise of a public man, as it had been of a Homeric hero, that he was easily vanquished in a debate of words: and perhaps even of a Christian or a philosopher it is but little to say in commendation, that he resembles the son of Andremon, the best of the Œtolians.

——— ἀγορῇ δέ ἑ παῦροι 'Αχαιῶν
νίκων, ὁππότε κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων.*

Be this as it may, it is certain that in ages of faith, society was not exposed to the danger arising from a multitude of orators. The public men were simple, learned, holy, intrepid, who thought it enough to know that as Homer says, "It is a Deity who presides over the assemblies of men,"† or as Pindar says, that popular assemblies ἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι are ruled by the same divine power which guides the ships on the ocean and the war of armies on the land.‡ There was, indeed, the rhetoric of Louis de Grenada, a masterly work thoroughly Christian, which seems as if it had been composed expressly for such men: but after all, in opposition to Cicero, it may be greatly questioned whether that which the Greeks called philosophy would ever be the mother of what is generally considered eloquence.§ Epictetus names as two things opposed to each other, and which cannot be united together, an orator and a philosopher.‖ In the choice of public functionaries, men of these latter times suppose that talents alone are to be regarded; but in the middle ages, fidelity and probity were considered of more importance; for it was thought that a good will is always the first quality and the most indispensable, which of itself could give aptitude to the most moderate talents, and discernment to the understanding. Another observation to be suggested here is, that these ages knew not that prodigious and fearful multiplication of public offices in a state which is found to arise from these new political principles, which impose upon a government the obligation of interfering with every thing, and of directing every thing, agriculture, commerce, the arts, public education, the care of the sick and of the poor.¶ Proceeding to speak of the sovereign dignity it may be remarked in the first place, that hereditary sovereignty was the work of Christianity: the elective alone was known to pagan Europe.** Homer's sense of legitimacy is, indeed,

* Id. Epist. xlvi.
† Il. XVIII. 106.

* Il. XV. 283.
† Od. II. 69.
‡ Olymp. XII.
§ De Oratore, I. 3.
‖ Manuale, cap. xxvi.
¶ De Haller, Restaurat. de la Science Politique, tom. III. cap. xlvii.
** Chateaub. Discours. Hist. tom. III. cxliv.

seen in Agamemnon's sceptre σκῆπτρον πατρῷιον.* But the invention that a king never dies, admirable invention to secure peace and an undisturbed permanence of government, belongs to the wisdom of the pastors of the Church, who even according to the admission of Gibbon, were the founders of the Christian monarchies. The fourteenth Louis, on his death-bed had forebodings of what would follow from his system of absolute power. "What will become of my kingdom when I shall be no more?" said this unfortunate prince. In the middle ages the death of a king was not attended with danger to the state, for there was nothing personal or isolated in government. In fact, the rights and powers of kings differed from those of subjects who had possessions, only in their degree not in their nature, so that there was not one which other men did not also enjoy although in a more confined circle.† The kings of Spain were so subject to the laws, that the domaine in causes of royal patrimony had to run the same fortune as the goods of the least subject, and was condemned in every doubtful case. The judges in the presence of Philip IV. gave sentence against him, and he submitted.‡ All kingdoms and patrimonial estates were little in their beginnings; such were the original monarchies of Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, India, Greece, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Gaul. It is not just to fix our attention exclusively on the evils resulting from so minute a division, without attending also to its advantages, among which may be reckoned the non-employment of mercenaries and subalterns, as also many circumstances favourable to the freedom of the people, such as the absence of taxes, since kings having their possessions were not obliged to extort money from their subjects. The charm of variety in this respect was highly characteristic of the middle ages. Germany and Switzerland were composed of more than two hundred states, ecclesiastical and secular, monarchal and republican. In general nothing could be more natural and gentle than the assumption of kingly power in these ages. The honour which Pindar ascribes to the Locrians, that they were never governed by foreigners as sovereigns,§ would not then have been a distinction. The modern transfers of a whole people to a foreign king without any stipulations or provision to protect their ancient interests, not even their religion, are to be ascribed, as De Haller observes, to the new philosophic principles, to the system so much extolled of the revolutionary uniformity. What has been already seen in relation to the lower branches of administration, in which all office of authority was a service, continues to be witnessed in the doctrine of the royal power. Thus John of Salisbury says, "a prince differs from a tyrant in being obedient to the law, and in governing the people by its dictates; for being its minister, he is preferred before all others, since bearing the burdens of all he serves to the advantage and utility of every man;* and it is certain by the authority of the divine law, that the prince is subject to the law of justice.† Vain is the censure of laws if they do not bear the image of the divine law, and the constitution of the prince is useless if it is not conformable to ecclesiastical discipline.‡ With our Christian princes, Theodosiuses and Leos, their deeds are incitements to virtue, and their words are so many institutions of manners. The prince must be aware of pride, and must remember that his subjects are his brethren. Without humility, discretion, and charity, a principality cannot subsist. Whoever therefore loves the rank of his own elevation, let him be humble; for he who departs from the works of humility, falls by the weight of tumour from the height of his dignity.§ A prince like any other man, must not seek his own; he must protect the good by severity tempered with mercy towards the wicked, the correction of whom should be felt as the cutting off of his own limbs.‖ He must decline neither to the right hand nor to the left, neither by excessive benignity nor extreme severity; by justice and innocence thrones stand, but on account of wickedness kingdoms are transferred to others. Read all history, and you will find that the seed of wicked and proud princes has soon been cut off; only to good princes do sons succeed in long and happy order: there is no resisting this decree: the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."¶ "A tyrant," he says again, "is one who oppresses the people by a violent domination; a prince is one who governs by the laws: and law is a gift of God, the form of equity, the rule of justice, the image of the divine will,

* Il II. xlvi.
† De Haller, Restaur. de la Science Pol. tom. I. 16, tom. II. 25, 27, 28.
‡ Savreda, I. 236. § Olymp. IX.

* De Nugis Curialium, IV. cap. i. † Id. cap. iv.
‡ Id. vi. § Cap. vii. ‖ Cap. viii. ¶ Cap. xii.

the guardian of safety, the union and consolidation of people, and the destruction of vice. Whoever opposes the law opposes grace and provokes God to battle. A prince fights for the law and for the liberty of the people; a tyrant thinks he has done nothing unless he make void the law and reduce the people to servitude; a prince is a certain image of the Deity, and a tyrant is the representative of Lucifer."* Against the evils of a tyranny these ancient kingdoms were provided in a manner suitable to their faith. They did not think it enough to attack it in the head of the state: they looked for its roots and fibres through even the lowest ranks of society. "Tyranny is a common vice," says John of Salisbury, "for as soon as men gain power of any kind, they may establish one; for though all men cannot have kingdoms and principalities, yet from the crime of tyranny there is no one or but few wholly free; for while ambition instigates and injustice rages, the birth of tyranny follows of necessity,"† and the mechanic in his shop, and the fisherman in his boat, may each exercise a tyranny. St. Thomas Aquinas says of a democracy, that thus a whole people may be as one tyrant, "populus totus erit quasi unus tyrannus."‡ It was in vain to think of securing a legitimate monarchy unless the people were to be formed by the principles of Christian meekness: this is the purport of the advice of John of Salisbury. "The world is overwhelmed with the waters of iniquity, but the rivers of Paradise are sweet with an infusion of the wood of the cross and they bear refreshment and health to souls. These also give liberty and prevent the incursion of all tyranny or punish it. 'Non ergo vanæ vires, sed veritas liberat in æquitate consistens, et licet vanitas promittat liberationem, vere liberi nequaquam sunt, nisi quos filius liberavit.' Distinguish the liberty of nature, of grace, and of glory, and you will find that none of them proceeds from vanity, and there can be no condition more servile than that of the tyrant himself; for if where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, he must indeed be oppressed with wretched slavery whom that spirit doth not govern."§ The precautions, therefore, to secure freedom were not superficial, absurd or pernicious, like those of earlier or later times. Where these great principles on which they rested are wanting, the vague desire of a liberty of which no exact idea is ever formed, leads men to commit a thousand acts of folly, and to appear more like children or insane persons than creatures possessing reason and a title to moral dignity. History abounds with examples; witness that disposition of the Athenian people represented by the old poet, which made them ascribe every action to the desire of setting up a tyranny. If a man were buying fish in the market, and asked for a sea bream, a scarce fish, instead of a loach which was plentiful, the stall woman would cry out that he was for a tyranny. If a man buy anchovies and want leek to dress them with—

> The herb woman with eyes askew regards him,
> And what! says she, you want a leek! friend, do ye?
> Marry come up! you are not for a tyranny
> I hope.*

In Catholic states men were not obliged to support through the love of freedom that monstrous and pernicious principle which requires every individual in society to become a politician and retailer of news, a character to which our English Sophocles applies the epithet of base, and which seemed to a wise people of antiquity as deserving of punishment, because it tended to produce novelty and change, and a multitude of offences and evils.† Scotti has well shewn that the study of politics when become too common, and permitted to youth superficially instructed, endangers both religion and the state.‡ Men trusted not their freedom to the voice of sophists, who as Tacitus says, "ut imperium evertant, libertatem proferunt, si impetraverint ipsam aggrediuntur."§ They trusted it not to the rise of some great Marcellus "in every petty factious villager." Even their most loved poets had taught them better things.

> Ah, people! thou obedient still shouldst live,
> And in the saddle let thy Cæsar sit,
> If well thou markedst that which God commands.‖

But their precautions were solid, natural, and efficacious. De Haller remarks, that Aristotle¶ after proposing the most odious artifices, and the most revolting to strengthen tyranny, passes in silence over all the just and natural means of preserving

* Id. lib. VII. cap. xvii.
† De Nugis Curialium, lib. VII. cap. xvii.
‡ De Regim. Princip. I.
§ Lib. VIII. cap. xvi.

* Aristoph. Vespæ, Mitchell's Translat.
† Plutarch de Curiositate.
‡ Teoremi di Politica Cristiana.
§ Annal. XVI.
‖ Dante, Purg. VI.
¶ Polit. V. 2

a legitimate domination.* Sophists in their pride of intellect are guilty of the same extravagance in the measures which they propose for preserving the people from a tyranny. In the middle ages it is to be remembered men worked on the foundations nature lays, and believed in the force of truth, and trusted in a manner the political interests of their conntry to its influence. The beautiful confiding principles of nature were not obliterated,—such as dictated that famous acquittal of the two youths accused of murdering their own father—they were acqnitted because they were found sleeping. All suspicion of their guilt was removed at once, for no one thought, says Cicero, that he who had offended against all divine and human laws could sleep.† It was this confidence which formed the check upon the power of kings. John of Salisbury proposes an instance, for he says, "if Alexander had warred against those just men, on the last shores of the ocean, who explained their mode of life to him, perhaps he would not have prevailed against the innocent; on that very account, because innocence is not easily conquered, and truth confiding in its strength triumphs over armed chivalry."‡ They believed in the force of meekuess and humility, of which the very ideal really existing in her whom all generations call blessed, is said by the Church to have the might of armies. "Terribilis es ut castrorum acies ordinata." "Behold," says John of Salisbury, "the end not alone of those kings, who by abuse exercise tyranny; but of those many tyrants in private life, of whom there may be some, even in the priesthood; for the republic of the impious has its head and its members, and, even as it were, its civil institutions, endeavouring to imitate the legitimate republic; a tyrant being its head, heretical and schismatical priests its soul, unjust laws its ears and eyes, violent armed men its hands. It is useless to dwell on the end of tyrant kings, which is known; but where are the private tyrants, tho domestic tyrants, Gaufridus, Milo, Manulphus, Alanus, Simon, Gilbertus, not so much counts of the kingdom as public enemies? Where is William of Salisbury? Where Marimus, who by interposition of the blessed Virgin, fell into the ditch that he had made for others? Of these, as the malice was criminal, so the infamy and horror of their end are known to the present age. You have not, therefore, to read histories; you have only to open your eyes to look on what is around you, to see that tho end of tyrants is miserable."* Nor should we overlook the force of these fearful denunciations of the punishments of a future life, with which the ministers of religion continually threatened tyrants; of those tremendous visions which they recounted, in which men heard, as from an unearthly voice, words like those of Dante's guide,

> These are the souls of tyrants, who were given
> To blood and rapine. Here they wail aloud
> Their merciless wrongs:†

After shewing the heathen examples of tyrannicide, and those of the Old Testament, John of Salisbury concludes in the spirit of meekness, that it is out of limit and true rule to stand against anointed majesty, saying that a wicked king ought to be endured with patience, in the hopes of his repenting like David; and he adds, "if the people are innocent and humble, then God will certainly stand by them."‡ "Neither is it lawful," he says, "through the favour of new persons to depart from tho blood of princes, in constituting empire, to whom, by a privilege of the Divine will, a succession of children is promised, if they walk in the judgments of the Lord; and yet if they decline a little from the way, they are not immediately to be cast off, but to be corrected paternally in justice, until it becomes clear that they are obstinate in evil. The vices of kings are to be borne with, lest a greater evil should result from their destruction, for it is the will of God that we should bear the burden."§ Yet a sterner principle was admitted by sovereigns themselves. Charles the Bald, in 856, declared by a formal act, that the grandees of his kingdom could resist the king by force of arms, if he required any thing unjust. Henry I. king of England, recognized the same right in his subjects, in the strongest terms. The mighty king Andrew II. confirmed it to the states of Hungary, in 1222. John, king of Denmark, recognized the same right in the subjects of his three kingdoms. Alphonso III. king of Aragon, conferred it on the barons of his kingdom, in 1287; and in Poland the natural right of a legitimate resistance, was also formally announced. This is to be ascribed to those sentiments of individual liberty, that energetic development of the rights of indivi-

* Restaurat. de la Science Pol. tom. III. 231.
† Pro S. Roscio Amer.
‡ Lib. IV. cap. xi.

* Lib. VIII. cap. xvii. xxi.
† Hell, XII.
‡ Lib. VIII. cap. xvii.
§ In lib. V. cap. vi.

duals which the feudal system was so calculated to maintain and cherish: still this made resistance legal. A more consistent and efficacious defence consisted in provision for legislative redress, and also in the counsellors, who, under various denominations, were appointed to assist in the government of the people. In this respect, the monarchies of Christendom partook of the Homeric and Dorian character. The Homeric assembly, the βουλὴ γερόντων consisted of the older men of the chief families. At Sparta the γερουσία was the council to which none but men of sixty or more years of age had admission, "for the Dorians," says Müller, "laid the greatest importance upon age in the management of public affairs. These old counsellors were subject to no responsibility, since it was thought that the near prospect of death would give them more moderation than any fear of incurring censure. Plato calls this τὴν κατὰ γῆρας σώφρονα δύναμιν.* Dionysius after expressing his preference of the kingly mode of government chosen by the companions of Romulus, as being the best of all kinds of rule, observes that all the ancient kings of the world had their councils composed of men of the noblest families, and were not like those of later ages, independent and abandoned to their own opinions.† The Christian sovereign was again the heroic, or Homeric, or Dorian king; not a despot, but having a council to assist him to rule: and of this government St. Thomas Aquinas says, that as the rule of a tyrant is the worst, so that of a king is the best of all forms.‡ French writers observe, that the appearance of such a prince in the middle ages as Louis XI., is an extraordinary and almost inexplicable phenomenon, and that he stands alone in the old annals of their nation, like one who does not belong to the series of their kings. The history of the counsellors of kings in ages of faith, is rich in sublime examples of public virtue. Lord Bacon says of the philosophers who followed the rich, and fell at the feet of tyrants, and who were too prudent to contradict kings, "These and the like applications and stoopings to points of necessity and convenience, cannot be disallowed: for though they may have some outward baseness; yet in a judgment truly made, they are to be accounted submissions to the occasion and not to the person."§ Catholic counsellors, from being ignorant of this nice distinction, made by the great reformer of philosophy, were unanimous in disallowing such applications and stoopings which would have destined them, as they supposed, to join hereafter those ghosts which Dante saw in the second chasm, all immersed in ordure

Who gibber in low melancholy sounds
With wide-stretch'd nostrils snort, and on themselves
Smite with their palms.*

Far different from what these were when on earth, they would not have been afraid to name a Cyclops before Philip; nor would they have acted the part of Cleon before the tyrant people of Athens. Christine de Pisan says, "that the task of correcting men of high authority in a state, belongs naturally to their private and intimate friends, who for the good of their soul, and for the sake of their renown, ought to admonish them secretly of their faults."† What a contrast is here to the pagan spirit of the English Protestant chancellor! Mercurieu, counsellor of the emperor Charles V. refused to sign a treaty of peace which he judged unjust and inhuman, and nevertheless retained his place.‡ The chancellor of Philip II. duke of Burgundy, alone withstood the prince on one occasion, and declared that he would rather renounce his dignity, than consent to such measures; and the duke was so pleased with his courage, that he loaded him with greater honour than before.§ Even Don Pedro the Cruel found a counsellor in Fernandez of Toledo, who was bold enough to represent sincerely to him, the crimes of his government; though he had the baseness to repay him, by sending him to the scaffold. Far different was the conduct of the Black Prince, when the Sire d'Albret, in presence of the court at Bordeaux, declared to him the reports which circulated to his discredit. The prince replied, "Little would that knight love me, if he saw in me, or heard me say any thing contrary to my honour, and would not tell me of it. Therefore let me hear what people say against me." This led to a disclosure, which ended in the deliverance of his prisoner Du Guesclin.‖ The tenderness with which these bold speakers were cherished by Christian kings, is often presented in an affecting light. When

* Ag. III.
† Antiquit. Roman. lib. II. c. xii.
‡ De Regimine Princip. III.
§ On the Advancement of Learning.

* Hell, XVIII.
† Livre des Faits du bon Roi Charles V. liv. II. chap. xviii. ‡ Guicciardini, Hist. lib. XVI.
§ Drexelius Phaëtont. cap. IX.
‖ Chronique de Du Guesclin Bibliothèque Choise, III.

Ansel de Garlande, Senechal of France, was slain by the baron de Puiset, king Louis-le-gros testified a most extraordinary grief, and for a long time after could never speak of any thing without alluding to the fate of his dear senechal; insomuch that he would not even grant any favour excepting upon condition that one would pray to God for the soul of Ansel. In an ancient charter of the Abbey of Maurigni, near Estampes, this condition is expressed in a touching manner: he grants this favour to the monks in memory of his faithful senechal, who had loved them in his life, and on condition that they cease not to pray to God for his soul. John of Salisbury, the priest of holy Church, explaining the duty of those who are to counsel kings, speaks very differently from Lord Bacon, the Protestant philosopher. "The rich and powerful kings of the earth," he says, "ought not to be flattered when they do evil: for free speech is not treason, and the Holy Spirit is the spirit of truth; and he will cry though he will not be heard, when any one hardens his ear to the cry of the poor." The same language had been addressed to the emperor Theodosius, by St. Ambrose, "It is neither imperial to deny liberty of speech, nor sacerdotal, not to say what one thinks; for there is nothing so popular and amiable in you emperors as to love liberty in those who are subject to you. And if this be the distinction between good and evil princes, that the good love liberty, and the evil slavery, nothing in the priesthood is so perilous before God, and so disgraceful with men, as not to deliver one's thoughts freely."* Mariana relates that the king Don John II. of Portugal, being applied to for a certain vacant office, replied to those who asked for it, that he had long intended to present it to a favourite of his, one who had such a zeal for his service, that he had never spoken to him with the mere desire of being agreeable, but only with the wish to serve him and the state. When Petrarch and the emperor were bidding each other farewell, a Tuscan knight in the emperor's train, said to him, "This is the man of whom I have so often spoken to you: he will sing your praise if you deserve it; but be assured he knows when to speak and when to be silent:" such freedom of speech did the emperor grant to those who were attached to his person; resembling, in this respect, our Henry V. in Shakspeare, who replies to the ambassadors of France, on their asking if they might venture to render freely what they had in charge:

> We are no tyrant, but a Christian king,
> Unto whose grace our passion is as subject
> As are our wretches fetter'd in our prisons:
> Therefore with frank and with uncurbed plainness
> Tell us the dauphin's mind.

The non-intervention of the commons in the affairs of the ancient governments, is a theme of bitter and interminable declamation with writers of our time: the fact certainly is, that whatever was begun by the commons was anciently termed petition; for they had no jurisdiction or power to ordain; but yet it should be remembered that the great charter which protected every individual of the nation in the free enjoyment of his life, his liberty, and his property, unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, was secured at a time when the House of Commons was not in being.* It does not follow that the interests of the people in other countries were neglected, because there was not a nest of sophists, fed at their expense, forming a central power in the capital, under some vile politician, like Bolinbroke in Richard's time, "that king of smiles;" while poets were addressing odes to commemorate the glory of their insurrections, like Falstaff lauding and praising them, because they offended none but the virtuous, and orators were explaining the abstract happiness and freedom of the general nation, in which domestic liberty had perished. Possibly it happened, as Strabo says of the Rhodians, that "though not under a democratic government, great care was taken of the people."† When the Catholic religion prevailed in England, the liberty of the subject was secured without the system of political fictions, and in France, when the government rejected the Catholic religion, nothing was done for the liberty of the subject with that system established; for it left the minds and the persons of the lower classes without freedom, by means of the monopoly of education, and the conscript laws. Even with respect to the ancient military service, it was the intention of the monarchs that no one should be obliged to pay exorbitantly for a substitute; it was the sentence of Charlemagne, "ut liberi homines pauperes a nullo injuste opprimantur."‡ The great writers of the middle ages express sentiments with regard to the people that breathe the most ardent

* S. Ambrosii Epist. xxix.

* Note to Sir M. Hale's Hist. of the Common Law, 181. † Lib. XIV. ‡ Baluz. tom. I. col. 515.

and judicious love of freedom: hear what Vincent of Beauvais says, "There must be mutual safety for king and people; he errs who thinks that the king is safe when nothing is safe from the king: clemency, and not a fortress of towers, is the best security for him."* "In the depression of the people," says John of Salisbury, "the strength of the prince is weakened; for a people ground down is neither able nor willing to increase his power."† "As for the people in a state," he says elsewhere, "their duties are so various, that no writer of offices has treated of each separately; but generally all things are to be referred to the public good, and whatever is useful to the humbler classes, that is, to the multitude, should be pursued in all things for a minority should always yield to the greater number. To this end magistrates are appointed that they may ward off injuries from the subjects, and nothing can be more disgraceful to the magistrates of a state than when this class is trodden down; but the whole republic will be safe as long as the superior members attend to the inferior, and the inferior to the superior, that each may assist the other, and think that to be always useful to itself which it knows will prove most useful to the other.‡ Civil life should imitate nature, and may be formed best after the model of that of bees, described by Virgil, to whose republic the philosopher sends us to learn civil policy.§ If kings offend God or trample upon the Church, the safety of the whole state is endangered; a result so alien from the office of a prince, that whenever that happens in a republic, he is thought either not to perceive it, or to sleep, or to be absent.‖ But yet Christ will hear the poor when they cry, and then it will be in vain to multiply vows, and to endeavour as if to bribe God with gifts; for the offerings of the impious are an abomination to the Lord, because they are made from wickedness: and he who offers sacrifice from the robbery of the poor, is as he who should immolate a son to his father. Nevertheless, I am still bound as a debtor, not only to the good, but also to the evil, in humility and respect to God, by whom all power is instituted. And therefore the Hebrews were commanded to pray for Babylon, because in the peace of princes is the rest of the people:¶ but the whole virtue and prosperity of the state depends upon the maintenance of charity in all the parts of the body politic, and upon the flesh being subdued to the spirit; for where this continues, neither will the members be oppressed by the swelling of the head, nor the head weakened by the destitution and indolence of the members; for all this proceeds from the infirmity of sin: for the faults of inferiors derogate from the merit of princes, and the sins of princes are an occasion of sinning to subjects. A prince therefore is made mild by the innocence of the people, and popular movements are repressed by the innocence of rulers."* Many of the moderns are not prepared to find that such sentiments as these prevailed in the middle ages, and yet there might be no end of producing parallel passages. That indifference for the interests of the people, to which we are now continually referred, is not to be found in the institutions and language of the ages of faith. At the siege of Calais, when the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity, and were told to surrender at discretion, in hopes of some of them being ransomed, the governor said in his reply, "nous avons enduré maint mal et mésaise; mais nous sommes résolus a souffrir ce qu' oncques gendarmes, ne souffrirent plutôt que de consentir que le plus petit garçon de la ville eût autre mal que le plus grand de nous." All the formula and public acts of government were strongly expressive of the spirit which breathed in this noble reply. Thus at their coronation, the Norman princes swore "to defend the people committed to their care, and to govern always with goodness, justice, and loyalty." Religion defended even the material interest of the people. The bull in Cœna Domini, which used to be read at Rome every Maunday Thursday, excommunicated all kings and rulers who should levy exorbitant taxes upon their subjects, or without consulting the Holy See. But the goodness of sovereigns was often of itself sufficient protection. The princes of Lorraine, when they wanted taxes had only to rise up in the church after mass, and wave their hat in the air, and the faithful people used to supply them immediately with what they wanted. Such was the wise economy of Suger, as regent of France, that while he was able to meet the king's repeated demands for money to assist him in the East, the people found

* Speculum doctrinale, lib. V. c. ii.
† De Nugis Curialium, lib. V. cap. vi.
‡ Id. lib. VI. cap. xx. § Cap. xxi.
‖ Lib. VI. c. xxv. ¶ Id. lib. VI. cap. xxvi.

* Id. lib. VI. cap. 29.

not once occasion of complaint for any tax.* Nor were they retained in a state of humiliation. "A prince," says Don Savedra, "should honour not only the nobility, and their ministers, but also all other subjects, who render themselves worthy by any particular merit, as is recommended by king Don Alonso, in one of his laws, where he shews how a king ought to honour virtue wherever it is found; and he adduces reasons for all kinds of persons, beginning from the highest, and descending to the very lowest in the scale of society."† I have already spoken of the ceremony of the coronation of kings. This was often composed so as to indicate in a striking manner, the importance and necessity of attending to the interests of the people. When a new duke of Carinthia succeeded to the government, he was escorted by a multitude of peasants to a field, over the ruins of an ancient town, of which all that remains is one great block of marble. The new duke was to wear a peasant's hat and shoes, and hold a shepherd's crook, so as to resemble a shepherd. Having come to the spot with banners borne before him, one peasant mounted on the great stone, was to cry out, "Who is he that comes with all these banners?" They answer, "It is the prince of the country:" he cries, "Is he a just judge, does he seek the good of the land? and is he of a free condition, worthy of honour, an observer and defender of the Christian religion?" They cry, "He is and will be." Then the peasant comes down, gives the prince possession of the spot, gives him a slight blow on the cheek, and the prince mounts on the stone, brandishes a naked sword, and speaks to the people; then he drinks water out of his hat, to denote simplicity of life. Then he is escorted to the church, where he assists at mass, and assumes the ducal state. This investiture by the peasants, is said to be retained as a privilege arising from their priority in faith; because it was the peasants who first received the religion of Jesus Christ, the princes and nobles not having been converted till the time of Charlemagne. As religion, in these ages, supplied the principle of obedience to established rulers, so was it also esteemed the basis and origin of their power. King Don Fernando the Great, said to God with his last breath, "To thee, O Lord, belongs all power; command is thine. Thou art Lord above all kings, and all are subject to thy Divine Providence. Into thy hands, then, I commend the sceptre which thou hadst the goodness to entrust in mine." Savedra observes, that king Don Fernando the Saint used nearly the same words, in his last hours. These men understood their office. The council of Paris in the year 824, reminded kings that they must not suppose that they hold their kingdoms from their ancestors, but from God. The modern sophists always speak of the religious basis of government and legislation, as the characteristic of a barbarous age. Yet the most illustrious sages of the ancient world recognised no other. According to the principles of the Dorian sovereignty, to which I have already alluded, as the object of the predilection of Plato, the dignity of the king was founded on a religious notion, and his power limited by religion. Müller shews how intimate in early times was the connection between government and religion. "It is clear," he says, "that the Dorians considered the kingly office as proceeding from the Deity, and not as originating from the people; which would, I believe, have seemed to them in no wise more natural than that the liberty of the people should be dependent on the king."* Bonald well observes, in speaking of the Christian monarchies, that "Religion which placed God at the head of society, gave man a high idea of the human dignity, whereas philosophy, which is always searching for men who are above other men, to give them laws, creeps always at the feet of some idol: in Africa at the feet of Mahomet, in Europe at the feet of Voltaire or Luther; and rejecting God from the universe, makes gods of men, whose talents and opinions it admires. As legitimate power came from God, authority was justified and obedience ennobled; so that men equally feared commanding, and felt honour in obeying."† The new sophists," he says, "having discarded the divine mission, had recourse to a human mission, and sought in an aggregation of men, the reason of the power, which they found not in one individual; but the people itself was only a collection of men, and so it was still men who sent men to give laws to men: and Jurieu, the apostle of the popular sovereignty, thought to escape from the difficulty, by saying boldly that the people is the only authority, which has no

* Hist. de Suger, VI.
† Christian Prince, II. 104.

* Hist. of the Dorians, book III. 6.
† Du Divorce.

need of reason to validate its acts; a sentence which extorted from Bossuet a burst of fearful and indignant eloquence. All the ancient legislators founded their laws in the doctrine of the divinity." Virgil used the general expression in making Ilioneus ascribe to Jupiter the foundation of a new city, and the power of ruling the proud nations with justice.* "It required," says Bonald, "thousands of years, and a great progress in human philosophy, to be able to deny the Supreme Being a place in the constitutional code of a people, and to regard as a conquest the having been able to secularise its legislation." Nothing could be more simple than the views of the Christian nations in this respect. The civil legislation rested entirely upon the foundation of the natural and divine law, and the decalogue was in the first page of all the civil and criminal codes. The emperor Justinian had defined jurisprudence to be "the knowledge of things divine and human;" and his code began in the name of the Holy Trinity and of the Christian faith and by the most solemn and express declaration of the sovereignty of religion, and of the primacy of the Roman Church. These expressions did not arise from a mere vague sentiment of an abstract truth. The immediate support which government derived from the meekness and piety of the people was well understood. Suger had often on his tongue the words of St. Ambrose, "the sins of the people are the true cause of the revolutions of empires; and it is in vain that princes flatter themselves, that subjects will be faithful to them, if they are not faithful to God."† The golden bull, which was the fundamental law of the German empire, begins by an apostrophe to "Satan, to pride, to luxury, wrath, and envy." And, in fact, in the ancient Catholic state, as of old in the Dorian, education was upon the whole a subject of greater importance than government. Again, the object of legislation was not different in its last terms, from that of religion. The universal reason, and the primal traditions of mankind had taught this lesson to the heathen legislators, that neither a state nor a man can be happy where luxurious and licentious manners prevail; but that of necessity such states would be a prey to a succession of revolutions, establishing either a tyranny, or an oligarchy, or a democracy; so that there would be no peace.* Dionysius in treating on the early history of Rome, continually remarks that the great object of all wise governments should be the cherishing temperance, simplicity, and justice among the people, and that no peace or safety can be hoped for in a state where these virtues do not exist.† "This is what I chiefly admire in the man," he says of Romulus, "that he sought to cherish and secure, and not leave to chance, the things which form the happiness of a state:—first, the favour of the gods, which causes all the affairs of men to prosper; then temperance and justice, by means of which men are less inclined to injure each other, are more peaceable, and are disposed to estimate happiness, not by shameful pleasures, but by virtue and honour." Plato teaches that the great object of all national legislation should be, the promotion of virtue;‡ he says not a word about commerce, glory, or the preserving a rank in the scale of nations. Leibnitz, with noble energy, protests against the modern teachers of jurisprudence who dare to teach with Pufendorff, that "the end of the science of national law, is confined to the limits of this life;" this, he says is the policy of atheism: the pagan philosophy is in this point more wise, more severe, more sublime than that of Pufendorff. "I am astonished," he continues, "that Christians should permit such a degradation of philosophy, which has been so noble and so holy in the hands of some pagans." Man never existed, and never will exist, in a state of pure nature, that is, unassisted by sanctifying grace, and not directed to a supernatural end. "The more a people is constituted, the more it makes its political laws religious laws; and its religious laws political laws; not in civilizing religion, but in consecrating civil policy. Those who wish constantly to separate the one from the other, have never comprehended man or society." This is what Bonald says.§ In ages of faith no human legislation was permitted to interfere with any part of the Divine commands. "A law," says Tertullian, "which was before Cæsar, and which is above Cæsar." Cicero, in a magnificent passage, preserved by Lactantius, speaking of the great divine and primitive law given to mankind, declares that it can never be disannulled, "nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus." Indeed

* Æneid, lib. I. 532. † De Fide, XII.

* Plato, Epist. vii.
† Antiqui. Roman. lib. II. cap. xviii.
‡ De Legibus, III. § Législat. Primit. tom. II. 32.

Catholics were never inclined to ascribe to the political constitution of states, the same degree of importance which it holds with the vain multitude, who place their hope on an assembly of their choice, because they looked higher for the source of real good to their country, and to the human race. God, as a punishment for the sins of Israel, threatened them with a multitude of laws:* and it is only with laws that men propose to save. The very object of all law is now reversed. "Laws are only made," says St. Isidore, "in order to restrain human audacity by fear, that innocence may be safe amidst the wicked; and that the wicked by fear of punishment may lose the courage and ability to injure."† What a change has taken place in the legislation of nations since these ages of faith. In France and the Isle that once was wise, and Belgium, abandoned to a king who understood but gold, laws are multiplied, not against human audacity, but against the humble ministers of religion; against ecclesiastical colleges, against orders of holy men serving God; though even Tacitus declares, "non ex rumore statuendum,"‡ against the foundation of spiritual institutions, and, in short, they are made as if for the express purpose of leaving innocence at the mercy of men, who cry "heaven we fear thee not." Tacitus says, that a good politician is like God:§ but to what is a modern politician to be compared? We may observe here, that Socrates professed and practised a veneration for the laws of his country,|| which was excessive and unknown to the philosophy of Christians; for they can recognise no covenant with society, which obliges them to await their own destruction from its unjust decrees. The text leaves no room for what Cicero calls the noble fierceness of Socrates before his judges:¶ for it expressly charges them to fly from the insane city, which should choose to persecute them. Under a despotism, the will of a tyrant: in a democracy, that of the people is sufficient to make a thing legal, but it does not follow that it is therefore to be allowed. Modern governments drawing from this double source of despotism, pronounce many things to be according to their legal order, which the "non possumus," of those who adhere to the wisdom of faithful ages will never suffer to pass into execution. "O Church of Jesus Christ," exclaims Bossuet, "from thy birth thou didst already confound all the magistrates and powers of Jerusalem by the single firmness of this word—non possumus. We cannot keep silence as to the things which our eyes have seen—non possumus. But holy disciples of Jesus Christ, what is this new impotence? Within these few days past, you were trembling, and the boldest of the troop cowardly denied his Master, and now you say—non possumus! and why can you not? Because things have been changed; a celestial fire has fallen upon us; a law has been written in our hearts; an all-powerful spirit impels us; charmed by its infinite attractions, we have imposed upon ourselves a blessed necessity of loving Jesus Christ more than our life. This is the reason why we can no longer obey the world; we can suffer, we can die, but we cannot keep silence, as to the things which we have seen and heard."* The plea of legal order is, after all, very ancient: it was used by the Persian counsellors, to persuade the king of Babylon to cast Daniel to the lions. "Scito rex, quia lex est,—ut omne decretum quod constituerit rex, non liceat immutari." They would not suffer the king to shew mercy contrary to his own ordinance.† "The philosophy of a people," says Bonald, "is its legislation. When men, greedy of domination, impose their own opinions upon a people for laws, and endeavour to make their particular sentiments a general doctrine, absurd and impious legislations are the consequence."

Let us endeavour to form a clear view of the spirit and object of legislation in ages of faith. "We call those princes happy," said, St. Augustin, "who employ their power in extending the worship of God, making it subservient to his majesty:" and again, "In this we see whether kings serve God; if in their capacity of kings, they ordain what is good and prohibit evil; not only in what pertains to human society, but also with respect to religion."‡ "We do not," says St. Thomas, "call those princes happy in proportion as they reigned long, left the government to their sons, punished public enemies, or vanquished the citizens who rose in rebellion against them; but we call those happy, who rule justly, who preferred governing their passions to ruling over nations, who did all things, not for the sake of vain glory, but through the

* Osee, viii. 11.
† Isidor. 2. Etymol. 1. Leg. c. de Leg.
‡ Ann. III. § Lib. III. || Plato Crito.
¶ Cicero, Tuscul. I. 29.

* Serm. pour le Jour de la Pentecôte. † Dan. vi.
‡ Cont. Crescon. gram. III. 51.

love of everlasting happiness."* The type of the character of the Christian king may be collected from the office of his coronation, in which the Church prays that "this servant of God may be protected hy the gift of ecclesiastical peace, and may deserve to attain to the joys of eternal peace hy Jesus Christ; and the king having prostrated himself with the hishops and priests npon the cross, whilst the other clergy sing the Litanee, the metropolitan interrogates him as follows: 'Do yon wish to hold the holy faith which is delivered to you by Catholic men, and to observe it with just works? —I wish it. Do you wish to be a defender and guardian of the holy churches, and of the ministers of the churches?—I wish it. Do yon wish to rule and to defend the kingdom conceded to you hy God according to the justice of your fathers?—As far as I shall be ahle, hy the divine assistance and the comfort of all the faithful, I promise so to act faithfully in all things.' Then the metropolitan places the crown reverently npon the king's head, saying, 'take the crown of the kingdom, which is placed npon your head hy the hands of bishops, although nnworthy, in order to impress you with the sense that this expressly denotes the glory and honour of sanctity, and therefore you should not be ignorant that by this you become a partaker of our ministry, that as we are nnderstood to be pastors and rulers of souls in the interior, so you also may in external things he a true worshipper of God, and a strennous defender of the Church of Christ against all adversities.'" How well this type was followed in the minds and deeds of kings, history shews in nnmerous instances. Pope St. Leo writing to the emperor Theodosius says, "that he rejoices to find that the emperor evinces not ouly a royal, hnt also a sacerdotal mind, and that besides his imperial and pnblic cares, he has a pious solicitude for the Christian religion." Savedra says, "that the kings of Spain esteemed more the honour and glory of God than their own aggrandisement, like Flavius Jovian, who when proclaimed emperor hy the army, refused the dignity, saying that he was a Christian, and that he ought not to command men who were not Christians, and he did not consent until the soldiers cried ont that they too would he Christians." In the third conncil of Toledo, when King Recharedus had sncceeded in bringing back the Arian Goths to the unity of the Church, it is recorded that he thus spoke: "If we are to labour with all our force to repress the evil of wicked men, and to promote peace on earth, mnch more are we bound to desire and imitate celestial things, to sigh for what is snhlime, and to shew truth to the people who are recovered from error."* The power and grandeur of kingly government were thus to be devoted to extend the honour of the King of kings; but consistently with all the principles to human action then recognised, how could a different object of government have been admitted? Villani says, in the preface of his history, in the spirit of these ages, that he begins the book which is to celebrate the city of Florence, "to the glory of God, and of the blessed St. John." When every work of man was thns dedicated, as it were, to the Divine glory, would it not have been strange, indeed, if the noblest of all sciences had been otherwise directed? Men felt that it would. Philip Angustus, in departing for the crusade, pnblished his testament, which was to determine the manner of condncting the government dnring his absence; and in this he required that his mother, the Queen Adèle, and his uncle William, Archbishop of Rheims, should redress the wrongs of his subjects four times in the year, and do justice "for the hononr of God." The founders of the ancient governments in ages of faith understood the end of man and of society to consist in leading souls to God.† Hence politics were made to wait npon religion, instead of sacrificing religion to every political or commercial interest, to an election or the value of a manufactory. Θεωρητέον δὴ καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ περὶ ψυχῆς· said Aristotle.‡ Political science in the middle ages rested npon a certain faith concerning the soul. This faith was embodied as it were in all the measures of government: the very coins expressed it: on the money of some of the Popes was inscribed, "væ vobis divitibns!" The administration of a Catholic state corresponded with the desire of the ancient sage, when he said, "Let the legislator take care to convince the people that the soul is a thing wholly different from the body, that it is in the soul that each man's identity consists, that it is immortal, and that after its departure from the body, it will be called to give an acconnt of all that it has done, an account τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θαῤῥαλέον,

* De Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri.

* Ribadeneira, Princeps Christ I. cap. xii.

† Menochii Hieroeconomica, seu Œconomicæ ex Sacris Literis depromptæ, 1628.

‡ Ethic. Nic. lib. I. xiii.

τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερόν.* This sentence from the tongue of Plato, expressing the universal reason of men, formed by original revelation and the constant traditions of the human race, conveys a summary of the principles which directed government in ages of faith. It was then thonght that the true policy of states could not be better known than by the light of the Christian religion, and of its sacred books. So teach St. Thomas;† Gilles de Rome;‡ Savedra;§ Kircher;‖ Bossuet;¶ Ribadeneira;** Spedalieri;†† Scotti;‡‡ and all Catholic writers on legislation. Between the modern writers on the sciences which relate to society and the Catholic anthors, the same distinction exists which Cicero remarked between the writings of the stoics and the peripatetics; the former of whom, he observed, said so many things that he could never nnderstand; while the latter, treating on the same subjects, nsed no word that was not perfectly intelligible.§§ The Catholic writers were so noble, so straightforward, generous, and simple, that even children could understand them at once; there was no contrast between their principles and the ordinary precepts of religion; whereas those of their opponents seem addressed to persons who know and care nothing abont Christianity, and they are at total variance with its morality and design. Of their state policy we may say,—

Νοσῶν ἐν αὐτῷ φαρμάκων δεῖται σοφῶν.

The Archduke Leopold of Austria, son of the emperor Ferdinand II., hearing some one cite Machiavel to prove that an ambassador ought to be able to disguise things: "How," cried he, "it is not allowed to tell the least falsehood to save the whole world, and how then can it be lawful to do so to obey a prince, or to ensnre success to an embassy?" Don Savedra expressly says, "the safest books for a prince to consult, are those which the Divine wisdom has dictated. Here the prince will find a perfect policy for all possible accidents, and instruction to direct him in the government of himself and of his states." "The first thing that a master ought to teach a prince," he continues, "is to fear God, for that is the beginning of wisdom. He who is in God, is in the fountain of science. The science of men is, properly speaking, an ignorance; it is the danghter of malice which destroys states and princes."* Nicolas Vauquelin Sieur dn Iveteaux, in his poem de l'Institution dn Prince, addressed to his pnpil the Prince de Vendôme, reminds the great, that it is from heaven that all their plans and motives of life ought to proceed:† and Antoine Godean, the learned bishop of Vence, published in 1644 an admirable work entitled, "L'Institntion dn Prince Chrétien," in which the same lessons are conveyed to kings.‡ No sooner were the maxims of Machiavelli proposed than they excited the ntmost horror. Ribadeneira wrote his "Christian Prince" to confute them by the doctrine of the Christian legislators. Lord Bacon even remarked, "that these men, bred in learning, like certain of the Popes, were perhaps to seek in points of convenience, and accommodating for the present, which the Italians call 'ragioni di stato,' and he observes that Pius V. could not hear them spoken of with patience, terming them inventions against religion and the moral virtnes:" he adds, "that on the other side, they are perfect in those same plain grounds of religion, justice, honour, and moral virtue."§ Governments were to act with scrupulous honour, "Treaties with infidels and heretics," says Don Savedra "must be strictly observed; for jnstice requires it, and as it is not permitted to a Catholic to kill or bate any one of a contrary religion, so neither is it lawful for him to deceive such a person, or fail in his word to him. Joshua kept his faith with the Gibeonites, and was rewarded by God,‖ and David was punished for a contrary offence."¶ "Honour," continues this devout Spaniard, "is one of the principal instruments of the art of reigning. If it were not the child of glory, I should have thonght it an invention of policy: it is the strength of states, and I do not know one that can maintain itself long without it."** He would have fonnd some in later times that thought they had discovered the art, with whom to deceive, as Pliny says, "pro moribus temporum, prudentia est." De Haller has remarked that the new political principles alter even the commonest notions of

* De Legibus, XII. † De Regim. Princip.
‡ Miroir. § Christian Prince.
‖ Principis Christiani Archetypon Politicum
¶ Politique de l'Ecrit. ** Princeps Christianus.
†† De Diritti dell' Uomo.
‡‡ Teoremi di Politica Cristiana.
§§ De Finibus, lib. IV. ii.

* Christ. Prince, I. xlvi.
† Gouget, Bibliothèque Franc. tom. XVI. 113.
‡ Id. tom. XVII. 290.
§ On the Advancement of Learning.
‖ Josh. ix. 19.
¶ 2 Sam. xxi. Christian Prince, II. 409.
** Christian Prince, II. 95.

honour. What private man would not feel himself dishonoured if his bonds were to be offered for a half or a third of their nominal value? But yet sovereigns are now to do this with indifference; for as they are debts of the state, no one believes himself interested in the honour of this imaginary being.* What private gentleman would not scorn the invitation to refuse the shelter of his roof to an unhappy guest, whose enemies were jealous of his presence? In the middle ages it would have been deemed an equal insult if addressed to the ruler of a state. In the eleventh century, when Pandolfe de Teano was obliged to capitulate and deliver up Capua to his rival Pandolf of Capua who was assisted by the Normans, he passed with his family to Naples, which little republic was then governed by Sergio. Encouraged by this success, Pandolfe of Capua desired that Sergio would banish a rival whose near presence gave him such alarm. The positive refusal which he received to betray the rights of hospitality occasioned a rupture between the princes. Sergio being the weakest, was forced to fly from Naples, which then, for the first time, received the standard of the Lombards. Pandolfe de Teano escaped to Rome and died there, and he who had so generously sacrificed his interests for the sake of humanity, suffered misfortunes for three years, till he procured the assistance of the Norman knights who warmly espoused his cause, and soon reinstated him in possession of his domains. The history of these ages abounds with instances of the policy of honour. The king, Don Henrique IV. was advised by some to arrest Don John Pacheque, Marquis of Vilena, the great author of the troubles which afflicted the kingdom, but he refused, saying, that he had promised him a safe conduct to come to Madrid, and that he could not fail his word. "What troubles and perils did not the kingdom of Aragon endure," cries Savedra, "in consequence of the king Don Pedro IV. regarding more utility than honour in peace and war?" Such was not the Catholic policy, as England might have borne witness, Cromwell retained a large sum of money which had been sent from Spain for the government of the Netherlands, but which was thrown upon the coast of England by a storm.—Upon refusing to give it up, some persons advised the Archduke Leopold to retaliate: but he replied, "What shall we take from Cromwell or the Parliament who unjustly detain our property by following such a plan of vengeance? The goods of the English, which are in our ports, belong to private men, not to Cromwell or the Parliament: the innocent then would suffer for the guilty! I appeal to you, would this be justice?"* In short, the character which Guizot says distinguished St. Louis from all the other kings that ever reigned, excepting Marcus Aurelius, was in truth a character which more or less belonged to whole generations of men in the ages of faith,—the habit of always considering in every action whether it was good or evil in itself, of regarding the moral good or evil of a measure, without any regard to its utility or consequences, and when once its good or evil was determined, of adopting the one and rejecting the other with a straight-forward resolution, which no interests or consideration whatever could alter. Since then the science of government was thus simple and Christian, it was natural that kings should be desirous of having the assistance of holy men, and ecclesiastics who were most qualified to teach it. Martial d'Auvergne gives them this advice.

Par quoy, princes, autour de vos personnes
Ayez des clercs de conditions bonnes,
Ne vous chaille des astrologiens;
Mieulx si vauldroit deux bons théologiens
Pour enseigner de la saincte Escripture
Que de parler du temps à l'aventure.†

Hence it was that in many councils, as in that of Toledo, not merely matters of religion were regulated, but also those relating to the government of the state. This desire of kings, though honourable to them, was nevertheless injurious in some instances to ecclesiastical discipline. Thus we hear of the Statute of Merton, in the reign of Henry III., which was so called from the parliament, or rather council, sitting at the Priory of Merton, in Surrey, which belonged to regular canons. King Don Fernando the Catholic, used often to employ monks in his council, and this suggests a remark to Savedra, characteristic rather of Christian experience, than just in its immediate object, "that it was only barbarous arrogance in Hannibal to despise the lessons of Phormio; for though speculation alone cannot give practice," yet continues Don Savedra, "however experienced, Hannibal might have learned from him to purge his

* Restauration de la Science Pol. III. 46.

* Les Vertus de Léopold d'Autriche, par. N. Avanein.

† Les Vigiles de la Mort du Roi Charles VII.

mind from treachery, to lay aside his cruelty towards the vanquished, and his pride towards those who came to him for protection; he would have learned to make a better use of his victory of Cannæ, to fly the delights of Capua, and to be reconciled to Antiochus."* Savedra seems to reason on the supposition of Phormio being a monk or a priest of his acquaintance. Solemnly constituted defenders of the Church, and of the poor, who reaped the benefit of its riches, disposed by every worthy motive to pay honour to the ministers of religion who dispensed those riches, kings in these ages were generally found faithful in protecting ecclesiastical property. When king Don Fernando the saint besieged Seville, and there was a great want of money to carry on the siege, some persons advised him to make use of the treasures of the churches in so great a necessity; but he replied, that he promised himself more from the prayers of the priests than from their riches. God rewarded this confidence, for the very next day the city was in his power. Savedra remarks, however, that the Apostolic See was always very liberal to the kings of Spain in assisting them in their contests with the infidels. Gregory VII. granted to the king Don Sancho Ramira of Aragon, the tenth and revenues of all the churches that were lately built or recovered from the Moors. Pope Urban conferred the same grace upon king Don Pedro I. of Aragon, and upon his successors, excepting the churches of residence. Gregory granted to the king Don Alonzo the Wise, the third of ecclesiastical revenues which were destined to buildings; Urban V. a third of the benefices of Castille to the king Don Pedro; and Pope Sixtus IV. consented that the clergy should give in one payment 100,000 ducats for the war of Grenada: but these supplies were received and expended with scrupulous delicacy. The same assistance was generally rendered to the state in other countries when occasions of difficulty occurred; and in an earlier age, when Charles Martel had taken the tithes and benefices, "Pepin and Carloman, with the council of the servants of God and of the Christian people, passed a decree, justifying the retaining of their goods on condition of paying every year to the church or monastery, a solidus for each farm house, and that on the death of the possessor, it should return to the Church; but even in the meantime, care was to be taken that the churches and monasteries whose goods had been thus lent 'in precario,' did not fall into indigence; in that event the Church and the house of God were to be replaced in full possession of their goods."* It may be remarked here, that Mabillon has shewn the falsehood of the modern fables respecting the supposed condemnation of the soul of Charles Martel, disclosed by the vision of Eucherius. Mabillon proves that it was unknown to Pepin, and that the fable was a popular invention of a much later age.† The moderns, in recurring to ancient times, condemn the influence of the clergy in matters of government, without having sufficiently attended to the character of that influence. It was priests who were always for teaching kings that their safety and their real grandeur consisted in having no quarrel but what was common with them and their people. The language of Fenelon was the same in spirit as had been addressed by the clergy to the civil power, from age to age, since the rise of the Christian monarchies. The authentic memorials of the saints in every period of history, prove that they did not fashion, wrest, or bow, their reading, or nicely charge their understanding soul to flatter tyrants. What then was the language of Fenelon? "You say that God will protect France," he writes to the Duc de Chevreuse, "But where is the promise? Will God be appeased in seeing you humbled without humility? Will God be content with a devotion which consists in gilding a chapel, saying a chaplet, hearing a mass with music, being easily scandalised, and banishing some heretics? The question is not only about finishing the war externally, but about giving bread to a famishing people, re-establishing agriculture and commerce, reforming luxury which gangrenes all the manners of the nation, recalling the true form of the kingdom, and tempering despotism, the cause of all our woes. If I loved France less, the king less, the royal house less, I would not speak thus."‡ This refers to a calamitous period of history, when the principles of the ages of faith were either forgotten or, as in France, formally set aside. Let us return to those ages, and inquire what were the fruits of this spirit of legislation.

* Christ. Prince, I. 313.

* Capitula Carolom. in 743, book I. 148.
† Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § viii.
‡ Epist. cxxxii.

Here the moderns in general have much to learn. Speaking of the Norman knights who recovered Sicily from the Sarassins in the eleventh century, Gautier d'Arc says, that when he proceeds to treat on the foundation of the kingdom of the two Sicilies by these Normans, on their institutions, laws, and progress in science and letters, it will appear that "the policy or wisdom of these conquerors were not inferior to their heroic valour."* In fact, what was it that formed the government of Christian states, but the Christian religion? and if Crotona, by being subject to the philosophy of Pythagoras, gave rise, as Müller observes, to one of the most remarkable phenomena in the political history of the Greeks, what must not have followed from the Catholic religion, the philosophy so eminently of order, of unison, of κόσμος, having obtained the management of public affairs, and held possession of it for so long a time? But you desire to be shewn its effects? For the present it is sufficient to reply, behold the protection of the churches, the protection of the religious orders, the protection of the countless institutions of mercy which ministered to the necessities of the poor, the protection of the temporal part of that blessedness which is promised to the meek, the protection of the countless institutions which ministered to the sanctification of souls, and to the completion of the number of the elect. In ages of faith men would have inquired no farther. But let us hear how the legislation of this period is spoken of by writers not disposed to pass over any defects in the men or deeds of Christian antiquity. Chateaubriand says, "that in the language of the institutions or laws of Alphonso the Wise, there is a tone of candour and of virtue which renders this king of Castille a worthy contemporary of St. Louis."† King Richard I. instituted a body of naval laws on his return from the Holy Land, which are yet extant. The Commentator on Sir Matthew Hale's History of the Common Law of England says, "These laws were made at the Isle of Oleron, off the coast of France, where his fleet rendezvoused in its passage to the Holy Land. They were designed for the keeping of order, and for the determination of controversies abroad; and they were framed with such wisdom, that they have been adopted by other nations as well as by England. They are very prudent, humane, and just."‡

* Hist. des onquêtes des Normans en Italie, Preface.
† Discours Historiques, Pref. ‡ P. 175.

Sir Matthew Hale, after styling Edward I. our English Justinian, concludes thus, "I think I may safely say, all the ages since his time have not done so much in reference to the orderly settling and establishing of the distributive justice of this kingdom as he did, within the short compass of the thirty-five years of his reign. The short and pithy pleadings and judgments, in the judicial records of this reign, do far better render the sense of the business than those long, intricate, perplexed, and formal pleadings which since the time of Henry VIII. came into use, and on which later times have still farther improved." And he says elsewhere, that "the times of Henry VI., as also of Edward IV., Edward V., and Henry VII., were times that abounded with learning, and men excellent for legislative wisdom."* If the maxim of law, "cuilibet in sua arte credendum est," he admitted, here is enough to put to shame many who have written upon the history of the middle ages.

If now from the manners we pass to the men concerned with the government of states in ages of faith, we shall find the same characteristics in the practice which belonged to the theory of rule. There were, indeed, many princes who but little accorded with the noble and lofty sentiments which presided at the foundation of the Christian republics, but no historian has ever spoken of them, excepting as forming exceptions to the spirit and principles of their time; whereas in the lives of heroic and saintly kings, the writers most acquainted with antiquity have recognised the materials for the best and most faithful history of the middle ages. What student in the least conversant with these annals would ever think of questioning the justice of the remark made by Chateaubriand, where he says, "that St. Louis as a legislator, a hero, and a saint, is the representative of the middle ages?" It seems self-evident, and yet what a noble testimony does it furnish to their virtue and to their grandeur! It is to the kings of the middle age that the most exact and philosophic writers are obliged to recur in order to find an example of a great and wise government. Fenelon says, that no prince can be found more amiable or proper to serve as a model in all ages, than Charlemagne—that even his imperfections amidst so many virtues, are not without their interest. "I do not believe," he says, "that any king can be found more deserving of being studied in every thing, or of higher authority to give

* Hist. of the Common Law.

lessons to other rulers."* Certainly the number of truly Christian kings is an astonishing fact in the history of mankind. Lewis of Grenada observes, that out of the great number of the Jewish kings, there were only three who observed religion and justice; for besides David, Ezekiah, and Joshua, all abandoned the law of the Most High, and despised the fear of God. "In which fact," he says, "we can recognise not only the common disease of human nature, but also and much more, the danger of power and principality."† But who could enumerate the series of wise and saintly kings who have appeared upon the thrones of Christendom? It is in ages which have been denominated barbarous, that we behold men answering to the ideal perfection of Plutarch's heroes, who were to unite the possession of political power with the study and the love of wisdom.‡ The ancient history of empires furnished no grounds for supposing that such an union was possible. "Truly," says Glaucus to Socrates, "no one has ever seen a man possessing a character thus symmetrically composed as to virtue in this perfect accordance with himself in word and deed, and at the same time having sovereign authority in a state of which the character accorded with his own."§ What would he have said if he had beheld the Catholic kings of Catholic states in ages of faith, wearing their crowns adorned with the bright stars of virtue, which will shine to all eternity? What would he have said of our sainted and heroic Ethelreds, Edmunds, Oswalds, Alfreds, Edwards, and Henrys? What of the valour, and piety, and prudence, and magnanimity of the ancient kings of Spain—the political wisdom of Don Fernando—the liberality of Don Alonso the pierced-handed—the justice of Don Alonso XI.—the devotion of Don Fernando the saint? Their very titles would have seemed to him as full of inspiration, and capable of exciting men to heroic virtue: and who, in fact, does not feel, as it were, some interior assistance in the mysterious contest of life, when he hears of Don Fernando the saint, of Don Fernando the Catholic, of Don Alphonso the chaste, of Don Sancho the brave, of Don Alonso the magnanimous, of Don Iaime the conqueror, that is to say, the deliverer of his country, for the victories of the kings of Spain were like the fifty battles of our Alfred, not to subdue nations, but to defend their native land? In Italy, too, how many learned and holy princes, who, like Robert, king of Naples, and James of Carrara, deserved, as Petrarch said, to be styled the fathers rather than the lords of their people! Consider again that ancient monarchy of France, of which so many of the crowns passed with saints to heaven! Even Guizot condemns Sismondi and other modern historians for maintaining that the first Capetians, Robert, Henry, and Philip, were insignificant kings, as being the kings of priests rather than warriors; for he shews that though supported by the clergy, and governed by their influence, they played a most important part in all the affairs, civil and military of their times.* We hear of nothing at present but of the vices and absurdities of a monarchal government; but it is not in the history of ages of faith that we shall learn to despise it. How happy was Spain under pious kings, Ferdinand the great, Alphonso the great, Alphonso the chaste, Ferdinand the saint, and others? How great was Ferrara through its princes, Hercules of Este, Hippolitus of Este, and others? Modern writers pass in silence over the heroic virtues of the ancient kings of Christendom. They are exact and judicious in describing the castle of Plessis, but where is their penetration to leave us in ignorance of the walls which received to the earnest of eternal peace, the innocent and yet penitent Wamba? We have now popular histories, in convenient form, of all our ancient kings, but when we enter the Abbey of Westminster, and behold their sepulchres, do we believe that these statements, which we hold in our hands, exhibit their true image? The names of many of these kings, like Don Alonzo VI. as described by Mariana, so modest and humble in prosperity, so constant and unmoved in adverse fortune, if they had belonged to men in a private station would have passed to immortality: all Spain was restored by the piety and valour of Don Pelayo, as was England by the virtue of Alfred.

And here a curious reflection suggests itself. In these latter ages, when men boast to have made such an advance in public virtue, and in the science of political society, when we behold kings and noblemen who are really themselves kings, surrounded with every enjoyment that their rank and unlimited riches can bestow, and the only problem submitted to the lovers of order, seems to be, how to reconcile the minds of

* Epist. xii. au Duc de Beauvilliers.
† In Nativitate, B. Mariæ Concio, I.
‡ De Educat. XX.
§ Plato, de Repub. VI.

* Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. IV. 386.

subjects to their own condition, and how to make them admit that such an unequal distribution of the goods of this world is consistent with the plans of Infinite Justice, what would be thought of a writer, who, for the purpose of vindicating the ways of Providence, should engage in a long inquiry, in order to discover how and when God had provided a reward for kings and men in authority, and who should conclude that there must be a more eminent recompence reserved for them in heaven? Would not our astonishment be increased, if this were a writer of profound genius and a deeply reflecting mind, distinguished by his love of genuine freedom, and by the boldness with which he was always ready to declare truth to princes? Such a writer, then, was found in the ages of faith, who, by this extraordinary meditation, has left a most glorious testimony, both to the doctrine then held, respecting power, and to the virtue of a great number of men, who then exercised it. From reflecting on the burden and perils of their service, that profound and acute philosopher, the angel of the school, sets himself to investigate what compensation the providence of God ordained for kings. He takes for granted their self-devotion, and says, "since it is the office of a king to seek the good of the multitude, this would seem too laborious a task, unless there were some good to result also to himself personally. He then inquires what is that personal good, and after proving that it is not honour and glory, as some have thought, and still less riches, all which motives, besides being unworthy, would lead him to commit great evil; he concludes, that it consists in an eminent reward in heaven; est autem conveniens ut rex premium expectet a Deo.* Accordingly, Garcias Loaysa, in his councils of Spain, gives the discourse of bishops to a king, which takes this conclusion for granted: for they exclaim in the commencement, "O quam beata est vita regum justorum! quæ et his temporalibus rebus fulta nitescit, et in æternum cum angelis immortaliter requiescit!" Thus words that might, in other ages, be taken for an intolerable baseness, or for a satire, were received in ages of faith as a holy, a sincere, and just tribute to the merit of Catholic kings! Their reliques were often venerated as those of martyrs. Witness the hands of Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, which remained uncorrupted at Bamborough, in the time when the Saxon chronicle was written; a king, as it declares, whose holiness and miracles were displayed on manifold occasions throughout the island. Witness again what is said of king Edward, who was slain at Corfegate, "deed more dreary than this was never done by the English, since they first sought the land of Britain. Men murdered him, but God has magnified him: he was, in life, an earthly king; he is now after death, a heavenly saint: him would not his earthly relatives avenge; but his heavenly Father has avenged him amply. The earthly homicides would wipe out his memory from the earth, but the Avenger above has spread his memory abroad in heaven and in earth. Those who would not before bow to his living body, now bow on their knees to his dead bones. Now we may conclude that the wisdom of men and their meditations are as nought against the appointment of God."* And in truth, how different then were the ideal and exercise of power! See how far these rulers were removed from governing by the principles of the modern political science. The holy emperor Ferdinand II. says, amidst his perilous fortune, that he is resolved to lose the empire, and to go out begging alms with his family, rather than commit one unjust action to maintain his greatness: and Reginard, in his life of St. Annon of Cologne, testifies that the emperor Henry II. would never assume the royal ornaments, "insignia regia," until he had purified and healed his soul by sacramental confession and penance. The king Don Fernando, surnamed the great, increased his kingdom by the force of his virtues; his piety was so great, that on the translation of the body of St. Isidore, he and his children bore the coffin, and with bare feet carried it from the Douro to the church of St. John, in the city of Leon. The noble qualities of the king Don Alonso V. of Aragon were so displayed during his imprisonment, that the duke of Milan, charmed with his merit, desired to possess him for a friend, and gave him his liberty, sending him away loaded with presents. This king Alonso, by being defeated and taken prisoner in the battle against the Genoese, obtained more than if he had conquered, for the duke supplied him with fresh forces to obtain the kingdom of Naples.† Witness their generosity. Don Diego of Arias, treasurer to king Don

* De Regimine Princip. cap. vii.

* The Saxon Chronicle, 164. † Savedra, I. 311.

Enrique IV., represented one day to his majesty the necessity of being less bountiful, and of dismissing some useless pensioners; but the king refused to listen to his remonstrance. "We give to these," he replied, "because they are men of goodness: we give to the others, in order that they may not become wicked. As for my officers, I retain some, because I have need of them, and others because they have need of me."* Witness their diligence. Don Alonso the Wise, in one of his laws, prescribes rules to limit the recreation of princes. The king Don Fernando the Catholic used to instruct himself, even at the time of his diversions, for in hawking he used to listen to the despatches which were read by a secretary, while he kept his eye upon the hawks. Don Emmanuel of Portugal used to give audience at the time of his recreation.† The abbot Suger, in his life of Louis-le-gros, says of Louis the prince, during the life of his father, "this young hero, gay, conciliating all hearts, and endowed with a goodness, that made him be regarded by certain people as a simpleton, was hardly arrived at the age of puberty, when he shewed himself a courageous defender of his father's kingdom; he provided for the wants of the Churches, and he watched over the safety of labourers, artisans, and the poor.‡ Having become king, by the grace of God, he did not lose the habits which he had acquired in his youth; he protected the Churches, sustained the poor and unhappy, and attended to the defence and to the peace of the kingdom:§ he made frequent expeditions into various parts to maintain the tranquillity of the Churches and of the poor." The abbot concludes thus, "It is the duty of kings to repress with their strong hand, and by the right of their office, the audacity of tyrants, who tear asunder the state by endless wars, and take a pleasure in pillaging the poor, and destroying the Churches." When the young prince Louis was set out for Guienne, he went to take leave of his father, Louis-le-gros. None of the ancient patriarchs ever spoke to their children, before dying, with more religion than did this Catholic king in embracing his son. "I pray God, my dear son," said he, "that Almighty God, who gives authority to the kings of the earth, that he may extend his favourable hand over you, and those whom I give you for companions; for if any fatal accident should befal you on the road, I could not survive that calamity. I have supplied you with all things necessary. Suffer not your troops to commit any devastation as they pass: take nothing without paying for it; and when you arrive, live in such a manner that your new subjects from being your friends may not become your enemies." Then he wept and embraced him. Pignotti says, that Hugo the Great, duke of Tuscany, should rather have been called the just and pious: he was accustomed privately to visit the cottages of his rustic subjects, interrogate them upon the government and character of their sovereign, and listen to their answers, which were not marked by fear or adulation. His memory is venerated by the ecclesiastics. The abbey of Florence is one of the seven monasteries founded and richly endowed by him; where his tomb and statue are to be seen, and where annually his praises are celebrated in a rhetorical declamation.* Historians, in recording the accession of kings in these ages, are continually obliged to mention the joy and affection of the common people. Thus when Godfrey de Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem, the old chronicle adds, "Dont tout le menu peuple en fut moult joyeulx, car moult l'aymoient:"† and describing the death of Baldwin, count of Thoulouse, it says, "et sachez que le dit conte fut merveillensement plainct des grans et des petis par tout le pays, car il avoit bien employé tout son temps à l'honneur de Dieu et de la foy chrestienne, et fut grant dommage de sa mort pour la terre saincte."‡ Mark the universal cry of sorrow, which resounded within the castle and town of Amboise on the death of Charles VIII., or that which was heard in Bruges on the death of Philip the Good. John le Maine thus breaks forth in praise of Philip I. king of Spain,

> Le Roy des bons, du monde les délices,
> Le cultiveur des haults divins services,
> Le bien volu des povres et des riches.

And John Marot describing the departure of Louis XII. for Italy, says, that all men were equally afflicted at the thought of losing him, citizens, merchants, and mechanical people, and the poor rustic peasants; the latter of whom cry out, that they will arm and follow him.

* Savedra, I. 419. † Savedra, II. 321
‡ Cap. ii. § Id. cap. xiv.

* History of Tuscany, c. v.
† Le grant voyage de Hierusalem, f. cxxii.
‡ Id. f. cxxvi.

C'est nostre Roy, nostre pere el appuy;
Mieux nous vault morir en la bataille,
Que de languir en doleur après luy.*

The monk of the abbey of St. Germain, who relates the birth of Philip Augustus, furnishes a remarkable evidence of the popular feeling respecting that prince; for he says, "the messenger who brought us the news arrived at the moment when we were finishing lands with the canticle of the prophet, Benedictns Dominus Deus Israel, so that it almost seemed an oracle of the events which followed." The festival of the king's patron was every where a festival of pnblic observance and rejoicing. "What happy reigns!" says Monteil, "when a whole people, transported with loyal gratitude, make the signs of their devotion for the saints the signs of their attachment to their king."† The pieces of money of St. Lonis which have reached our time are all pierced. They used to be worn round the neck, like relics, through veneration for the sainted king. It should be observed, in general, that there was nothing of oriental seclusion in the manners of the Catholic kings. They lived rather like pastors and fathers of the people. The emperor Rodolph would not suffer that any one should be denied entrance to him in his palace. "I am not emperor in order to be shut up in a cage," he used to say. "Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis obliviscuntur," says Tacitus.‡ James I. king of Aragon, when young, being confined too strictly hy his preceptors, made his escape and fled from the court, and for this love of freedom is proposed as a model to princes, by Don Diego Savedra. The difficulty with which Ramiere III. used to grant an audience seemed so monstrous a defect in a king, that the kingdom of Leon rebelled against him, solely on that ground. The king Don Fernando the Saint never refused it to any one, and every person, of whatever rank or condition, might penetrate into his most retired cabinets. The kings Don Alonso XII. and Don Enrique III., as also Don Ferdinand and Isabella, used to give public andience three times a week. When I was at Philnitz, the king of Saxony used to dine with all his family in a great hall, at the end of which the peasants might enter, and numbers of the younger sort, barefooted and in their labouring dress, nsed to enjoy the spectacle. This was in the style of Charlemagne. Charles VII. and Francis I., from whose reigns may be dated the revolution which took place in the spirit and manners of society, were the first kings of France of the third race, who publicly transgressed the moral law. After those examples, there were secrets of palaces which it was important to conceal by a system of seclusion, and the free court of the Christian king was thenceforth to be sought only in chronicles of the past. The same causes operating among the people occasioned the disgracefulness of this concealment to be less noticed. When the first liberty of man, the liberty from sin, perished, the last that from force and necessity, which is called the liberty of natnre, was not slow to follow: when the indulgence of Solon was admitted into morals, magistrates were soon obliged to introduce the rigour of Dracon into the police: hnt this was found a weak barrier against the opposing flood. Revolution therefore followed, and vain attempts to reconstitute society: "for," as Pindar says, "it is easy even for the weakest to shake a city suddenly, but again to replace it in its seat is truly difficult, unless God should be a guide to its princes."

ῥᾴδιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σεῖ—
σαι καὶ φαυροτέροις· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώ-
ρας αὖθις ἔσσαι, δυσπαλὲς
δὴ γίνεται ἐξαπίνας,
εἰ μὴ θεὸς ἁγεμόνεσσι κυβερ-
νατὴρ γένηται.*

God was to be no longer a guide to its princes, and in vain therefore was all their labour. As St. Augustin had said, the hlessed city was not to be entered without avoiding false religion;† nor was freedom to be secured hy a people more docile to political than to religious laws; for in proportion as man loses his religions docility, he will forfeit his real political freedom, and less submissive to God, he will be more dependant upon man. It was an ancient progress of mankind which followed. Every one wished to command, and fearing the domination of one, the people fell nnder that of many: the name of liberty was sonnded on all sides, bnt the reality was soon diminished; every man possessed it in idea; hut each day fewer in fact. At no period of the middle ages did Christian nations ever suffer snch exactions, such servitude, and such losses as they experienced nnder the shadow of liberty, and

* Gouget, tom. XI. 14.
† Hist. des Français, IV.
‡ Hist. IV.

* Pyth. Od. IV.
† De Civit. Dei, ii.

the boast of advancing civilization: they reduced themselves to a state which might be described in the words of Tacitus, "magis sine domino quam in libertate." And surely, we may add, while pride and hatred were thus seen instigating people against kings, and kings against people, to the mutual injury and dishonour of them both, it was made still clearer to the very eye of man than it could have been merely from the old experience of the peaceful life without its opposite, that even with regard to the fleeting interests of the present existence, the only secure policy was taught from the mountain, and that meekness diffused through the whole spirit and manners of a people, including both its legislation and its rulers, was the only basis of a lasting power; the only security for real freedom.

CHAPTER V.

AS when the pilgrim through an Alpine forest, losing the track of a path which fails abruptly, throws an anxious look on all sides through the dark labyrinth of mossy trunks, endeavouring to discover some woodman or returning guide, who might direct his steps; so now do I in vain desire to find some indication of a way that would conduct me to the end of this long argument, and to the opening of more happy scenes; for powers that rule must needs be conversant with evil, and "dark are earthly things compared to things divine."

So far we have viewed the obedience of men in ages of faith, to the spiritual and to the civil powers, the origin of these authorities, and the objects of their administration:—now I proceed to visit with you the ordinary walks of men in social life; to mark the general character of a Catholic state, and the effects of meek obedience to this twofold government upon the constitution of the race of men,—a visit which may even instruct some persons who have had the opportunity of forming a personal acquaintance with it; for wanderers in our age see the cities, but do not, like Ulysses, behold the mind of various nations.* And first respecting this view of its meek obedience, its freedom and public virtue, we have not to fear that great question which Plato had to answer in his republic, namely, to shew whether such a state be possible, or in what manner it can be possible, ὡς δυνατὴ αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία γενέσθαι.† We are not driven to adopt his mode of escape, when he says, "Do you think that he would be a less good painter, who having made a portrait of the most perfectly beautiful person, and who had done all that art required, would yet be unable to prove that it was possible there might be such a man?" Though we may agree to his opinion when he asks, "Do you think it possible to do any thing exactly as one may say it, or is it consistent with nature ἢ φύσιν ἔχει that practice should have more correspondence with truth than language? he justly shews that in practice we can only arrive at an approximation to the perfect ideal. But in what has passed we have been concerned with no imaginary state of things, or mere theory of perfection. At each step we have rested upon historical facts; for let it be remembered, that sentiments and opinions taught as conveyed to us in ancient writings are themselves facts of history, and perhaps the only facts on which we can always depend. We have seen that the basis of all was in truth a religious idea, and that the immediate cause in operation was the virtue to which that idea gave birth; so that in looking upon that religion and upon those manners, we may be obliged, as Plato says, to admit that whoever would embrace these, so as to become most like the men of ages of faith, would experience a fortune most similar to theirs; and after this it would be easy to discover and shew why the same harmony does not now exist in states, and on account of what cause they do not so much approximate to the ideal of happy society, and what circumstances, though very small, being changed (in speculation it would be a

* Odys. lib. 1. 3.

† Lib. V.

small change to substitute for protestations of independence, meekness, leading to a return of obedience to the holy see which would be sufficient), the state would be brought once more to favour, not as at present only the material and sensual, but the intellectual and spiritual interests of mankind. Modern writers in their contempt for these ages, besides having confounded causes together which had no connexion, have shewn that they never rightly understood society as it had been formed by the Catholic religion. The greatest enemies of this religion of truth must admit a fact which De Saint Victor says is as clear as the light of the sun—that it has developed the intelligence in all ranks of the social hierarchy, and to a degree of which no society of pagan antiquity can offer an example. Hence it followed that the people, properly speaking, could among Christian nations become free and enter into civil society, because every Catholic Christian, however ignorant and rude, has in himself, by his faith and by the perpetuity of instruction, a rule of manners and a principle of order sufficient to maintain him in this society without disturbing it; whereas the pagan multitude who had no such moral law, or who at least had very incomplete notions of it, was obliged to remain in a state of slavery, in order that it might not overthrow society. The moral history of the ages of faith proves the truth of this observation. In referring to it, reader, you are journeying to a Catholic land, "id est," we may add in the language of Pliny, and with far greater justice than when he used it, "ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos, qui jus a natura datum, virtute, meritis, amicitia, fœdere denique et religione, tenuerunt."* You are going to behold a state that is earthly, and therefore imperfect, composed of men, and therefore liable to a thousand disorders and afflictions; but it is a state constituted with an especial view to all the spiritual necessities and to all the noble capacities of the redeemed race that is destined to rise to a life immortal: it is a state in conformity with the principles of nature, in which the imagination, the purity and the happiness of the youngest member, are deemed of greater importance than the thoughts and interest of the highest in the walks of commerce and ambition, and one in which gloom and proud severity, and merciless industry, are never suffered to enter under the mask of virtue. The apostles of nations, and the saintly kings who placed their crowns at the foot of the altar, founded these old Catholic monarchies, and as Pindar says of Hieron establishing the new city of Ætna upon the genuine Doric principles, they founded them "with heaven-built freedom."* "Your solicitude for the public good," says St. Hilary of Poitiers to a government that was disposed to abuse its power, "your imperial vigils, in a word the whole labour of your sovereignty should have for object to secure for all those over whom it extends the sweetest of all treasures, liberty. There is no mode of appeasing troubles, and of reuniting what is divided, unless every one, emancipated from all the fetters of servitude, be able to live according to his choice."† "Impius et crudelis judicandus est qui libertati non favet," was the old Catholic maxim of English law. "Nihil autem gloriosius libertate, præter virtutem," says John of Salisbury, adding "si tamen libertas recte à virtute sejungitur," for to all wise persons it is clear, he continues, "that true liberty can proceed from nothing else: so that a man is virtuous as far as he is free, and free as far as he is virtuous. Vices alone bring men into slavery, to persons, and to things. What, therefore, is more amiable than liberty? What more favourable to one who has any reverence for virtue? We read that all good princes have promoted it, and that none have ever trampled upon liberty, but the manifest enemies of virtue."‡ To think that the new religious systems which dissolved the ancient union of society have been favourable to political liberty, would in nations under their influence be every man's thought: no doubt, as Prince Henry says to Poins, he is "a blessed fellow who thinks as every man thinks;" and we may add, never a man's thought in the world kept the roadway better than that of Blackstone, who in eulogising Edward VI. and in reviling Mary, records the most oppressive and tyrannical laws enacted by the former, and the most just and mild laws enacted by the latter. Their principle has on the contrary been favourable to anarchy and despotism, though it may have met with contrary causes to neutralize its effects; for as the learned father Ventura observes "there are some people of Europe who although they have ceased for three centuries to be-

* Epist. viii. 24.

* Pyth. I. 61.
† Epist. ad Constant. August.
‡ De Nugis Curialium, lib. VII. cap. xxv.

believe, and to think catholically, yet in many respects have continued hitherto to live catholically; and there are others who after monarchy has been destroyed, yet continue to be governed monarchally; so that if they retain any thing true in matter of religion, or right in politics, it is not to be ascribed to their inventions or rebellions, whose institutions are of no weight, but to the ancient traditions of the Catholic religion, and of monarchy, which have not as yet been totally effaced; but when these traditions and manners shall have vanished, then it will be manifest how pernicious was their departure from the true religion and from their just institutions."* With regard to the religious element that entered into the constitution of a Catholic state, we may observe that Leibnitz recognised its necessity, and admired the exterior society of God and man, which be calls "the state the most perfect under the most perfect of monarchs;" under which it is impossible for men to live as Isocrates described the Persians, "all their lives either insulting over others, or else servilely enslaved to others, which must of all things corrupt the nature of men."† This really secured that spiritual excellence of government which Tacitus ascribed in a material sense to Nerva, saying, "res olim insociabiles misculsset, imperium et libertatem." It was this element which inspired the desire and enhanced the real value of political freedom: witness what Don Savedra testifies of the Belgians in his time, that "they love religion and liberty, neither deceiving others nor enduring to be deceived."‡ The liberty, however, which was loved in these ages was not an abstraction, but a real personal exemption and immunity from the inconvenience and indignity of servitude. This is expressed even on the tomb of the Norman hero, Jourdan, son of Roger, on which was inscribed "quantus fuit auctor domesticæ libertatis ipse devicta à Barbaris Sicilia demonstrat;" and that under the influence of Christianity even the remains of pagan servitude were unattended with individual misery may be inferred from the fact, that when Louis X. published his ordinance, very few of the serfs desired to redeem themselves, so that the king by letters declared afterwards "that many have not known the greatness of the benefit which was offered to them." It must be remembered that until the fifth century there were in Gaul two distinct societies, the civil and religious, which differed not only in their object but also because they were governed by different principles. The civil society seemed to be Christian like the religious, but at the bottom it was in fact pagan; it derived from paganism its institutions, its laws, and its manners. The Christian civil society, as Guizot remarks, was not developed till later, after the invasion of the barbarians;* and we must carefully distinguish its action and institutions from the influence of the ancient legislation; for the founders of Christian states had not the advantage which Plato ascribes to his ideal legislators: when a necessity fell upon the Christian clergy to apply the things which they contemplated in the regions of universal truth and order to the manners of men in public as well as in private, and not merely to form themselves, they were not, indeed, found bad artists to form temperance and justice, and all that belongs to the virtue of a people; for in employing their pencil, and in tracing that picture from a divine model, they constituted states which were highly favourable to the sanctification and eternal beatitude of men, but they were not permitted in the first instance, as Socrates required, to take as a piece of plain canvas the city and the manners of men, and make it clean, which he acknowledges would be no easy matter: they enjoyed no such distinction over all legislators, that they never were required to touch either an individual or a state, or to make laws before they either received or made it pure and clean.† They found the world polluted with all the vices of the old pagan civilization, and the new elements entrusted to them were wild and barbarous; yet their deep and sweet colours succeeded at last in overpowering the almost inveterate and loathsome forms over which they had to work: their labour cannot be better described than in the very words of Plato. "While painting the form of the state they continually turned their eyes from one to the other, that is, from what is essentially just and beautiful and wise, and all such things, to what actually takes place among men, blending and fashioning from these models the ideal of humanity τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, taking as their point of departure or as their model that which Homer called as being among men θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον: and parts they effaced and parts

* De Methodo Philosophandi. Roma, cap. II. art. 6.

† Panegyr. 72.

‡ Christ. Prince, II. 384.

* Cours d'Hist. Mod. IV.

† De Repub. lib. VI.

they refreshed and repainted, until they rendered the manners of men as far as is possible worthy of being the object of divine love." This was their noble painting of a government, not "the unhistoric rational state on the revolutionary destructive principle, which Frederick Schlegel well denounces as clearly irreconcileable with Christianity and in opposition to it,"* but the Christian Catholic and holy state, according to whose law man was contained in the family, the family in the nation, the nation in religion, religion in the universe, the universe in the immensity of God,—that holy, just, and happy state, which really enjoyed what the ancient sages and poets ascribe without reason to some of their people; for, in that of truth reigned, as Pindar says, Eunomia, or good legislation, and her sisters Justice and Peace, of congenial manners, the foundation of happy governments, and the dispensers of wealth to men.† Or as the same profound poet says of the Locrian Epizeplyrians,‡ ἀτρέκεια governed their city, which word comprises all that is true in a government, integrity in manners, wisdom in legislation, and justice in the tribunals. Here was that harmony with that social order which Maximus of Tyre says is what saves a state.§ Here was really found that unity, of the importance of which Plato had so profound a sense, that to secure it he had recourse in his speculations to those wild and extravagant conceits which are the disgrace of his noble work on the republic; to have unity he sacrifices every thing, and even the moral law of nature. His plan is ridiculous to the last degree, detestable, monstrous, but so much the more does it prove the depth of his conviction, that unity in a state was essential to its happiness. Let it not be thought that I exaggerate in ascribing to the Catholic states of ages of faith, the advantage which seemed so admirable and so unattainable to Plato. Guizot is struck with observing the moral unity which prevailed in France during a period of such multitudinous divisions of territory as took place under the feudal system. He endeavours to account for it in this way. "It is because in the life of a people, the exterior and visible unity, the unity of name and of government, however important, is not the first; the most real is that which truly constitutes a nation. There is a unity more profound, more powerful, that which results, not from an identity of government and destiny, but from the similitude of social elements, from similitude of institutions, manners, ideas, sentiments, and languages, the unity which resides in the men themselves who are reunited in society, and not in the form of their approximation; in short, moral unity, far superior to political unity, and which can alone form its solid foundation."* Perhaps the fact admitted might be accounted for in fewer words, but its decided recognition by such a writer is sufficiently remarkable. In a Catholic state one might have looked upon every person in every rank as one of a great but closely united family, possessing the same affections, entrusted with the same secrets, and acting from the same motives for the same end: this poor labourer, this young apprentice, this student, this soldier, this artisan, this king, had all the same sources of instruction and consolation as yourself. In the tribunal of penance, they had all been taught the same lessons and traditions, and had been all directed to the same end. In every other state, whether heathen or modern, each man has his own motives, his own rule of right and wrong, his own end in view; perhaps he thinks virtues what you regard as sins, and sins against his type of perfection what you regard as the highest virtue; in the Catholic states there was only one standard even amidst desertions, only one morality understood even by those who departed from it, as there was but one faith: what an increase of public and social happiness resulted from such unity! It is true meek obedience was a prominent feature in this painting, but that this was not opposed to real freedom, or a source of servitude, has, perhaps, already been sufficiently shewn. Müller says, "with the Dorians, that comparatively free and noble people of antiquity, so great was the desire of unity in the state, that greater importance was attached to obedience than to the assertion of individual freedom."† In fact, the Spartans considered an immunity from labour as constituting entire liberty. True, in Christian states there was degree and subordination of ranks, necessarily attended with an unequal distribution of the goods of this world,—

* Philosophie der Geschichte, II. 114.
† Olymp. XIII. ‡ Olymp. X.
§ XXII. 3.

* Cours d'Hist. Mod. tom. IV. 1.
† Hist. of the Dorians, book IV.

But government, though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts, did keep in one concert,
Congruing in a full and natural close
Like music——

"Old men participate by the very law of nature in paternity," says Bonald, "and young men owe them deference: persons weak in mind or body, from sex or condition, participate in the claims of childhood, and require protection. Society is all paternity and dependance, rather than fraternity and equality."* The Gallic rioters of the ill-guided city talk of the fraterni ation of nations just as the great depopulators of the earth always affect to attach great importance to population. The Church reminded men of a real fraternity, "Hæc est vera fraternitas, quæ numquam potuit violari certamine: qui effuso sanguine secuti sunt Dominum." The patrimonial bond considered in its primitive purity is the sweetest form of human existence;

Fallitur egregio quisqnis sub principe credit
Servitium: nunquam libertas gratior extat
Quam sub rege pio!

never more grateful, and when allied to Christian manners, never more secure; for the political inventions of men are of less avail than the provisions of nature. "This patrimonial bond," says de Haller, "is the lightest and gentlest that can be conceived; it makes not the least encroachment upon the liberty of man. That which is generally styled domination and dependance consists only in voluntary and reciprocal engagements, in a mutual assistance and an exchange of benefits. Certainly, nature in forming this bond, and in nniting men only by a law of love, has shown herself more affectionate towards us, her tender solicitude has provided better for our freedom, our happiness, and even our desire of a higher fortune, than all the philosophers with their pretended rational states, their arbitrary or constitutional associations, and their odious establishments of coercion."† It was characteristic of these ages, that while in all the relations and circumstances of social intercourse men were simple, natural, open to all the sweet and loving harmonies of life, unfettered by the trammels of false refinement, and the hateful barriers which pride would introdnce between the different ranks of the great Christian family, they were, if I may so say, supernatural or alive to the sublime elevation of things divine above the visible world in all the relations and circumstances of religion; exactly as the converse is true with the moderns, who are miserably enslaved in their social intercourse while they affect to be natural in their religion, from opinions and manners which either destroy it altogether or render it so far from being natural, a system at total variance with what is really in harmony with the deepest sentiments of nature. We have an incidental and undersigned evidence of the union and happiness of the old societies of Europe in the description which the pilgrims have given of the states through which they passed. Thus brother Nicolo, author of the famous voyage to Jerusalem, says of Venice: "Chose superflue seroit a homme vouloir descrisre la grant paix et concorde de que ont entre eulx les citoyens, seigneurs, et urbanité, magnificence, amour, benivolence par quoy leur chose publique par, avant petite est devenue grande. Chascun le voit et appercoit. Au surplus qui dira la grande religion ou foy qu'ils ont a Dieu, a saincte Eglise, et a toute la discipline ecclesiastique?"* Anquetil says, "that the subordination established among the clergy of Rheims in the time of Charles VII. became a model which the laity were anxious to imitate, and that the spirit of peace, union, and concord, the resnlt of religion exercised in its purity, made all the inhabitants of the city like one and the same family."† The moderns would think that he must not be an indifferent orator, who should undertake to prove, that in the ages of faith the people exercised an acknowledged and often effectual power in the state, but though we were persons always as hard to be convinced as Cebes,‡ nothing is less questionable than that they did.§ We have seen that in the theory and practice of ecclesiastical rule, from which the civil was in a great measure modelled, the advice and interests of the community governed were always to be consulted. Accordingly we find in an article of a capitulary of Charlemagne, which commences with these words, "Ut populus interrogetur de capitulis quæ in lege noviter addita sunt," that the emperor, not content with ordering his officers to read "in mallo publico," to the

* Législat. Prim. II. 75.
† Restaurat. de la Science, Pol. tom. III. chap. liii.

* Le grant Voyage de Hierusalem. Paris, 1517, f. viii. † Hist. de Rheims, lib. IV. p. 8.
‡ Plato, Phædo. 77.
§ Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. 541.

citizens of each territory, the laws newly made, desires besides that their opinion should be asked, and that each person should testify either by his signature or by his seal his acquiescence in the new ordinance.* However the modern politicians may deem such a reference unnecessary, we can only understand the reason and spirit of this ancient government by looking back to the origin and elements of the Christian society. In the first place, then, the people had priority of claims to its advantages inasmuch as religion commenced with them. The modern systems, unlike Christianity, began with the great and noble. In the first assembly of Huguenots in the year 1557, which was discovered in the street of St. James, at Paris, and dispersed by the populace, there were found among them many persons of the highest rank, and several ladies of the court, some of whom were in waiting upon the queen. From the first they had many gentlemen in their ranks who were ever ready to draw their swords and rush out upon the people as in the affair of the church of St. Marceau, where their fury was excited by hearing the bells tolling for vespers.† In England and Germany, Protestantism introduced itself by the head of the state, by princes, and nobles, and magistrates, and men of letters, and descended slowly into the lower ranks. Christianity followed an opposite course; it commenced in the plebeian classes, with the poor and ignorant, the faith ascended by degrees into the higher ranks, and reached at length the Imperial throne. It is a remark of Chateaubriand, too just to be rejected, "that the two impressions of the these two origins have remained distinct in the two communions."‡ The same difference continues in the propagation of the two religions. By the preaching and miracles of St. Francis Xavier, the whole kingdom of Travancor embraced the Catholic religion with the exception of the king and the chief men of his court.§ In the missions of the Protestants, it is invariably the higher classes which furnish them with a favourable soil. So little alive are they to the natural inference from this startling fact, that in magnifying their national religions they always speak of their happy effects in giving some certain tone to high society or to literature or in contributing to some worldly advantage, which virtually belongs alone to the ranks above the poor. There is in truth always a secret tendency in the higher classes to disdain the company of the shepherds at Bethlehem, and to follow where the fishermen had led. The poor shepherds believed the angel, and the rich will not believe apostles, prophets, angels, or the Trinne Eternal God who sends them. The name of Paganus was affected for a long time by certain great families, though it attested the original paganism of some member.* It is only perhaps at Rome in our age, where nobles generally are seen to contend with the poor in speed to seek Christ. To the observation of Chateaubriand we may add, that in the political doctrine of states and legislations, the two impressions of the two religions are still discernible. While the moderns have alternately rejected or exaggerated the doctrine of the popular power, the great writers of the middle age maintained it within its just proportion. St. Thomas, for instance, said, "that since law was given for the general good, it was not the reason of any individual that could make law, but that of the multitude or of the prince who stood in place of it."† Cardinal Bellarmin placed no mediate power between the people and God, but he supposes the people to be between the king and God. Suarez‡ confirms this doctrine by the authority of St. Ambrose, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Augustin. Liguori speaks to the same effect. "It is certain," he says, "that power is given to men of making laws, but this power as it respects civil laws belongs by nature to no one, but only to the community, and from this it is transferred to one or to more by whom the community is governed."§ Fenelon also says, "the temporal power comes from the community which is called the nation,"‖ and Bossuet says, "no one denies that the power of kings is not in such a manner from God, but that it is also by the consent of the people."¶ The Abbe de la Meunais shews that this doctrine of St. Thomas and other theologians is not to be confounded with that of Jurieu and Rousseau, which they defended under the name of sovereignty of the people, which supposes that the people have no other law but their own will, which creates justice, whereas Catholic theologians

* Baluze Capit. An. 810.
† St. Victor Tableau de Paris, tom. III. p. 27.
‡ Discours Hist. Pref. § Bouhours, l. 129.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, XI. 104.
† 1, 2, 9, 90, A. III—Id. 97 ad 3.
‡ Defens. Fidei Cathol. lib. III. cap. ii.
§ De Legibus, I. Tract. II. p. 104.
‖ Tom. XXII. ¶ Defens. V. cap. xxi.

lay down as a principle, that the people as well as an individual is subject to the divine law of justice, essentially independent of its will. Aware of all the abuses to which the exercise of that right is liable, which cannot however destroy that right, they have with St. Thomas endeavoured to guard against them, saying, "a tyrannical government is unjust, being ordained not for the common good, but for the private good of the ruler. Therefore, the disturbance of this rule is not sedition, unless when the overthrow of tyranny is so inordinately pursued, that the multitude suffers more from the disturbance than from the existence of the government."* In fact, during ages of faith, though the popular power was generally exercised in a legal resistance, which sufficiently preserved society from the dangers of a reckless revolution, yet the greatest monarchs had occasion to feel the necessity of guarding against its expression in a less orderly form; but true to the origin of its emancipation, it was seldom formidable excepting in defence of its religion. Hence it was that Savedra warns kings and their ministers never to meddle with religion, or commence a contest with ecclesiastics, because, he adds, "this will kindle the fury of the people against them."† Charles V. so feared the people, that he decreed public prayers and processions through all Spain, to obtain the deliverance of the pontiff,¶ whom his own troops kept prisoner in Italy. With the heathen sentiments of a false and unattainable liberty, the moderns also adopted their expressions of contempt and hatred for the lower orders of the state; expressions which, in a Christian society, are both unjust and opposed to the original laws and institutions of government. In ages of faith, the people were not that vulgar spoken of by Cicero, in whom "is no counsel, no reason, no discrimination, no diligence; whose actions, while suffered by wise men, were seldom to be praised:"‡ the majority of whom were evil, as Pylades said to Orestes;§ whom no poet was ever to address, as Theognis, the Megarian, said of the peasants of his native land, ranking them with the wicked; they were not that Athenian people described by Demosthenes "the most treacherous of all things, changeable as the wind upon the inconstant sea;"‖ not that democracy whose gifts, as the moderns would infer are always a Cyclopian grace, to destroy others first and their friends last. The Divine Saviour taught men not to be so proudly ready to rail at the multitude, and had left them his example in those gracious words benign, "misereor super turbam."* Moreover, the constitution of a Christian state recognised them as entitled to every protection, and secured the perpetuity of institutions founded by charity for their advantage. The Church claimed them as the objects of her especial love, and formed them by her discipline to become what they still continue, in every Catholic country, when not perverted by the policy and driven to exasperation by the injustice of rulers, a most innocent, joyous, and engaging race, whose name might no longer be taken for that of a nation, but seems to be rather that of Christian intelligence. The Church prayed oftener for the people, than for kings. She wished, that their approval might accompany her elections, and she indicated its necessity for kings in the ceremony of their coronation. The first grand objects which meet the eye in the capital of her government derive their title from the people; as if to remind men of that ancient discipline, which lasted in practice till the xiiith century, and which continues always in spirit to distinguish ecclesiastical rule: it is through the gate of the people that you enter Rome, and the first church, of St. Mary, which presents itself to the pilgrim, is also entitled of the people: many of her solemn and holy orders have their especial missions to console and assist the people; and it is among the lower classes, who, as Bonald says, are always in the first age of society; it is among the devout multitude, who come from far over the mountains in peaceful pilgrimage to Alvernia, or to the blessed house which crowns the eastern shore of Italy, or to the rock of the archangel which beheld his bright vision beside the Adriatic, that the piety, and simplicity, and innocence of ages of faith may still be found,—not amidst the disdainful assembly of those who meet in the chapels of some proud metropolis, to display their charms, or their grandeur, in the appropriated tribunes that are formed to separate them from the poor. Let the haughty rich men, who legislate in favour of their philosophy, hear these facts in mind, and let them at least respect the right of prior possession. The Catholic

* Sum. 22. 9. 42, Art. II. ad 3.
† Christian Prince, I. 566.
‡ Orat. pro C. Plancio, IV.
§ Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 670. ‖ De fals. Legat.

* S. Matt. viii. 2.

religion, with all its seeds of future fruit to be developed at the Church's pleasure, embraced by the poor, was here established before them: they found it here; it is no upstart: they did not vote it into existence; a majority of their voices was not required for its establishment, as in that scene among the American savages, who lately decided for Christianity by rising from their seats. They were not once consulted about it. But let us consider other objections which are usually advanced against the political state, in ages of faith: let us come to the question of Æschylus—who next is ranged here against the city? It is objected then, that there were not those political debates, to discuss measures of government, which are now thought so essential to the happiness of every virtuous and free people. Much might be advanced in reply. The action of the Catholic religion in ages of faith necessarily secured domestic liberty from falling a victim to the immoderate licence of assemblies.* Unskilful men, rude and ignorant of political relations, had other pleasures, other means of exercising their intellectual activity, besides sitting down as in a theatre to listen to the discourse of sophists, to hear "these fellows of infinite tongue," these ten thousand loquacious youths who make incessant speeches, birdwitted chirruppers, whose only muse is that of swallows, to hear money-changers speaking on institutions of piety, and lawyers on education. Besides, the people knew too well their own interest to desire the rule of the multitude, and to wait for the mutual revelations of a Cleon and the sausage-seller,† though to hear such wrangling may be joy to vulgar minds. It is a remark of Savedra, and repeated by De Haller, that every numerous assembly, although composed of chosen men, and more or less cultivated, nevertheless, in many respects, resembles the populace: modern history proves that they are subject to the same passions, and impelled by that sanguine eloquence, that exaggerated expression, which is so uncongenial with philosophy, equally insensible to the dictates of justice. "The great crowd of men has a blind heart," says Pindar

——— τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος.‡

The government by assemblies feeds the love of contention and the love of honours, which Plato reckons among the greatest evils of an ill-constituted state:* and when there is a foundation of error in principle, it subjects states to frequent variations. No one knows how to fix the bounds of liberty and the confines of servitude: on the contrary, there is seen a mixture of servitude and licence. "Liberty becomes only a word with the people who wish to have power to do every thing, and with the nobles who wish to subdue every thing." This is said by the great historian of Florence.† A government of this kind secretly nourishes the love of riches, because it in fact participates in the character of an oligarchy, and as Socrates says, virtue has the same relation to wealth that exists between any two objects in a balance, of which each has always a force acting contrary to the other, so that riches and rich men being honoured, virtue and good men will be dishonoured of necessity.‡ Moreover, such a government would have been contrary to those habits of thoughtful retirement, and of a holy life, which were deemed of far greater value than any worldly interests whatever. Pindar ascribes the love of bold harangues to those who are fond of drunken banquets,

θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ
κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.§

The Romans under their kings received the abstinence of the Pythagoreans, and under their consuls the luxury of Epicurus. It was a maxim of the Christian philosophy to beware of the tumult of men, and as far as possible to avoid being drawn into the controversies of the world, "cito enim inquinamur vanitate et captivamur." The churches were the places of assembly for Christians, and their lips were opened to sing the praises of God. Ah! seek me there, they would have replied to those who desired them to repair to political debates, approach the Divine altars, before which you will find me prostrate,

——— Non me impia namque
Tartara habent tristesque umbræ; sed amœna piorum
Concilia, Elysiumque colo.‖

We find that the great moralists of antiquity had sentiments not different from Christians in ages of faith respecting the

* Cicero pro L. Flacco. † Aristoph. Equites. ‡ Nem. Od. VII.

* De Repub. VIII. † Lib. IV. ‡ De Repub. lib. VIII. § Nem. IX. ‖ Æneid, V. 733.

public or rhetorical life. The maxim of the Pythagoreans was celebrated; Plutarch, in his treatise on education, advises parents to keep their children as far as is possible from the vanity of wishing to appear before an assembly of the commons; and he cites some lines of Euripides, which Amyot thus translates:

Langue je n'ay diserte et affilée
Pour harenguer devant une assemblée,
Car qui scait mieulx au gré d'un peuple dire
Est bien souvent entre sages le pire.

—— οἱ δ' ἐν σοφοῖς
φαῦλοι, παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικώτεροι λέγειν.

"Those," he continues, "who acquire a habit of extempore speaking, besides contracting other faults, tombent en une merveilleux superfluité de langage," as Amyot translates it, and thus become accustomed to utter "an infinity of impertinent and vain things;" and what an additional evil would have followed when these impertinent and vain things were to pass into laws. "The liberals of every country," says Potter, who is himself a liberal, "commit the unpardonable fault of wishing to reform ideas, (great reform they would effect no doubt) by laws. They know not that to torment, vex, and outrage men is a bad way to convince them, and that to destroy is not to change."* Pindar says, "it is impossible that a deceitful citizen should deliver an effective speech among good men;"† but among those who form the majority of hearers in an assembly, the humble simplicity of real political truth would be laughed out of countenance, to make place for the theories of men, who, as Florent Galli says, "by nature noble endeavour to recover in politics the dignity which they have lost in morals." This was the result of the inquiry which Socrates instituted among men famed for political science: he found that those men who enjoyed the greatest reputation for wisdom, when examined, as if before God, were found most wanting, whereas others that seemed simpler were men really more near to wisdom.‡ The man who would correspond in his own life to the best constituted state, says Plato, must love the muse, and love to hear, but he must not be a rhetorician, φιλόμουσον καὶ φιλήκοον, ῥητορικὸν δ' οὐδαμῶς.§ "If any one," says Cicero, "omitting the right and honest studies of reason and duty, should consume all his work in the exercise of speaking, there will be nourished a citizen useless to himself, and pernicious to his country;"* one whose least offence and injury, as the history of a later age proves, will be when his tongue, like a fan of sedition, excites the assembly of the poor. Have you never heard of the Loupgarou? asks Socrates; I believe, he continues, that this is, in fact, some democratic leader, polluted in tongue and hands, and now of necessity become a wolf, after having been a man during life.† But it is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the spirit of this society was opposed to the great judicial and legislative councils of a nation: on the contrary, the ecclesiastical assemblies, so free and wisely constituted, were a model imitated in the civil order; and the very principle of opposition was derived from their forms, in which men, who had reasonable objections to advance, were exhorted boldly to produce them for the love of God.‡ They were not, indeed, to quarrel about who should save the state, like Ulysses and Diomede, and still less to seek only their own glory, desiring to be the sole authors of the action, and conspiring against all others who should endeavour to assist their country, as Ulysses, when he determined to kill Diomede, when he carried off the Palladium; but the people were, without doubt, represented in the general assemblies. In France the kings of the first race, as in the constitution of Childebert I., express their will as the result of an universal consent. "We all assembled, of every condition, together with our nobles, have resolved, nos omnes congregati de quibuscumque conditionibus una cum optimatibus."§ And we find in the annals of St. Bertin that the people were convened to the assembly at Nimegue, in the year 831,—Percunctatus est populus—a cuncto qui aderat populo judicatum est.|| We may conclude, therefore, from such passages, as also from what we have before shewn, that the people exercised real power in the state; but this is carefully to be distinguished from that voice of sophists, which is sometimes called public opinion, the object of execration to Plato, and to all truly wise men in every age in which it existed; but in the middle ages it did not exist in the ordinary sense of the term. The language

* Union des Catholiques et des Liberaux dans les Pays-bas. † Pyth. II.
‡ Plato Apolog. XXII. § De Repub. VIII.

* De Inventione, lib. I. 1. † De Repub. lib. VIII.
‡ In the Rite of Ordination for Deacons.
§ Baluse, tom. I. capit. an. 595.
|| D. Bouquet, VI. 173.

of Socrates on this point is peculiarly interesting; and it will furnish the best answer to those who despise the state of society in the middle ages, on account of not being able to discover in them the action of that public opinion which he condemns. Mark, for instance, what a reply he furnishes to those sophists who maintain, that holy wise men living in religious retreat are the corrupters and deceivers of the young, and that the pnblic opinion, and the world in general, hy all which they mean only the voice of their own party, would form them better. "Truly, this would be a great happiness for the yonng, if one or a few only corrupted them, and the rest of men were for setting them right."* In the Gorgias he evinces the same jndgment respecting this pnblic opinion. "Ask any one of these if it be not so?" is the appeal of Polus the sophist, to which Socrates replies; "O Polus, I am not one of the politicians; and last year when my tribe had the privilege, and it was necessary for me to compute the suffrages, and to refer them to the council, I caused a great laughter, not knowing how to set about it. Therefore do not desire me now to appeal to the judgment of the company; I know how to produce one witness, the person with whom I disconrse; hut as for the pnblic, I salnte it and let it pass. I know how to collect the vote of one person; hnt to the mnltitude I do not even speak."† In ages of faith it was not the supposed voice of this multitude which, as Plato says, really perfected the education of the young, making them and all others whatever it wished them to be, both young and old, men and women; they were not formed hy that noisy and intemperate pnblic opinion which he describes as one might write of it in onr own times, as a sound re-echoed in all the public assemhlies, in the tribunals, in the theatres, in the camps. It is true the common judgment of Christian ages was not different from the private instructions of education; hnt if it had been otherwise formed and developed, there would have been an end of harmony in the state; for no private education conld have resisted this influence, and the young would have been carried away hy the public expression of hlame and praise, in whatever direction they impelled them. So that without taking into account what Socrates adds respecting the deeds which sophists united with their instructions, in punishing with dishononr and with penalties those whom they could not convince by reason, deeds now witnessed within the loathsome towers of Ham in Gallic land, we may conclude with his words, that certainly there was no private instructor who could have overcome this contrary impulse, had it existed, that the mere attempt to prodnce one would have been madness; and since that power, whatever it may be called, is wielded not in reality hy the people, but hy the sophists who come forward in its name, the ahsence of so tremendous a danger in ages of faith should he only an additional reason to feel convinced that their state was eminently happy. And here an observation is suggested, which respects latter ages, rather than the past; for who does not perceive that the two camps now opposed to each other, those who adhere to the wisdom of Christian antiqnity, and those who support a system contrary to it, are, as far as respects nature, differently affected by the action of this great intellectual and moral power? The former being children of the Catholic Church, accustomed to union, and sweet conformity with all around them, when placed in a different society, the influence of its opinion and manners has an unnatural force, derived from their landable disinclination to be singular; whereas, on the contrary, those who protest against the principles of the Catholic religion are never so secure and so fierce as when in a Catholic country, where they enjoy in the greatest perfection their favonrite privilege of singularity. The concluding sentence of Socrates, in the fifth book of the Repnblic, is very remarkahle. "For neither is there, nor was there, nor can there ever he any system of ednation favourahle to virtue capahle of resisting this general opinion of society, that is, human system, O comrade, for I except from our discourse what is divine: and yon ought to know well, that in such a condition of the state, when the multitude are thus disposed, if any one should be saved, and should become what he ought to be, you will not err in saying that he has been saved hy an especial providence of God. Besides this, you shonld remark that these private instructors, who give lessons for money, and whom the multitude call sophists, regarding them as their rivals and opposition pedagogues, teach nothing else but the opinions of this very multitnde, whose passions they stndy to please, as if it were a great animal, which they desired

* Plato Apolog. XXV. † Plato Gorgias.

to understand thoroughly. Whoever lives with the multitude, presenting it either with a poem or some other work of art, or public service, making the multitude his master more than his right—must do all the things that will please it, of Diomedian necessity. Have you ever heard such a man giving a reason to shew why and in what manner, in reality, things are good, and honourable, and fair, which was not altogether laughable and ridiculous? Certainly not; for they study only what seems good, and honourable, and fair, to the brutish multitude." So far Socrates. "It is impossible to express," says Montaigne, "how much our mind loses and degenerates by the constant commerce and acquaintance with low and diseased souls. There is no contagion which spreads like that." It is not too much to affirm, that to the absence of a power capable of extending this contagion beyond even the ability of natural causes, must be ascribed in a great measure, not only the spiritual happiness of society, during the ages of faith, but also the phenomenon which they present in the prodigious fruitfulness of nature in giving birth to men of extraordinary virtue and greatness of soul: and "how many excellent spirits," as Savedra says, "how many generous characters did then spring up and die unknown, which would have been the admiration of the whole world, if they had been once employed!" Does it seem against the evidence of history to affirm this? But even several modern writers themselves acknowledge its truth. "Another advantage," says Guizot, "from studying the history of the middle ages is political. Our time may be characterized by a certain weakness, a certain softness in minds and manners. Individual wills and convictions want energy and confidence: men take up a common opinion, obey a general impulse, and yield to an exterior necessity. Whether it be for resistance or for action, no one has a great idea of his own force, or any confidence in his own thought. Individuality, in a word, the intimate and personal energy of man, is weak and timid. Amidst the progress of general liberty many men seem to have lost the noble and powerful sentiment of their own liberty. Such was not the middle age: the social condition then was deplorable," (these writers like painters, employ shades to make their sentences picturesque) "but in many men individuality was strong, and will energetic: the moral nature of man appeared here and there, in all its grandeur, and with all its power."* Bonald saw the difference and indicated the cause. "We have become so accustomed to think only in a crowd, to speak only in public, to think on laws only in a committee, to discuss them only in the courts, to establish them only by a majority of voices, that the most learned and able men feel afraid as soon as they are alone, and do not dare to move a step without that noise, often imaginary, which they call the public opinion."† Let us meet another objection, and reply to those who accuse society in these ages of being wanting in industry and activity, the grand criterion of modern civilization. It was an ancient argument, that the Christian religion tended to the downfall of the empire, and modern sophists have resumed it, affirming that it is too spiritual, too inducive to carelessness for the things of earth, and therefore hurtful to the interests of society. Machiavel, speaking of the effects of Catholic instruction in withdrawing the mind from earthly interests, proposes that children should no longer be made familiar with the names of saints, who inspire contempt for temporal grandeur, but with the names of gentile captains which may inspire them with military courage.‡ On such subjects, it is well to present our apology in the words of the ancient sages, because the moderns will not accuse them of being under the influence of "that execrable superstition" which Pliny spoke of, and to which these ages clung with such unwearied ardour. The Athenian then, in Plato, extols the laws of Crete as securing to the state all good: "but the good of a state," he says, "is two-fold, being both human and divine; and both of these depend upon the Divinity; and if any city should receive the greater good, it will possess also the latter; but if not, it will be deprived of both: and the lesser good consists in health, and beauty, and strength, and agility, and riches, not such as are blind, but those which with clear sight follow virtue; but the first and greater good consists in temperance, and chastity, and justice, and a manly spirit: and a legislator must always attend to this order in whatever he ordains, making what is human wait upon the divine."§ "Neither a state nor a man can be happy, unless by means of a life of wisdom and justice, being under the domi-

* Cours d'Hist. IV. I. † Législat. Primit. I.
‡ Discorsi sulle decadi de Tito Livio. I. 12 & 41.
§ De Legibus, lib. I.

nion of holy men as rulers, and being bronght up in virtuous manners."* Socrates says that he used to address each of his countrymen with these words; "O best of men, being an Athenian, native of the greatest city, and most illustrious for wisdom and power, are you not ashamed to be occupied about money, about making as much of it as possible, and gaining reputation and honours, while you neglect the study of truth, and take no thought for your soul, ὅπως ὡς βελτίστη ἔσται?"† There was no industry or activity in ages of faith, say the moderns; but there was industry, and activity, and subtle intelligence, in those matters which even the heathen sage thought alone deserving of human care, as having relation to intellectual wants, and to the future existence. Hæc magna, hæc divina, hæc sempiterna sunt. Was it for the illuminated race, upon whom the glory of the Lord had shone, when the nations walked in his light, and kings in the brightness of his rising,—was it for them, we may ask, to devote their lives to the pursuit of objects which had been rejected even by sages, as nnworthy of man's nature, while darkness covered the earth, and a mist the people? Was it for them to prepare the way of the modern societies, by neglecting the spiritual interests of their posterity, while for themselves, "engrossing and piling np the cankered heaps of strange-achieved gold?" They pursued no ends of utility, we are told; but it was from a perfect conviction of the comparative inutility of all concerns to which death must put an end, that they gave that ecclesiastical and spiritual direction to society, which now is considered so injurious; indicating, no doubt, a mind resembling that to which Cicero allndes, weaned from the love of vanities, and placing its strength for living virtuously in the contempt of all hnman things.‡ But nothing can be simpler than the whole of this problem: our desires are always according to onr habits; the old fisherman in Plantus only delights in finding gold, at the idea of being able to build a great ship.§ In ages of faith, Christians had no other object in desiring money than that they might be able to build a church, or a monastery, for they were not accustomed to luxuries which wonld have given them a different view of the importance of money. Do we suppose, that if it had been deemed useful or noble to construct club-houses, exchanges, and theatres, the cities of the middle age, would not have possessed many monuments, like those in the streets of Vivien and St. James? It was then considered more useful to make foundations of a spiritual order, and therefore we behold instead, the abbeys of St. Germain and Westminster. Machiavel and the other politicians of that school speak disdainfully of the Catholic religion, precisely from the same cause which led the Jews and Gentiles to despise Christ. His voluntary humiliation and subjection reproved their pride; and the moderns ascribe to ignorance, and weakness, and indolence, what was the legitimate result of the profound mysteries of the Christian religion. They pretend to read the ancient poets and sages with admiration, and yet their testimony is strong in favonr of these characteristics of society in the middle age, which are now condemned. "The minds of mortal men," says Pindar, "are quicker to praise deceitful gain than justice; but it is necessary for you and for me to accommodate our manners to justice, to prepare for ourselves future happiness."* Thus, indeed, spoke the nniversal reason, and the primal traditions; but if he had consulted only the opinions of the philosophers, he could never have approached so near to the sentiments of the ages we defend, for in speaking of the errors of men, he says, that it is impossible to discover what is now and in future the best thing for man to obtain,

> τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὑρεῖν,
> ὅτι νῦν καὶ ἐν τελευ-
> τᾷ φέρτατον ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.†

And St. Augustin relates from the testimony of the learned Varro, that there were no less than two hundred and eighty opinions among the philosophers respecting the chief good of man: they were at such a loss to know in what it consisted.‡ If then they rightly extol Pindar for forming such a judgment amidst so many difficulties, with what injustice do they condemn the consistent policy of the ages of faith, which had so exact a knowledge of the supreme good, and which pursued it with such singleness of eye, following it even through the beautiful regions of imagination and poetry! "But for that politic blessedness ought not to be the last mark of a Christian

* Plato Epist. viii. † Plato Apolog. XXX.
‡ Tuscul. I. 40. § Rudens, IV. 2.

* Pyth. IV. † Olymp VII.
‡ De Civit. Dei, XIX.

man," says the old translator of Tasso, "but he ought to look more high, that is, to everlasting felicity; for this cause Godfrey doth not desire to win the earthly Jerusalem to have therein only temporal dominion, but because herein may be celebrated the worship of God, and that the holy sepulchre may be the more visited of godly strangers and devout pilgrims:" and the poem is closed with the prayers of Godfrey, to shew that the understanding being travailed and wearied in civil actions, ought in the end to rest in devotion, and in the contemplation of the eternal blessedness of the other most happy and immortal life. It passed even into a proverb with the Spaniards that devout people who like Godfrey,—

> ——— Full of zeal, and faith, esteemed light
> All worldly honour, empire, treasure, might:

"that all is nothing in this world if it tend not to the next," and that he who has much on the earth has but little in heaven. Men in those ages did not labour with such indefatigable anxiety in making the earth yield its utmost, for their hearts were not so much set upon it, and seeking pearls and finding the one of great price, all their ambition was to procure it; they no longer sought after these visible things, lest they might lose the things invisible, and become like Ely the priest, who had his eyesight so weak that he could not see the lamp of God which hung continually lighted in the temple. "The soul which loves God," says a writer of those times, "has not leisure to think of any thing else but him, or to be occupied about other things besides him: it disdains, it despises all the rest." "Nil grande, nil pretiosum et admirabile, nil reputatione appareat dignum, nil altum, nihil vere laudabile et desiderabile, nisi quod æternum est:" this judgment gave rise to the real spirit which influenced men; they who had drank from the river of Paradise felt no more, as St. Augustin says, "the thirst of this world." How can we wonder that it produced its natural effects? The ascetical writer of the middle age, who is the author of the Manual ascribed to St. Augustin, devotes one chapter to shewing that men ought to avoid and detest every thing which turns aside the soul from the contemplation of God.* Surely such wisdom was incompatible with the industry of the children of this world, or of men in whom there seems to be neither an actual, nor virtual, nor habitual, nor interpretative intention of being Christians, men who through their ardent passion for every thing sensual must needs labour constantly for riches in order that they may be able to gratify their senses. The man, therefore, who is ἐπιθυμητικὸν, as Plato* says, will consistently embrace the modern philosophy, but he cannot with justice argue against the intelligence of others who pursued a different end by different measures. Cicero even remarked that they who refused to render themselves servants to lust and to ambition had no occasion for the daily expenses which involved others in the necessity of making money. "Why," he asks, "should they greatly desire to have money, or rather why should they care for it at all?"† With greater justice might they exclaim, in answer to the magnifiers of such industry: O brother,

> ——— Call to mind from whence ye sprang;
> Ye were not formed to live the life of brutes,
> But virtue to pursue and knowledge high.‡

Ah! the hearts of men in ages of faith responded to that voice from some undiscovered cell in holy cloisters, which sung the hymn of "Jesu dulcedo cordium," which in one sense is falsely ascribed to St. Bernard, though in another it justly belongs to him, and to all who had sat beneath his feet:

> Quando cor nostrum visitas,
> Tunc lucet ei veritas,
> Mundi vilescit vanitas,
> Et intus fervet caritas.

which, perhaps, in the English version has still greater simplicity.

> Thy lovely presence shines so clear
> Through ev'ry sense and way,
> That souls which once have seen thee near,
> See all things else decay.

Reasoners who take into account only the apparent material interests of the present life can never form a just judgment of the Christian political state, or of the men who formed it: but in the ascetical writings of the middle ages, in the festivals and in the prayers of the Church, they may discover the secret, without ascending to the source, which explains the cause of all that excites their pity and disdain. Ambition, as an universally pervading

* Cap. xxx.

* De Repub. IX. † Tuscul. V. 32.
‡ Dante.

principle, and the incentives to activity in merely earthly interests, received necessarily a mortal wound in that society, which recognised and made ample provisions for the wisdom of desiring to die to this world, and of wishing to be despised for Christ, and of remaining unknown in the present life. The calm of the ancient Catholic state proceeded not from indolence, for what society ever gave greater proof of intellectual activity? but from the suppression of passions. As the sea is beheld tranquil, when no breath of air moves upon the surface, so the mind of man was at rest, and human life passed in a sweet calm, when the perturbations were removed which have power to disturb it. Upon reading the motto of an illustrious and royal race of the middle ages "non laborant neque nent," a favourable occasion is furnished for sophists to give the reins to long discourse respecting the inaction and indolence of Christian antiquity; but they should remember that these are the words of the Son of God proposing an example of life to his disciples, and that they were borne as a device without implying a satire upon manners in ages when men were quite as sharp-sighted to detect moral deformity as in our own. But the result alone of the two disciplines might determine their respective merits. And how astonishing is the delusion practised here? Those who were invited to the marriage feast in the Gospel, says Father Diego de Stella, "thought it better for them to travail about their business with pain than to be partakers in peace of the solemn feast of the eternal King. If the King of heaven had invited them to travail, and the world unto pleasures and ease, they might well have been excused, but when it is all contrary, then is the error too manifest if thou shouldst despise the sweet service of Christ for the displeasant servitude of the devil."* The nations of the north who have refused the invitation to the solemn feast affect now to despise devout poetic Spain, and spiritual Italy, who have in successive ages accepted it; but we see how they suffer from their own tyrannic wills:—formerly blessed with sweet peace, and nourished with the bread of angels, they are now condemned to eat that of care and sadness, to behold violence and bloody strife within their streets, which day and night resound with moans: and what after all is the spirit of industry as expressed in the character of the proud? Where is this great moral dignity spoken of, in the men who are unwilling to accept the invitation of the almighty King, "who was in earth for their sakes crucified," and who prefer going away in sullen disdain to their farms or to their affairs when the Church invites them to rejoice and rest? Even omitting all reference to heaven, on what ground are we to reserve our admiration for these men, who, as Lucian says, "spend many sleepless nights, and painfully laborious and sometimes bloody days, not for the sake of Helen or of Priam, but through hope of gaining five oboli?" What claims does this spirit possess to the praise of virtue? Tacitus paints it well in describing Vinius, "Audax, callidus, promptus, et prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius, eadem vi."* If we examine the true cause of the perpetual agitation in which men pass their lives, where the supernatural motives of faith do not exist, we shall understand why in a Catholic state in ages of faith there was less occasion and provision for it. To all men who are of the number that look back, it is an insupportable pain to think of themselves, so that all their care is to forget themselves, and to live without reflection in being occupied with things which leave no time for thought. "This," says Paschal, "is the origin of all the tumultuous occupations of men. The great object is not to feel one's self, and to avoid the bitterness and interior disgust which the thought of one's self would necessarily occasion. The soul finds nothing in itself which contents it, nothing but affliction, therefore it is obliged to fly abroad and to lose the remembrance of its real state in application to external things which may wear the semblance of honesty or duty. Its joy consists in this forgetfulness, and to see itself, and to be with itself, is enough to render it miserable. Hence men are loaded with infinite cares, and labours which occupy them from the break of day. You might think that the course of their lives was purposely contrived to render them unhappy, but it is necessary for their peace: so that even what little time remains to them after their affairs must be spent in some diversions, in order that they may never be for a moment with themselves. This it is which makes them court such interminable labours of body and mind, which makes them men of business engaged

* On the Contempt of the World, p. 11.

* Hist. lib. I. 48.

from morning till night, men of dissipation devoted to a thousand diversions which must occupy their whole souls, for it is impossible that those who act only by the movements which they find in themselves and in their nature should ever subsist in repose and leisure without being instantly attacked by melancholy and sadness." But in a Catholic state in ages of faith the case was otherwise, for as Paschal says, "it is one of the wonders of the Christian religion to reconcile man to himself in reconciling him to God, to render the view of himself supportable, and to make solitude and repose more agreeable to many than agitation and the commerce of men." Hence we can understand why the moderns are happy in London or Paris, and find themselves oppressed with melancholy in Rome or Valladolid; why they prefer a Brentford hustings to the Dome of the Vatican, and a manufactory to a convent. That a just and reasonable industry, corresponding with that divine judgment which did not condemn Martha, as St. Augustin says, but only distinguished the gift, and consistent with the noble intelligence of Christians, was not wanting in the ancient states may well be understood from many evidences. Deguignes has written a treatise upon the Commerce of the Middle Ages, containing, amidst many false and exaggerated statements, curious details.* Not to speak of the celebrated commerce of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, it appears that in the reign of Chilperic the Franks had many vessels on the Mediterranean, that the trade of Marseilles continued to flourish as under the Romans, and that even in the interior of France the Oriental languages were cultivated in consequence of the commercial relations maintained with the countries of the East. In the time of Clovis, there were merchants at Paris who made frequent voyages to Syria. Under the Carlovingian princes the commerce of the Mediterranean was a source of riches to France. In the ninth century, the Loynnese and the Marseillese imported spices and perfumes from India and Arabia, which were transported by the Rhone and the Saone to the Moselle, whence they were distributed by the Rhein, the Mein, and the Nekar, to the extremities of Germany. The interests of commerce were not unconnected with the pilgrimages to Palestine and the crusades which followed. Deguignes exposes the immense projects of policy and commerce, associated with views of religion, which were developed by writers in the time of Philippe-le-Bel. The tin of Cornwall used to be transported by means of the Loire to the gates of Digeon, to form pinnacles for the monasteries of Burgundy;* the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen, in the fourteenth century, carried on an extensive trade with Africa, where they founded great establishments: yet in general the knowledge of these facts has been transmitted only by incidental testimonies. It appears also, that the population of France and England in the middle ages, equalled that of our times. The Pope, at the Council of Clermont, spoke of France as being hardly able to contain the multitude of its inhabitants. The country was rich and well cultivated, as is proved by the immensity and variety of the royal and seigneurial rights. One of the first observations made by the pilgrim brother Nicole, during his first day's journey in the Holy Land from Jaffa, was that the land was good but ill cultivated by the labourers.† This implies that he was accustomed to see good farming. The mere fruits of the earth maintained Spain so rich in former times, that Louis IX., King of France, being at the court of Toledo in the time of Don Alonso, was lost in astonishment at its splendour, and said that he had never seen any thing comparable neither in Europe nor in Asia. Yet a vast part of Spain is incapable of much cultivation. With respect to England, there is reason to believe that tracts which had been reclaimed and cultivated by the monks have in later ages been suffered to return to their original barrenness. We shall have occasion in another place to speak of the multitude of monuments with which faith covered the soil of Europe; for the present one may be allowed to suggest, that the richly cultivated garden of the plains of Lombardy, or the lovely shores of Chiavera, do not indicate a less degree of the industry of man, because beautiful churches and graceful oratories are seen to rise at every step amidst the vines and corn; that a seaport city, like Genoa, does not impress a stranger with a less opinion of its commercial activity, because he hears during the still hour that precedes the dawn the faint music of innumerable bells summoning to matins choirs of saintly men and women, whose monasteries are thickly scattered over the surrounding mountains

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. XXXVII.

* Bibliothec. Cluniacens.

† Le grant Voyage de Hierusal. f. xiii.

clothed with the pale olive. "Sed plena errorum sunt omnia:" the moderns cannot it seems, recognise an industry which does not exclude all considerations of a spiritual order, and all sweet remembrances of a future country. Villani is to be extolled above all the ecclesiastical and noble historians of the middle age, because he chiefly studies what belongs to the material interests of the people, the operations of trade, the price of corn, the quality of the food and drink, which can only be learned by induction from the latter, as Deguignes complains; and a tyrant who destroys the liberty of education, and who pursues a systematic plan to undermine all intellectual good, is to be praised as a wise, magnanimous prince, because he encourages the breed of cattle and makes the markets thrive. How else would men legislate, if they were providing a city for brute swine? So asks one in Plato, after hearing a similar plan for forming a city, Εἰ δὲ ὑῶν πόλιν κατεσκεύαζες, τί ἂν αὐτοὺς ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα ἐχόρταζες.* At the same time one may admit, that there is a wisdom of self preservation shown by these societies which rest entirely upon material interests, materializing all interests and deriving their security from this forced reunion of all individual wills, when they look with a jealous eye upon Catholicism, and endeavour to exclude those who profess it; for in consequence of the spiritnality of this religion, it must be in perpetual contradiction with their principles and maxims, and it would become in some sort an instrument of disorder for the mechanics who govern that state and give motion to its springs. But let us mend our speed, for we draw near the opening of sweeter ways. I shall endeavour to compress in as small a space as possible the remaining subjects of reflection suggested by a review of the ancient political state in ages of faith.

In the first place, I observe, there was a consistency between all things, material and intellectual, and the manners of men were in harmony with their institutions. The contrast which Coleridge draws between the genuine and artificial poets, might be found to exist between different forms of society. Of the modern customs and institutions, "lay aside the titles and the ornaments, translate them into another tongue, and it will be a matter of wonder to you that such trivialisms, not to say such nonsense occasionally, could ever be received and perpetuated." Apply the same process to those of the ages of faith. Lay the body of an institution, or of a custom, bare; decompose it to the utmost of your power: the beauty, and grace, and poetry, may, indeed, be destroyed, yet good sense will, in every instance, remain conspicuous, as the substance or body of the whole. The first lines of the prologue of the Salic law are an instance in point:—"The nation of the Franks having God for founder, strong in arms, firm in keeping treaties, profound in council, noble in person, beautiful in complexion, valiant in combat, but lately converted to the Catholic faith, free from heresy;—and even, while under a barbarous belief, seeking, by the inspiration of God, the key of knowledge, desiring justice, and guarding piety." It is said, this might be the text of an heroic song; but compare it, in respect to the strict truth of its testimony, with the received formulas of the modern society, where such strange inconsistencies have been introduced by retaining the language, and rejecting the philosophy, of Christian antiquity, and every one must be struck with the justice of this distinction. But the perfect Christian consistency of the ancient state is one cause why the modern historians are almost invariably mistaken in their representations of it. It is with their style, as with that of Ephorus and Hermippus, in which, as Müller says, no one could recognise the ancient simplicity and loveliness which characterized all the genuine remains of the age of Lycurgus; for our modern historians, too, endeavour to assimilate as much as possible the notions of antiquity to those of their own time, and to attempt, in some way or other to represent every deed as proceeding from such motives as would have actuated their own contemporaries. Machiavel was the first of a similar school. In his history of Florence his views are not Christian respecting the events of society. His very language is pagan; and in order to imitate the dark and fearful sentences of Tacitus, he seems to forget that he is relating the history of a state which was no longer under the impressions of paganism. Nor can I omit mention of that other characteristic of the institutions and customs of the middle ages, which consisted in their indicating habits of meditation on the life of Christ, and on all the circumstances and mysteries of the Gospel history with which they were in harmony, or, at least, reconcileable; in the same manner as it is characteristic of the modern legislation, and form of life, to

* De Repub. II.

exhibit a forgetfulness of the doctrine of Christ, and of all the circumstances of the history of his Church, to such a degree as to be often absolutely irreconcileable with the practice of that religion.

Another characteristic, I observe, is the settled composure of the Catholic state, like that of the ancient Dorian, which seems entitled to respect when contrasted with the versatile talents of the moderns, who set no limits to their love of change, and with whom society is only a bond of convention, which the will of the people can dissolve, like a tent which the shepherd pitches for one night and which he takes down at break of day. In opposition to the modern opinion, we may believe what is written in the ethic page, that it is not men remarkable for virtue who make revolutions, for they would be few against the many.* "The great object of a wise and truly civilized state," as Frederick Schlegel says, "is to preserve men from becoming wild, and from degenerating into a savage state. Every revolution is a passing epoch of a savage state, when man, notwithstanding single examples of heroic virtue, and wonderful self-devotion, is, in fact, reduced to the character of a savage. There is always a propensity in his nature to become wild and savage, and it is the great object of all wise governments to guard against this by all means possible."† Again, one must admire (though French and English politicians regard it as sufficient evidence of a tyranny) its principle of self-defence, when contrasted with the revolutionary passion for attack, and conquest, and overthrow of existing constitutions. Like the Dorian, too, its power was not purchased, but native; its policy was slow and deliberate conviction against determined rashness: its essence a unity of feeling and principles, so as to make the whole body become as it were one moral agent; its object in administration to obtain good order, or *κόσμος*, the regular combination of different elements. Another remarkable characteristic of the middle ages was the importance attached to ancient customs, and their maintenance by a judgment and a power superior to all legislative enactments, and in defiance of all the novelties that private reasoners might advocate. Montaigne well understood the excellence of this society. "Qui mettroit mes rêveries en compte, au préjudice de la plûs chétive loi de son village, ou opinion, ou coutume, il se feroit grand tort, et encore autant à moi." These are his words. The barbarians had respected the rights of the nations which they conquered, so that the ancient customs still prevailed in each province; and not only had these the force of law, but it was even permitted to each man to choose under what customs he would be governed, whether as a Roman or a Frank, a Burgundian or a German. "Populus interrogetur, quali vult lege vivere, et sub ea vivat."* If we pay attention to the particular tendency of each of these customs, we shall find it still indicating the superior wisdom of a Catholic state to all the enactments as well as theories of modern sophists, of which every characteristic, however liberal in denomination, is, at the bottom, something that Plato, to say nothing of Christianity, would term *ἀνελεύθερον*, and very often *φιλοχρήματον*. The Catholic state was the most natural of all others, that is, it was founded with the highest art; for to be natural is the most difficult triumph of all works of mind, since in laws as in arts, in morals as in manners, what is false, bad, and unnatural, presents itself to our mind of itself. And Bonald quotes Quintilian, saying, "id est maxime naturale quod natura fieri optime patitur." Again, the public mind of a Catholic community had a love for past times, and a great attachment to the memory of its ancestors. Like the Doric race, though on additional grounds, and without its extravagance, the attention of that society was turned to the past, rather than to the future; and here was still further indication of a happy state: for, speaking of the living faith of a whole people as constituting its natural strength, De Haller says, "it is remarkable, that wherever a people is distinguished by a love for their ancient chronicles, wherever they desire to know the history of their country, wherever the glorious events which have founded, aggrandized, and consolidated the social bond, are generally recalled and celebrated by music or chaunts, one will find that there the greatest freedom prevails, and the abuses of power are least known."† I have alluded to the unity of the Catholic state, by which it obtained the object of all legislation, according to the ancient sages. The great object with Plato would be to guard against the natural tendency of men to

* Aristotle Polit. lib. V. c. iv.
† Philosophie der Geschichte, I. 47.

* Baluz. II. an. 824.
† Restaurat. tom. III. 30.

pursue private ends; "for without laws," he says, "men would neither know nor be able to follow what is best; they would not know, in political science, that the general interest is to be pursued before private, for the former consolidates, but the latter dissolves states: they would not know, that it is for the advantage both of the whole society, and of each member, that the general interests should be preferred to the individual; and if they did know it, but were to find themselves independent, and not responsible, they would not be able to persevere in the opinion and practice; for the mortal nature inclines always ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἰδιοπραγίαν, flying from pain and pursuing pleasure, and regarding both before justice, and involving itself in darkness, so as in the end to fill itself, and the whole state, with all manner of evil."* What an assistance was here furnished by the Catholic principles, and how surely did they operate! The social order was compact and firm, and needed no propping with arbitrary laws: the authority of chiefs was strong, the consent of orders was inviolate; judgments were maintained; the minds of good men were ready at the nod of the Christian pastors, and always was there found a citizen who would expose himself to envy for the safety of his country. As the Athenian proposed in Plato, it was held that the state, like one man, should live virtuously;† and temperance and meekness were deemed as necessary in the state as in a man.‡ This was the mark at which all aimed in life, both with the regard to public and private affairs, that the state as well as each individual might cultivate justice and temperance with a view to happiness; not allowing all things to cupidity, the desire of satisfying which is an interminable evil, and reduces men and states to lead the life of robbers; for with the desire to gratify every passion, they can be friends neither to man nor to God.§ The nation, as one supplicant, sent up prayers to heaven, that virtue might be granted to obedient youth, rest to placid age, and to the whole, collectively, wealth, and offspring, and every honour. "That as the temporal generation contributed to the ornament of the world, so by an admirable effect of the grace and providence of God, the spiritual generation might serve to the augmentation of his Church."‖ The whole character and desire of the state might have been

* De Legibus, lib. IX. † De Legibus, lib. VIII. ‡ Id. lib. IV. § Plato Gorgias. ‖ Missal Rom.

expressed in the words which we read upon the great obelisk of the Vatican, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat, Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat." "Of all religions," says De Haller, "the Catholic is without question the most proper to maintain an union of hearts and minds, and to preserve the internal tranquillity of states; not only because the form of the Church is monarchal, and therefore analogous to that of kingdoms; for we shall prove hereafter that it agrees equally well with republics; but because it is founded on obedience to legitimate authority, and not on independence of all authority; on respect, and not on contempt for fathers and mothers; on the denial, and not on the idolizing, of self; on the reciprocal sacrifice of one for another, which is the bond of all society, and not on egotism, which is its solvant and destruction; on the bond of an immense community, united by the same faith and the same law, and not on a principle of hatred, of isolation, and of dispersion; in fine, because in its dogmas, in its morality, and in its worship, it teaches, nourishes, and vivifies without ceasing, respect for the maxims and traditions of fathers and superiors; veneration for all that is ancient, universal, perpetual; and repugnance against all separations, and all fundamental innovations."*

But all rested on the maintenance of piety, in order that, according to the converse of Cicero's celebrated sentence, piety prevailing, faith and the society of the human race, and justice, the most excellent of all things, might be established. Hence, then, arose the necessity for preserving the public mind from being corrupted by the perverse and immoral wills of a few. Though the moderns have chosen to discard these precautions, the wisdom of the ancient measures remains justified. The private error makes first the public error, and then, in its turn, the public error makes the private error. This is what Montaigne said. The Athenian disputant in Plato would subject the stage to a severe censorship, and no piece should be performed until the censors had determined that it contained nothing contrary to the spirit of the legislature.† In what manner Socrates would have determined the question now so much discussed, relative to the justice or prudence of restraints upon literature and the arts, may

* Tom. III. chap. 1. † De Legibus, VIII.

be concluded with certainty from the famous passage in the Republic relative to poets, and, indeed, from the general tenor of the Platonic writings. Plato expressly says that a legislator should inflict a great fine upon any poet or other member of the state who should sing of men living happily, being wicked.* He would not suffer any thing to be published derogatory to the noble images of piety and heroism which should exalt the imagination of youth.† Chateaubriand has done well in adding to the pompous inscription over the library of Thebes, in Egypt, "ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον, deposit of the remedies and of the poisons of the soul." In Catholic states alone we still behold this great primal object of all wise and just government faithfully maintained, that of preserving the eyes and ears of men from blasphemies against the good power in heaven, and of shielding defenceless youth from the accursed darts of reason, swayed by lust, or cunning avarice, such as in every other city are levelled at them, which way soever they move, or turn, or bend their sight.

At Rome, where more than in any other city of the world each man feels himself personally free, any violation of public morals, by temptation, is guarded against like murder; and, indeed, owing to circumstances which we cannot delay to unfold, and which require the physician rather than the divine, more effectually prevented than manslaughter. We find St. Bernard complaining in energetic terms, as an extraordinary circumstance, of the circulation of dangerous works. In allusion to those of Abailard he says, "violent leaves are scattered on highways; books fly; in cities and in castles darkness is received for light; and poison is administered instead of honey. They pass from nation to nation, and from kingdoms to another people."‡ So great an evil was this considered, that bishops even refrained from publishing in their dioceses pontifical constitutions which condemned errors that were there unknown, fearing lest it might introduce the knowledge of them; therefore the fathers of a council in 1528 decreed that in public assemblies the doctrines of the heretics should be only reproved in general terms in all places where they were unknown. Under Philip I. the licence of the French songsters proceeded to such a length, that Yves, Bishop of Chartres, thought himself obliged to procure the interposition of the Holy See.* Philip Augustus, on coming to the crown, made severe regulations against licentious poets, banishing from court all those who employed their abilities to corrupt men. For this end, no doubt, it was necessary that power and an efficient force should belong to the government of the state. But let it be remembered while the administration was strong to repress the obstacles to the sanctification of souls, it did not sully the source of all intellectual and moral good, by attempting under the name of liberty to destroy the freedom of the Church, which is its immediate fountain. Plato proposed a hard question, "How can a state or city make use of philosophy so as not to corrupt and destroy it?" And instead of giving a satisfactory reply, he only suggests, that all great things are subject to ruin, and that every excellence involves a difficulty.† But if it were asked how did the state, in ages of faith, avail itself of the celestial wisdom without injuring it, the reply might be instantly made, by leaving the Church, which imparted it, free, only ensuring its protection or co-operating with its laws.

This would be the place to speak of the creative spirit which belonged to the ancient Catholic society; but as nearly the whole of the present and following books will be a development of this truth, I shall only observe here, what a singular contrast the history of later ages presents in this respect. Destruction follows the sophists in all their plans of constitution. Without authority and meekness corresponding, men are unable to found any thing: thus in France, when every institution was falling to the ground, thrones, altars, monasteries, hospitals, and laws, they always professed the desire to reconstruct, to save, and to direct, as De Haller witnesses in the very words, Constituent, Committee of Public Safety, and Directory. The later history of the northern nations bears the same testimony, during periods of long tranquillity, and of an immense accumulation of wealth in noble families, which would have favoured the spirit of institution, if it had existed. Such, then, are a few of the general reflections that may be suggested by a review of the government and society of a Catholic state, in ages of faith: others, indeed, sufficiently obvious, relative to the disorders which the passions of men introduced into it, have already, no doubt, presented themselves to our minds; and perhaps readers of the modern

* De Legibus, lib. II. † Id. lib. III.
‡ Epist. 189.

* Epist. 68. † De Repub. lib. VI.

school are ready to cry out with open mouths, as if they had overshot Robin Hood, that these were times of violence and desolation, and not such as are here represented; but granting that such disorders were found to exist; granting, I say, what they will have granted, the truth of what we have now seen continues no less certain; it is incontrovertible; and though such an exercise must be most painful to persons of their intellectual habits, so little prepared for encountering any trouble or difficulty in the way of a ready conclusion, the grand criterion of having profited under their masters, the task which devolves upon them, is to reconcile this view of history, which is so new to them, with the disorders and horrors which have been so long familiar to them; but with which they by no means had the exclusive privilege of being acquainted, as perhaps in a future place it will be necessary to demonstrate. As for those real lovers of truth, and real scholars, willing, but unable, to rise from the study of history with such agreeable impressions, from their familiarity with a multitude of facts which seem to contradict them, there is a reflection which I would humbly suggest, from which one would infer that they ought rather to fear the consequences of their own timidity, which may be quite as injurious to truth as a groundless confidence. It is for the sake of truth that they should dismiss their fears, and unhesitatingly follow those who find in the history of ages of faith an idea full of grandeur and peaceful delight. For, in fact, how stand they with regard to truth? They read the learned antiquarian works of the great Benedictine and ecclesiastical writers of the last century, devoted to particular investigations, which rendered it necessary to comprise within a few pages the crimes and follies of many generations of men. Thus they become insensible to the general tone of sanctity which belonged to society in these ages. No doubt the researches of a Mabillon, a Chardon, a Fleury, and others in that track, have their importance; but they do not supersede the use of simpler and less valuable works, which only give a general and comprehensive review of the periods which these acute and profound men have analysed, with a view to some particular object of curiosity: without this, the result, in the reader's mind, is a distorted and unjust conclusion, a right estimate, perhaps, of particular questions, but unquestionably an erroneous judgment of the general character of society. At the present, I proceed to notice the opinion of those who, in Gallic phrase, set forth the progress which has been made in civilization; and the observations I have to make will conduct us to our wonted stage of rest. "The ancients did not resemble us in this respect," says a sophist to Socrates, "because they were unable and not sufficiently wise, for the art of wisdom with us has made a great progress since their time." "So that," says Socrates, pretending to finish the sentence, "if Bias were alive again, he would be subject to your ridicule, in the same manner as Dædalus would now be laughed at, as the makers of statues affirm, if he were to fabricate any of those objects which bear his name?" "It is so," replies the sophist. "Indeed I am persuaded that you speak truly," continues Socrates, "for I have this evidence; I know that Gorgias and Prodicus have grown immensely rich in consequence of their application to public affairs; but as for these ancients, no one ever thought them worthy of receiving money as a recompense for their skill. They were so simple and foolish, that they seem not to have known the value of money, whereas each of these modern 'talented' men (our ancient language had no term adequate to express such proficients) make more by his wisdom than any mechanic by his trade." "And yet, O Socrates," cries the sophist, not perceiving the higher thoughts of genius, "you really know nothing of this glory of ours; for if you were to hear what sums of money I have made, you would be astonished. To omit other things, when I was in Sicily, though Protageras was there in the height of reputation, yet in a very short time I made more than 150 minæ, and from one little place, Inichus, I had more than twenty minæ, and so I came home bearing such gifts with me, that the other citizens were lost in astonishment; and I think that I must have made more money than any other two of the sophists that you could name." "Καλόν γε καὶ μέγα τεκμήριον σοφίας τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ὅσον διαφέρουσι," replies Socrates. "Truly the ancients were strangely ignorant, for many of them experienced a fortune the very reverse of yours; and they despised, and neglected, and lost all these things, so foolish was their wisdom; λέγουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τῶν παλαιῶν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. You have given, by what you now advance, an abundant proof of the superiority of the moderns; for, as the

saying is, the wise man must especially be wise for himself, and this is the criterion of all, whoever is able to make most money."* How can we, other little men, presume to refute arguments which Socrates thought unanswerable? One may only pity the ancient writers for not being aware of the moral perfectibility to which human society is always necessarily advancing. Thus Thucydides, describing the horrors and atrocities which attended the sedition of Corcyra, is so incorrect in language, as to add respecting the circumstances, "such things occurred, and always will occur, as long as the nature of men continues the same, "ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ."† So far behind now appears to us his famed sagacity!

The theory of the perfectibility of human society, as understood by the political sophists who now maintain it, is admirably convenient for those who have an antipathy to the proof of facts, and the lessons of experience, conveyed in history; it suits delightfully those who love to indulge in vague generalities and common places void of sense, who are fond of ambiguous emphatic phrases, and the language of exaggeration. It is only unfortunate that they are not the first to suppose that antiquity is forgot, custom unknown, and as it were that "the world is now but to begin." Such vaunts have risen before to Him, "whose eye nothing new surveys." The followers of Laertes, in attacking the king of Denmark, have forestalled them here; and in fact, in every revolution of men, there were always some to cry, "the world is now but to begin!" The only novelty presented in the present circumstances of mankind is, that such a cry should have imposed on genius; and that the Christian poet of ill-guided France should have thought that he beheld the social state, and the human race fast advancing to perfection, in an age when men seem to speed only in the way of proud indifference to intellectual good, of systematic opposition to the beneficent will of Heaven, and to the immortal destinies of their nature. It is sad, no doubt, to have to contend with the adversaries of the cross; there is no literary glory to gain in such a contest: he who attacks them will pass away with them, and be forgotten with them; but men must not seek to ennoble their cause through disdain of seeming to contend with a base enemy, and so adopt the very tone and spirit of times to which they deem themselves superior. "Est non parva prudentia, silere in tempore malo, nec humano judicio disturbari." "The idea of the endless perfectibility of men," said Frederick Schlegel, "as long as it is merely admitted to argue a possible disposition, contains, no doubt, much truth; but only while it is accompanied with a sense of quite as great a corruptibility of men."* In the ages of faith it was well understood that religion herself, in one sense, sanctions the idea of a progress. "Posterity," says Vincent of Lerins, "will rejoice in understanding what antiquity formerly venerated without understanding; but you must teach the same things which you have learned, so that while you teach in a new manner, you may not teach new things; but perchance some one will say, will then the Church of Christ make no progress in Religion? Clearly it will, and a great one: for who is there so envious to men, and so adverse to God, as to endeavour to prohibit that? But only it will be a real progress, and not a change of faith. The intelligence, science, and wisdom of each, and of all men, as of the whole Church, and of whole ages, will increase, but in their own manner only; it will be a progress in the same doctrine and in the same sense."† With respect to the supposed progress of civil society, if we consider merely the effects of human agency, it is, in fact, only a change and oscillation of good and evil: if it advances in one direction, it recedes in another: like the ocean, the tide of human passions and of man's wickedness may lose on one side of society, but it will be found to gain on the contrary: the sea itself will remain as wide and as deep as ever. Sins and miseries will always be found in the earthly city, and abuses and imperfections must attend its government. In ages of faith there were not wanting subjects who knew that in whatever manner they were governed, by a few, or by many, or by one, it would be always a government liable to inconvenience. It was not for them, as said the meek Hildegard, who so holily admonished kings to throw off the discipline of the fear of God, and impelled by madness to ascend to the tops of the mountains, and to accuse rulers; while their temerity was not to accuse their own wicked deeds. "In fact," concludes Sa-

* Plato Hippias major. † Lib. III. 82.

* Philosophie der Geschichte, I. 233.
† Vincen. Lirinensis, 27, 28.

vedra, "freedom consists not in the search of this or that form of government, but in the preservation of that which long custom has established, experience sanctioned, in which justice is observed and public order maintained."* The real evils which should make men hope for a progress in society, the spiritual tyranny of rulers, would be impossible to any practical and permanent extent, if subjects retained the fervour and the virtue of the ages of faith; but fallen as they are in this respect, we may deplore the evils in the government of states, but it is not to them first, that any wise politician would think of administering a remedy. In the mean while, if the question of Glaucus† were to be addressed to us, "which of the states now existing do you regard as in accordance with the love of wisdom, and favourable to that love?" we might sorrowfully reply, in the words of Socrates, "absolutely there is not one;" nay, I will add this accusation, and affirm that independent of what has been preserved from the ages of faith, and what must be ascribed to them, there is not one state now existing, if we except that whose emblem are the keys, and perhaps some few small principalities, like that which boasts of its red lily, or families united in federative bond, encircled with the snow-clad Alps, worthy of the philosophic nature.

Therefore philosophy, and that is now nothing else but the Catholic religion, is tormented, and being, as far as its earthly contingencies extend, perverted from its nature, as a foreign seed sown in an unsuitable soil, it degenerates and assumes a character partaking of the qualities of that new soil; and though, being divine and imperishable, there is no power sufficient entirely to extirpate it or totally to change its genuine qualities, still there is furnished occasion for its enemies to fancy themselves strong, who, armed with the force of the civil government, labour to paralyze the exertions of the Catholic Church, and then hope to convict it of inefficiency. Thus in one region they deprive youth of the means of a religious education, and will suffer no other schools to be maintained but such as would suit Turks or pagans: hence we are shewn officers in military command and natural philosophers of fifteen, and atheists of twenty; in another they violently or treacherously seize the property which was destined to support missions, and to erect sanctuaries, and throw all the weight of their influence on the side opposed to the true philosophy, while they employ immense riches in endeavouring to undermine it: they succeed at length in producing an indifference to all distinctions between truth and error, faith and infidelity; the laws of the religious society are lowered and assimilated to their own; hence men of supernatural motives are diminished; and the uniformity of the sophists, a very different thing from the union of Catholics, is established. No one class of subjects is left as generally known to be essentially different in principle from another: you shew men avaricious! So are all: you shew them proud, luxurious, ambitious, degraded in philosophy, perverted in politics, vitiated in taste, materialized in understanding! So are all: as far, at least, as depends upon the effects of the general influence. In another, again, they take away the churches, they take away the monasteries, they endeavour to take away days of religious rest, for adoring God, instructing men, and filling society with joy, they deprive Catholics of the means of assembling to worship God in the beauty of holiness, leaving an immense population without the means of approaching the divine altars, or of being regularly and constantly instructed in their duty; they make laws to prevent the foundation of institutions which would support, direct, and sanctify them; they expose them defenceless and calumniated to the mercy of an armed and insane fanaticism, which their riches nourish and their honours flatter: hence follow successive generations of men, sensuous, and ignorant, unaccustomed to order, insensible to all the harmonies of a social state; knowing the law only as an enemy, and government as a detested image subservient to the very principle of evil; reckless of life and of all that wait on honourable reputation, cruel, revengeful, desperate, sanguinary; all this is then exultingly produced by the adversaries of the holy wisdom as ground that justifies their rejecting it; they challenge inquiry, not into abstract truth, not into the testimony of the universal reason, of the great traditions of the Church, or of the race of men, but into the consequences of their own artful policy and injustice; and who can think of denying them the merit of success, or of attempting to depreciate its importance? They appeal to the consequences, not of those measures, and institutions which the Church would pursue in order to render men virtuous and happy, and without which she pronounces it impossible to form or preserve a state of society

* Christ. Prince, II. 355.
† Plato, De Repub. VI.

worthy of Christians, for they have declared by their legislation that she must abandon these, and they have forcibly taken them from her; but of the limited exertions which they, concluding against her judgment, have prescribed to her, and which she has long since judged from her profound estimate of human nature, and from her long experience of the conduct of men, to be wholly insufficient. What Catholic then can be anxious to demonstrate against the overwhelming facts which they adduce, that her fears were groundless, and that her estimate of human nature was mistaken? But if philosophy, if the Catholic religion should meet with the best constituted state, or rather if it should not be bent and paralyzed by a state professing contrary principles, then, indeed, being also itself the best of things, it will be seen by all men to be in reality, not only in the little world of separate souls, but in the great and general society of nations, divine; while every thing else, whether of nature or of custom, or of profession, is human, insecure, momentary, worthless, full of some moral deformity, opposed to innocence and mercy, to truth and justice, to the sweet enjoyment of private happiness, and to the beautiful reign of universal order. The worldly policy has prevailed over the divine, even among the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ. The institutions founded upon faith in the spirit of earlier times either have already been overthrown, or are paralyzed and rendered fruitless by the civil legislation; the new system may bring with it, as the historian of the Doric race says, by the mockery of fate, though it would be more correct to say, by the secret design of highest God who doth guide that fate, external fame and victory; but still will the humble and really philosophic mind recur with satisfaction to the intellectual union and spiritual harmony which existed in the ancient Catholic state, even while its external and material frame may have been shaken with the tempest of human passions, and its sweet peace, vexed by man's injustice, still will honour, and freedom, and moral dignity, and angelic meekness, claim it as the scene of their long and sweet abode, while they had a mission to descend and dwell with men.

CHAPTER VI.

WE have not completely escaped from the perils of this discourse on the social system of the middle ages, until we shall have more fully explained in what manner the institution and privileges of the noble classes in days of feudal law were consistent, or at least compatible, with the spirit of meekness. It seemed, indeed, a difficult thing to unite political power with humility; and to shew that mild courtesy of manner might distinguish the simple unlettered people in the rank of lower subjects, appeared a task of no less difficulty, and now when we are required to reconcile the institutions of feodality and the lives of powerful nobles with the full and free development of that meekness which was to qualify men for beatitude, one may imagine, that we are about to be overwhelmed and to succumb. I might say in the Platonic style, that "having but just escaped from two mighty waves, you now by this question make to rush upon me the greatest and most difficult of the Trichymia,"* that is, you ask whether I can demonstrate that such an union was possible, and that it did exist. It will be found as we advance, that I am not ignorant of the particular evils which disturbed this ancient society, nor of the violence and oppression which not unfrequently distinguished the lives of some great men of the earth, whose old blood and forefathers' gallant deeds made them haughty in those very ages when the number of the meek was most considerable. I am not standing forth as the champion of any political system, nor does the renown of nobility, whether it be exalted or diminished, affect in my mind any of those bright and primal images which we would invite to accompany us as a protection, through all the mortal changes, sanctifying our joy, and following us from the banquet of youth to save our hearts from desolation when left to the thoughts of night and solitude. It

* De Repub. V.

is no pleasure to be detained within these palaces of the great, when we had hoped to hasten to the lawns and groves, and to converse with the meek and joyous people that live amidst them, dwelling with nature and with poverty; but the object of this argument requires that I should remove the objection founded on the assumed incompatibility of the feudal life with meekness: and even a sense of what all men owe to truth would induce one to shew that the general sentence passed by modern writers upon the institutions and manners of nobility in the middle ages is essentially unjust and unsanctioned by the evidence of history. The Roman emperors employed generally natives, Gentiles, to guard the frontiers of their respective countries from barbarians, giving them a station or castle, which is the origin of fiefs, and perhaps of the word gentleman. The title of baron is a Celtic or Greek word which signifies grave, strong, or heavy, to denote the qualities required for a public man. The French jurisconsults derive the feudal system, feodum, from fides, which seems preferable to the modern German derivation, which has recourse to an unknown word nowhere to be found, and the English term fee, an association of ideas hardly admissible. Feodality and fidelity were closely connected. Condorcet acknowledges that it was an institution which appeared among all nations, and that its principle was only the noble relations of authority and obedience, protection and attachment, and reciprocal fidelity. If the vassal swore fidelity, the seigneur was bound to justice, and this produced "a mutual confidence," which as the old capitulary says, "ensured the common safety."* Even Mably, so fond of isolation, and so ignorant of the origin of society, admits that the feudal system was favourable to the multiplication of families, and to the protection of a country. The conditions between vassal and sovereign were pretty nearly equal, for if the one lost his fief if he did not come to aid his seigneur, the other lost his sovereignty if he did not protect his vassal. The vassal, indeed, could not marry without leave from his sovereign; but this had only a political object. Thus St. Louis would not allow the Count of Champagne to marry the Princess of Bretagne, but on the other hand, when his niece Isabella was to be married to the King of Navarre, he first consulted his barons, and would not conclude it, however advantageous, till he had their consent. The ancient axiom of feudal right was this: "Le sire ne doit pas moins au vassal que le vassal au sire." Sieyes, in the year 1789, speaking of the system of feudal and ecclesiastical property, says, "I can never be made to believe that this manner of securing the two great public services of society was more burdensome to the people than the imposts with which it is now charged." The ban and the arrière-ban is assuredly a gentler sound than the conscription. De Haller remarks that what seems shocking in the ancient language of selling a barony with the soil and the people, Leute, results merely from a too great concision: for the term Leute in the German tongue signifies those who live with another in a relation of habitual dependence, and who owe him services, and here it implies the mutual bond which was thus transferred, securing the interests of the people as well as of the new possessor.* But men are indignant at the privileges which nobility enjoyed, and at the pride and selfishness of those nobles who monopolized all the advantages of society exclusively to themselves. Truly this is much if there be much truth in it: but are these reasoners aware that society in the middle ages comprised three classes, the noble, the free man or the ingenuous, and the servant; that the intermediate condition comprised an immense class of subjects who had possessions, and privileges, and a power in the administration, and that it was the majority of their voices which decided the election of the magistrates of justice and of the police of each county? We must not judge of the ancient magnificence of a city solely from the ruins which the chance of war, or time, may have capriciously spared, for the monuments remaining may not have formerly stood isolated and alone. The nobility possessed privileges, but what class of subjects had not also theirs? The fact is, that power being then under the general influence of the spirit of love and generosity, it became a characteristic of the times to multiply and extend on every occasion testimonies of affection and solicitude, the justice of which principle even as a temporal policy may admit of some defence on the ground of the permanence and solidity which this multiplication of privileges gave to the social order and consequently to freedom. We hear only of the privileges of the nobility and clergy, but we should remember that these were ages of privilege, when almost every man might possess

* Cap. Car. Calv. tit. 53. c. 4.

* Restaurat. tom. III. c. xlii.

for himself some one or other. First, observe the privileges which towns enjoyed. At Bourges and at Tours, and other places, the office of the municipalities conferred nobility. There were cities and towns in which the citizens and townsmen had the privilege of being addressed with Sire, there were others in which they had a right to carry swords, others in which they might wear gold spurs, others where, as in the great forest which belonged to the state of Sparta, every one had a right to hunt venison, others which had the power of conferring nobility.* The citizens of Loches had the privileges of knighthood, and in the Bourbonnais, the Duc de Bourbon used always to treat the Bourgeois as if they were knights. At Rochelle, the king had to take an oath on his knees before the corporation. Marseille, in favour of its merchants,† and in reward for its services, had the privilege from Baldwin II. of making enclosures in Jerusalem, and of having a quarter exclusively its own, and of being exempt from all toll within that kingdom. The students of the University of Paris had the same privileges as the clergy and nobility. Even to our time at Munich, a student of the university is an important person, who has his privileges: he is inviolable and cannot be arrested without authority from the rector: he can enter places of public amusement for a third part of the usual price. Boys on their journey had privileges confirmed by the ancient capitularies.—Where were there not privileges? Horses that had four white legs enjoyed the privilege of paying no toll.‡ It would fatigue Homer to enumerate all that existed. Artisans had the privilege that their instruments could not be seized.§ In certain trades members were exempt from serving in the watch.‖ In others, they paid no tax on the goods of fabrication, in others, as in that of glaziers, and silk weavers, and workers in the mint, they were free from all taxes like the nobles.¶ In France, all states without exception enjoyed some exemption and some privilege.** Monteil, who seems to have studied every character of the middle ages but that of the noble, is careful to remind his readers that nobles on passing a river were exempt from paying the toll, but the injury done to others by such an exemption was certainly not great, and who now thinks it absurd that members of the parliament should be exempt from the postage of letters? Again, the merchants of some towns, such as Tarbes and St. Jean d'Angeli, had the privilege of exemption from all toll of entry or customhouse duty. Some towns were entitled to demand offerings from every merchant whose goods were carried through them: Libourne had this privilege; in other towns, the citizens had the privilege of being exempt from the burden of lodging soldiers. This was the case at Bordeaux. In France, painters were free and noble, and exempt from all tax and subsidy.* Again, the Francarchers, who were the finest men of the population of the villages, were no less exempt from imposts than the nobility. Poor men had their names inscribed along with those of the nobles as being exempt from levies. Monteil quotes from a parchment in his possession, which enumerates among those who do not pay in that parish, nobles, Pierres le Vaillant Escurer,—Poures, Jehan Hoguet, and others.† The farmers of certain abbey lands were exempt from taxes, as in the case of the abbey of St. Mexent. The descendants of brave men, who had died of hunger rather than surrender their fortress to the enemy, were exempt from imposts, as was the case with the free citizens of the tower and castle of Evreux. The inhabitants of Montreuil-sur-le-Bois were exempted by King John from paying taxes or from giving supplies, on condition that they would maintain the fountains of their village at their own expense, a privilege confirmed to them by Charles V. and Charles VI.‡ On the other hand, the privileges of the nobility were often merely honorary tributes or affectionate symbols, and never excluded a recognition of the real foundation of spiritual equality which the Christian religion had introduced among mankind; there was no absurd attempt to disguise it, but on the contrary there was almost an affectation of proclaiming it; so far were princes then from reserving to themselves, and to such nobles as they chose to honour, the right of burial in the Campo Santo, the holy field of the dead, which

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. III. 180.
† Deguignes Mem. de l'Acad. XXXVII.
‡ Mémoires Hist. sur Troyes par Grosley—Monumens anciens et du moyen age. Pancarte du Péage du Comte de Lesmont.
§ Lettres du Roi 1331 rélatives aux privilèges de Salmerangee.
‖ Lettres du Roi, 1407, 1461.
¶ Lettres du Roi en 1470 rélatives aux monnoyeurs, aux verriers, aux ouvriers en soie.
** Monteil, Hist. des Français, III. 318.

* Monteil cites Lettres du Roi, 3d. Jan. 1430.
† Hist. des Français, tom. IV.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. de Diocèse de Paris, tom. V. 69.

had been formed in the ages of faith, and blessed for all. The members of civil order used to eat with the king, and were called "conviva regis," because the hospitality of the table had been always a sacred symbol of communion, and this was a privilege far more sensible than that now in use of mounting in the king's carriage, or of entering the court by a private gate, an instance which may remind us of what was before remarked, relative to the consistency and sense of the forms and the customs in ages of faith, and in our own. If we look to the privileges which the kings of Spain conferred on the nobility, they are chiefly of the same class. The king Don John II., to recompense the counts of Ribadeo, permitted them to eat at his table every year on the festival of the Epiphany, and the habit which the king wore that day was always to be given to them. The king Don Fernando the Catholic conferred the same honour upon the marquisses of Cadiz, granting them the habit worn by the king on the festival of our Lady of September, and he also decreed that the marquis of Moya, should have the cup out of which the king drank on the festival of St. Lucy, and that the counts of La Rogne, of the house of Vera, and their descendants for ever, should have the privilege of granting exemptions every year to thirty persons from paying all tributes or impost.* That generally regard was paid to justice in granting privileges might be inferred from that action of Charles V., who having one day signed a privilege which was afterwards proved to him to be against justice, tore it in pieces with his own hands, saying, "he would rather tear his writing than his soul."† If there were privileges which cannot be justified, it should still be remembered that they had come down from ages of great antiquity, when they were regarded as a compensation for services rendered and losses incurred in the interest of the general society, and that in later times they may have been often possessed by men truly humble and disinterested, and not conscious of retaining any unjust distinction. With respect now to the principle itself of hereditary nobility, which gives such offence to many modern writers, it is only necessary to remark here, that this was no invention of the middle ages, and by no means incompatible with the spirit of meekness which belonged to them. Wholly unconcerned with the general defence of any political institution, candour would oblige us to admit that the French opinions on this subject indicate but little wisdom, and even an inattention to the most ordinary facts of human society. The principle of nobility is coeval with the development of the social state, and it is even recognised by the authority of the unerring text. When God threatened to punish the idolatry of Solomon, he added "verumtamen in diebus tuis non faciam propter David patrem tuum."* The institution is also recognised, and in terms that lend so little sanction to the modern notions, that when God threatens a people with the greatest evil it is said in prophetic description, that "man shall rise against man, neighbour against neighbour, the child against the old man, the people against the noble."† It is founded in the deepest sentiments of our nature. "The people honour persons of great birth," says Pascal, "the half-wise despise them, saying, that birth is not a personal advantage, but a thing of chance, the really wise honour them, not with the thoughts of the people but with higher thoughts. Certain zealots who have not much knowledge despise them, notwithstanding the considerations which make them honoured by the wise, because they judge of them by a new light which piety gives them: but perfect Christians honour them by another superior light. Thus move opinions succeeding one another, for or against, according as light is given."‡ The Catholic society of the middle age was essentially disposed to respect nobility. In the first place, because it paid more attention to the past than to the present time, in which it was greatly opposed to the modern nations, who, like the Ionians of old, interest themselves more in the passing events of the day. This Catholic society listened to the songs of Charlemagne and Roland with such attention as to give rise to a new term in language, although the ancient rhapsodists were not to be surpassed, if we credit Maximus of Tyre: for many ages after Charlemagne his praises used to be sung in public places, and streets, and at all fairs, till at length the inventions of these bards passed into the reproachful term of Charletan; it loved to hear minstrels sing of Arthur and the early nobles of its history; it regarded these recollections as its most precious treasure, and cherished them with a kind of poetic madness: Alanus de Insulis, a

* Savedra, II. 101. † Ib. II. 202.

* Reg. III. 11. † Isai. cap. iii. 5.
‡ Pensées, I. 8.

writer of the twelfth century, says, that if any one were heard in Bretagne to deny that Arthur was yet alive he would be stoned: it listened to these narrations with as much fondness as the Spartans used to attend to Hippias of Elis speaking of the families of heroes, and men, the foundations of the ancient cities, and in general of what related to the olden time. In the second place, it respected nobility in conseqnence of the example and instruction of its religious guides. The clergy of the first ages were men of singular refinement, practised in manners which had come down in the higher ranks from the old civilization; and often personally distinguished by a great nobleness of nature, which under the influence of Christianity gave birth to every conceivable tone and degree of intellectual and moral delicacy and perfection. This is even one reason why parts of the ceremonial of the Church seem so strange to the vulgar eyes and ears of the half-bred sophists in our societies: but it is in its relation with human and natural subjects that this characteristic of the holy fathers falls under our observation at present. "With him is extinct an ancient and illustrious race!" cries St. Basil in his letter to the wife of Nectaire. The saints you perceive, reader, did not disdain these considerations which seem so contemptible to the men of our age. Even the austere St. Jerome dwells upon them. Thus in the beginning of his eulogium on the venerable Paula, he says, "she was illustrious by the nobility of her origin, bnt the holiness of her life rendered her more illustrious. Descendant of the Gracchi and the Scipios, sprung from that famous Paulus-Emilius whose name she bore, worthy heir of that Martia Papyria, who was the mother of Scipio Africanus, she had the generosity to prefer the modest retreat of Bethlehem to proud Rome, and to quit golden palaces for a humble and wretched cell."* Even in proclaiming the ntter vanity of all worldly honour, he shews how nobility may be converted into a source of merit. Paula was married to Toxotius, whose birth, he says, was no less illustrious, he being descended from Æneas, and from the Julian family, whence his daughter Eustochium received the name of Julia. "But if I speak here," continnes Jerome, "of this worldly nobility, it is not because this was precious in the eyes of her who possessed it, but on the contrary, because tho contempt with which she had the courage to treat it cannot be too much admired. Men of the world are filled with veneration for those who have the useless advantago of being sprung from a celebrated and ancient family. As for us, we only praise those who know how to rise superior to it, when the chance of birth has conferred this vain honour. Those who enjoy it are but little in our eyes; but those who despise it become worthy of all our praise." St. Encher writes in the same style to Valerien: "although the high birth of your father and father-in-law have raised you to the highest dignities, yet I desire for yon an exaltation a thousand times more glorious than this of your family; for I desire for you not the glory and greatness of the world, which are vain and perishable, but the glory and greatness of heaven, which are immntable and eternal. Therefore it is not with the false wisdom of this world that I am about to entertain you; but on the contrary, with that profound wisdom, secret and unknown to the world, which God has resolved from all eternity, as the apostle says, to reveal to his elect, in order to conduct them to glory." St. Ambrose, again, writing to Demetriades, a holy virgin, says, that though she has many equals in purity, there are few to be compared to her in the magnificent honours of honse, and the splendour of a most ancient family.* The recognition of a nobility of blood in France nnder the kings of the first race is proved by reference to the lives of the saints of the sixth and seventh centuries; for the holy men who composed them speak invariably of the noble extraction of such as were of the higher classes.† And after all, however liable to abuse may be the possession of nobility, it is beneath the dignity of no moralist to recognise the utility of its principle as an assistant that may be given to virtue. There must be some foundation of truth in a respect so universal as is paid to all who resemble Camertus,

Cui genus à proavis ingens, clarumque paternæ
Nomen erat virtutis.‡

Thongh Enripides may be thought to go too far in saying, that every thing seems fair and beautiful in their actions; yet history justifies a moderate presumption in their favour. It is possible that they may feel an additional force for a life of

* Epist. ad Eustoch.

* Epist. lib. X. 84.
† Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. XXXVII. 547.
‡ Æn. XIII. 225.

virtue, like Diagorus, whom Pindar describes as "walking constantly in the way opposed to violence, from knowing well what the just minds of noble ancestors have inspired in him."* St. Odo, Abbot of Cluni, in the eleventh century, states in the life which he has written of Count Gerald, that modesty and religion had been transmitted as an hereditary treasure in that noble family, which was a race of men in successive generations seeking God.† Even our days can furnish examples. It is the privilege of the family of the dukes of Altamira to proclaim the new king of Spain. On the renunciation of Charles IV., the duke proclaimed Ferdinand VII. the rightful heir, and not Joseph Buonaparte; for which he had to fly the kingdom, and his son, the count of Transtamara, to suffer a long imprisonment in the fortress of Fenestrelle. Honour and loyalty were hereditary in that family, in the same manner as the Spaniards said that the Guzmans were always good, and the Mendozas affable. No one need be told of the respect with which the ancients regarded nobility of birth. Dionysius says, that in his time there were remaining at Rome about fifty families descended from the most generous of the Trojan fugatives, who became the companions of Romulus, when he first built the city.‡ This at least shews that antiquity of family was prized. Tacitus reckons among the dreadful evils of the most calamitous times of Rome, that "nobility and honours were considered as a crime:"§ and he furnishes a favourable testimony to nobility, in stating that when Regulus survived the cruelties of Nero, he owed his safety only to the circumstance that his nobility was not ancient, nor his wealth considerable.|| It was not till after the reign of Louis VII. that the famous institution or the twelve peers arose in France: six of whom were laymen, the dukes of Normandy, Guyenne, Burgundy, the counts of Champagne, Toulouse, and Flanders, and six ecclesiastics, furnished by the Churches of Laon, Langres, Noyou, Chalons, and Beauvais. At the coronation of the kings of France the peers assisted, wearing crowns, and holding their naked swords, as may be seen represented in sculpture on the tomb of St. Remi, at Rheims. Such are a few of the observations that may be suggested with respect to the privileges of the feudal nobility, and the principle upon which that rank depended. There are yet other circumstances to remark in proof that it furnished no insuperable obstacle to the exercise of meekness, and to the general happiness of Society. We have before seen how this question must be determined with regard to the condition of the poor. "Vera nobilitas numquam superbit," says a monk of those days.* Gernando, the king of Norway's son, the proudest knight who joined the crusade,

> ——— who only vainly thought
> That bliss in wealth and kingly power doth lie,
> And in respect esteem'd all virtue nought,
> Unless it were adorn'd with titles high,

is particularly designated by Tasso as a barbarian, ignorant of the manners of Christian nobility.† It should be remembered, that the sort of selfish and disdainful men, who now cover Europe, belonging to the middle and upper ranks of life, rich, or at least living like the rich, excepting that they may have no gate at which a Lazarus may place himself, full of contempt for the poor, and proud of their own superior knowledge, which consists in an acquaintance with a multitude of little minute despicable circumstances, connected in some way or other with luxury, are a race wholly unlike the feudal nobility: these men have not any interests in common with the poor, of which fact they seem thoroughly convinced in conscience; whereas it was always the interest of the seigniors to promote the welfare of their vassals, and to prevent them from being oppressed and overcharged.‡ It must be inferred from a letter of Peter the venerable to St. Bernard,§ that the peasants in Burgundy were then better fed, and consequently able to undergo greater fatigue, than the monks of Cluni, who were Benedictines, and under a most indulgent abbot, and many of whom had been great noblemen and princes. Sir John Fortescue, writing in the reign of Henry VI., bears testimony to the happy condition of the people of England at that time. "The men of this land are rich, having abundance of gold and silver, and other things necessary for the maintenance of man's life; they drink no water, unless it be so that some for devotion, and upon a zeal for penance, do abstain from other drink; they eat plentifully of all kinds of flesh and fish; they wear fine woollen cloth in all their apparel; they have great store of all husselments and implements of household; they are plen-

* Olymp. VII. 87.
† Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 68.
‡ Antiquit. Rom. lib. I. c. 85.
§ Hist. lib. I. 2. || Annul. XIV.

* Petri. abb. Cellens. Epist. IX. 7. † Book V.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. XII. 23.
§ Bibliothec. Cluniacensis, 681.

tifully furnished with all implements of husbandry; and all other things that are requisite to the accomplishment of a quiet and wealthy life, according to their estates and degrees: and though some would argue that this was owing to certain peculiar principles of civil freedom established in England, there is evidence to prove that in all countries of Christendom the same fruits were borne and brought forth in presence of the institution of nobility under the Catholic governments, which were every where else, also, "politic and regal conjoined," and which, let it be remembered, excluded men of no rank from their counsels, since through the magistracy and the priesthood, persons of the lowest birth were frequently invested with great influence, and virtually with a share in the administration. John Marot, in his descriptive poem of the Voyage to Venice, represents the joy and peace which all classes of men in France, down to common labourers, enjoyed in the time of Louis XII.; he says, "you saw the peasants in their houses,

Sans crainte ou peur, plus fiers que gentilzhommes."

It was the pride of nobility to be the protector of the poor. Baldwin, count of Flanders, son of count Robert, was celebrated for his strict execution of justice upon all men of arms who dared to molest or plunder the rustic people. He inspired such terror among them, that no one would dare even to pick up a treasure on the way. However, one day a poor woman accosted him before the church of St. Peter, at Ghent, as he was hastening to vespers, to tell him that her cow had been stolen. The count begged that she would allow him time to hear vespers; but as she continued to speak, he threw off his mantle and gave it to her, saying, "by this sign you may know that I shall return to you after vespers; which he did, and satisfied the poor woman."* Histories which relate such humble matter as this cannot be justly said to have overlooked altogether the interest of the poor. In the chant royal on the death of Duguesclin, it is not merely knights, and barons, and citizens, who are called upon to mourn, but it is said also,

Perdu ont ung vrai champion
Li pouvre pastourel des champs.

Is there no other assignable motive but pride for that resolution of nobility, never to make war upon the poor? In a memorable combat, when revolted peasants presented themselves with enormous sticks and scythes, brilliant squadrons of knights of Hainaut, cased in iron, suffered themselves to be beaten down, rather than draw their swords upon peasants who had no regular arms. Moreover, whatever may be said by the admirers of the Jacquerie, it does not follow of logical necessity, that in every revolt of peasants the fault was on the side of the nobility. Though the modern historians of France, beginning with him who pretends to describe the conquest of the Normans, can dwell with pleasure upon only two heroes in English History, Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, the true champion of the principles of Wicklyf, there may have been some justice in the complaint of the strange knight, whom Gyron le Courtois overhears speaking to himself by night in a forest, condemning himself for having used ungrateful words against true love, the source of his honour and joy, and comparing himself to the serf, who is of such evil blood, that if his lord were to confer upon him a hundred thousand graces, and a hundred thousand honours, and then afterwards were, for once in his life, to fail in fulfilling his pleasure, all the good which he had before done to him would be forgotten, and this one little fault which he remarked, would be for ever after on his tongue.* Pindar might have used in praise of many of the baronial castles of the middle ages the very words with which he celebrates the glory of the house of Xenophon of Corinth, a house which had thrice carried off the prize of honour; and besides this,

Οἶκον ἅμερον ἀστοῖς,
Ξένοισι δὲ θεράποντα.†

But as he sings elsewhere, "neither can this delight the mind of the envious."‡ John Regnier, seigneur of Garchy, and counsellor of Philip the Good, left a remarkable testimony to the affection which he entertained for the poor peasants; for being a poet, and composing his will in the form of a poem, when in the expectation of death, after specifying the place where he chose to be interred,

Aux Jacobins eslis la terre
En laquelle veuil estre mis
Pour ce qu' aux Jacobins d'Auxerre
Gisent plusieurs de mes amys:

* Chronicon S. Bertini apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. III. cap. 39.

* Gyron le Courtoys, f. xxxv.
† Olymp. XIII.
‡ Pyth. Od. II.

and even the most minute particulars of the funeral, as that chaplets should be strewed on his coffin, which was to be covered with a white pall, and that his mass of reqniem should be chaunted in high note, he continnes,

> Item, au moustier je veuil estre
> Porté par quatre laboureurs
> Qui de vignes seront tins maistre;
> Car de telz gens suis amoureux.*

With this affection for the peasants, these nobles were far from being courtiers when in the presence of kings. The emperor Frederick I. passing through the town of Thougue, the baron of Krenkingen, lord of the place, did not rise from his seat, but only touched his cap, "in token of courtesy." Wherever paganism had been completely extirpated, the baron would not have been treated with servility by the lowest of his own vassals. "Poverty is not a baseness," said the Spaniards, "but an inconvenience." *καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρόν*, they might have added, in the words of Pericles in praise of their own countrymen.† Meschinot acconnts for the title of his book, Les Lnnettes des Princes, in which he instructs men of all conditions, by observing that it is appropriate, although he offers them to persons who are not princes or great temporal lords bnt far removed from such an estate, pour ce que tout homme peut estre dict prince en tant qu' il a reçeu de Dieu gouvernement d' ame.‡ Thus one discovers in every point the trace of the same moral dignity which the Catholic religion had diffused throughout society with an equal hand; and there are monuments still remaining in sufficient abundance to prove that by the action of the general feeling of the people, there was a strict and immediate fulfilment of the divine prophetic sentence, that "they who despise God shall be ignoble."§ It is a remarkable fact, that the sentiments respecting nobility, which were diffused through all classes of the state, during the meek ages of faith, though they did not give rise to hatred and division between different ranks, were yet far less favonrable to the pride of birth or riches than those which now pervade our disdainful literature, and even our proud population. Witness the instructions of St. Odo, the second Abbot of Cluny in the eleventh century; and bear in mind who it is that speaks, that it is not a passionate orator and an obscure moralist, but a lover of peace and order, an abbot of a great monastery, and a companion of princes. "Worldly nobility," says this holy man, "is not the work of nature, but of ambition; for Eve was formed from Adam in commendation of unity; and he, though the greater, was formed without paradise, and she the inferior was made within it. And certainly," as St. Jerome saith, "we are all made equal by grace, whom the second nativity hath regenerated, by which the noble and the ignoble are made sons of God, and earthly nobility is obscured by the splendour of celestial glory. Say, are the poor generated with more uncleanness, when even David lamented that he was conceived in sin? Are the nobles regenerated with greater lustre, when God hath chosen the poor rich in faith? Job reflected on equality when he did not disdain to undergo judgment with his servant, though he was a king; and lord Martin thought npon it when he waited npon his own servant and cleaned his shoes. Examine all the books of the ancients, and you will find that the most powerful were always the worst men; they were fattened by means of the labonr of the poor; they had precious vestments and exotic meats prepared by the hands of the poor; but they only embraced the winds and trusted in vanity. There have been in times past men powerful, and proud, and volnptuous; bnt what have their immoderate joys, riches, and pleasnres profited them? Where are those things, or where are they themselves? Go to their sepulchres, and what do you behold there bnt the fetid leavings of worms? They have passed as a vision of the night. And I wish that all the pomp of mortals were only to end in ashes and worms! bnt we must remember the horrible tribunal of the Jndge, the burning river, the worm that dieth not, the fire of hell, the weeping and gnashing of teeth, and, what I believe is still greater than all these, the exclusion from the everlasting joys which are prepared for the saints. Let the nobles then be advised to consider carefully what is man, and before what Jndge he will stand; let them behold their own power, and estimate their infirmity and the evils of their especial burden; that they may be prepared for appearing before that Judge, and that they may not be confounded at the last day in sight of the whole human race, and of all the host of angels

* Gouget, tom. IX. 336. † Thucyd. II. 40.
‡ Gouget, tom. IX. § 1 Reg. II. 36.

and archangels."* Perhaps after all, it might be a question whether the noble writers and orators of later times, who refer with such confidence to the spirit and sentiments of the middle ages, in order to condemn others for forgetting the natural equality of the human nature, might not return from consulting them under the impression that they were rather called upon to answer a little for themselves. Nothing is more difficult than to form a true idea of the character of the feudal nobility, if one consult only the writers of our own time, whose views and motives are so different from those of antiquity! With one, for instance, the mainspring which governs his pen is the love of aristocratic privileges, joined with that indifference for religion which the policy of states and the spirit of society, since the sixteenth century, have been creating in the higher orders; with another it is a hatred of aristocratic privileges, joined with an ignorance and a hatred of religion; with another it is an extravagant respect for aristocratic privileges, joined with a religious but uninstructed zeal: it is only in writers who understand and respect religion that one finds aristocratic institutions spoken of with respect, but also with freedom and discernment: and yet assuredly it is not of little consequence whether a just or an unjust estimate be formed of an institution so deeply rooted in European manners, and so capable of producing great effects. The injury which must be done to society by a systematic design to cover it with contempt was not unknown to the ancients, who represented Æschylus objecting to Euripides, that by choosing to ridicule the lofty grandeur of the ancient tragic muse, and by representing kings in tatters as miserable men, not distinguished above the commonest in language or habit, presently there was found no great man in the state willing to fit out a tireme at his own expense, but wrapping himself round in a ragged cloak, every one wept and said that he was poor, though he might have under it a tunic of soft wool.† If men are really impressed with a sense of the enormity of pride, and feel a desire to contribute to its defeat, it argues ignorance in the extreme to be continually singling out examples of its operation, and denying that blessed meekness was ever beheld in the manners of the ancient nobility. As Peter the venerable, Abbot of Cluni, said to Milo, "It is not a sufficient persuasion to avoid pride when examples are produced of pride, since it is rather by contrary examples of humility and of other virtues, that the disease of pride and of other evils is expelled from human breasts."* In fact, if men were only to consider the present interest of society, it would be necessary to form a just estimate of the real value of these modern objections advanced against the institutions and manners of ancient times; and the only means of arriving at a reasonable conclusion would be by the study of all classes of the contemporary writers, who would as it were place them in the presence of greatness, and enable them to converse with the men themselves. In this manner I propose that we should now approach the noble society of antique days; not indeed with any other intention but that of removing the objections which might be founded upon it against our views of the meekness of the ages of faith. To this retrospect then, reader, advance without alarm for the result. And as we cannot hope to find men wholly blessed, perhaps with peculiar justice I may invite thee to accompany me in the words of Sordello to Dante, when they were about to visit that second region in which the human spirit is purged from sinful blot, and for ascent to heaven prepares,

> ——— to the valley now,
> (For it is time) let us descend: and hold
> Converse with those great shadows; haply much
> Their sight may please ye.———

And here, passing by for the present men whom we shall hereafter meet with in the schools, in the cloisters, in the hospitals of the sick, in the hostels of the poor, in the peaceful walks of poetic and devout contemplation; walks that are with nobles of time past thronged as the ways of the rugged Apennine on an autumnal evening, when the crowd of holy pilgrims hastens to Alvernia;† there will still be found many who will justify our conclusion, that in the middle ages, notwithstanding all the instances of disorder and abuse, there was nothing incompatible with meekness in the possession and privileges of nobility. Mark first that long line of princes, and even warriors, who are acknowledged by their

* S. Odonis Collationum, lib. III. Bibliotheca Cluniacens.
† Aristoph. Ranæ, 1064.

* Epist. lib. IV. 8. Bibliothec. Cluniacens.
† The festival of the stigmati is in September.

contemporaries to have appeared as sincere disciples of onr Lord; men who, as St. Odilo says of the holy Maiolns, studied to become meek with the blessed meek, that with them they might possess the land of the living. They are the connts of Anjou.* He who stands there is the representative of many: Odo is his name: one invested with much power, and yet a man of innocence; for so he is described, "At ille qnoque ut erat vir innocens, licet potentissimus."† Who is this that comes forward next in such pompous state attended with every appendage of fendal splendour? Can yon pretend to claim him? It is Herlembald, a nohleman of Milan, who in the eleventh age from Christ enjoyed the golden light of day. Erat nohilis coram sæculo quasi Dux in vestihns pretiosis, et in equitihns et armis, sed in abscondito Deo sicut eremita, agrestihus indutns erat laneis.‡ Who are these great promoters of commerce, these makers of roads and canals to benefit their country, to whom Troyes is still indehted? They are successive generations of the counts of Brie and Champagne.§ Who is this with snch an authoritative air of majesty? It is John VI. duke of Bretagne. Perhaps to the prond too fierce; but as Meschenot says,

——— Aux bons doux en couraige,
Prudent en faits, et benin en langaige
Autant valloit qu'en scellé sa promesse:
Oncques ne fist ung deshonneste ouvrage.

"The true father of nohility," conclndes the poet, "may God grant him the inheritance of heaven."‖ He who follows next in that train is Regnaud du Gnesclin, father of the constahle: he was of Brittany, in the reign of Philip de Valois, and lord of la Mote de Bron, a strong castle, well placed at six leagues from Regnes. "Le chevalier," says the old chronicler, "fut preudons, loyal et droicturier envers dieu et le monde, renommé de grant prouesse et de hardement. Snr tontes riens aimoit l'eglise pour la reverence de nostre Seigneur, de qui tous hiens viennent; confortoit les povres et leur faisoit aulmosnes: sa femme moult de saincte vie estoit et hien renommée en son païs."¶ Who is this with such a benignant look in death? Ah! yon are already disarmed hy their meek grandenr! It is Charles duc de Bourgogne; whose last words to his sons admonished them to love and serve God, from whom all good proceeds, and that they should take care never to grieve their subjects, hut retain their love.* And he who stands next so humhly? Lewis, dnke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. "Douls, paisihle et très familier à ses amis et à privé: entre ses serviteurs, si très humhle et tont hnmain que plaisir estoit de luy servir."† Who is this, bearing mortal wonnds, who has both palms joined, and raised them in prayer? It is Drogon de Hanteville, who was assassinated before dawn, on the festival of St. Laurence, as he entered the church of that martyr in Montaglio. Yon may learn his character from the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, "Fnit vir egregins, pius, strenuus atque famosus, qui propter animi mansuetndinem et justitiæ servatam equitatem omnibus dilectus erat." He who kneels at his side is Count Thibault of Champagne, who though sick when the Marechal Villehardouin arrived at Troyes, yet would needs mount his horse and join the crusade, but his sickness becoming more violent, he died a few days afterwards, and was huried in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the Church of St. Stephen at Troyes. No one was ever more lamented hy the poor. The monks said of him:

Terrenam quærens cœlestem reperit urbem.

Who are these that cling to the cross and cast away their coronets as things worthless? They are some of many who with the English Howards were in the first ranks of those who preferred the devout unanimity of the multitnde to the proud obstinacy of a few; and well did it become the hlanche Lion to be foremost in the warfare that was at once generous and holy: those who bear the red hand and the red cross are from Ireland, O'Donell and O'Neil are they; chieftains loyal to heaven, who exiled in the persecutions of Elizabeth fled to Rome, and there left their bones, side hy side, before the great altar of St. Peter's Church, served by the Franciscans of Montorio. But we need look no longer, for enough is seen, and it is time to shake off the abstracted mood in which such visions would retain

* See the Gesta Consulum Andegavensium in Dacher. Spicileg. tom. X.
† In tom. X. cap. 6.
‡ Voight's Hildebrand, 123.
§ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. XV. 69.
‖ Gouget, tom. IX. 408.
¶ Chroniqne de dn Guesclin Bibliothèque choisie, III. 8.

* Christine de Pisan, Livre des fais et bonnes mœurs du sage Roy Charles V. liv. II. cap. 13.
† Id. c. 11.

us. As one who, left alone in a hall of antique arms at the hour of advancing night, gazes with interest upon the shields, and helmets, and lances, glittering with pale splendour under the faint rising moon, and almost fancies that he sees the knightly forms that wore that steel panoply, thinks he beholds them pace across that vast hall or fall into lines to receive some high prince, or beauteous dame, so lost to the apprehension of present things must every thoughtful person who loves the meek and holy muse read these descriptions of the Catholic nobles of times gone by. Will you hearken now to the lessons which used to be addressed to these men in ages of faith? When you have heard father John de Avila you will have heard them all. "Remember," he says, in writing to a Spanish nobleman, "that in great lords who have authority over others, there are always two persons; many of these are good men in what relates to their consciences, but they fail in respect of being good seigneurs. But it is not sufficient for such men to be just as far as regards their private conduct; they must be just in their public capacity, they have need of double goodness because they have a double character to support. Beware, my lord, of not giving a good example. So great is the force of example, that I believe men of your rank will be found the chief cause of the ruin of souls. This should suffice to make lords live like saints. The more you will regard and imitate our Saviour Jesus Christ, the better seigneur will you prove yourself to those over whom you have authority?"* But let us hasten on, for now I tire not as before. Can it be possible, that the mere grandeur of their feudal castles should be found a grave offence? Well then, let us turn aside, and perhaps a visit to one of these ancient houses will teach us to be more humble. The castle of these ages, as every one knows, was Homeric at least in situation, being like the house of the rustic Eumæus περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.† If one who studies the history of the earth were to trust his own associations, he might suppose that like the men of primitive times as described by Plato, these nobles lived on the summits of rocks and hills, as if still afraid to trust themselves in the low lands which seemed more exposed to the great catastrophes of nature;‡ but without such speculations, it is clear that such a situation was agreeable and healthful, and moreover it interfered with no tastes or habits of life then prevalent, for Homer might have said of feudal nobles:

τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι, οὔτε θέμιστες,
ἀλλ' οἵ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

It is not necessary to ascribe the choice of this situation to Cyclopean or predatory habits. In Tuscany and in other parts of Italy, all the ancient towns, like Fiesole and Subiaco, are placed upon the tops of high hills. In the times of material disorder consequent upon the fall of the Roman empire, the population of countries were often obliged to seek refuge on the tops of mountains and in places of difficult approach. Thus we read in the life of St. Nicet, bishop of Trèves, written by Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, "In traversing these plains, Nicet, this apostolic man, this good pastor, constructed there a tutelary fold for his flock: he surrounded the hill with thirty towers, which enclosed it on all sides, and thus he raised an edifice where before there had been only a forest."* Those who are acquainted with the moral elevation of the noble chivalry of these ages may, perhaps, imagine that in that circumstance they have found a clue to explain the prevailing taste in respect of this choice of habitation, and, perhaps, in some instances, the building itself, if it could acquire a voice, as Æschylus says, would say this most clearly. Petrarch certainly observes that Scipio Africanus was so adverse to a life of pleasure, that he would never even look upon Baia, and for the same reason he says, "Marius, and Pompey, and Cæsar, and others, who were of lofty manners, are known to have built their houses upon mountains."† The decendants indeed of those who led a castle life have very different tastes in respect of locality. It is not likely that they should relish the site of the Gothic castle.

———— Enervés de mollesse
Ils se traînent à peine en leur vieille jeunesse,
Courbés avant le temps, consumés de langueur,
Enfants efféminés de pères sans vigueur.

They may shudder from their gilded barges, impelled by the force of vapour, as they

* Epist. xlvi.
† Od. XIV. 6.
‡ Plato de Legibus, lib. III.

* Fortun. Carm. I. 3. 12.
† Epist. lib. V. 4.

pass along the coast of Northnmbria, when they gaze upon those embattled mansions which the poet says were seen by the abbess of St. Hilda, as she sailed from high Whitby's cloistered pile to the holy island of St. Cnthbert.

Thy tower, proud Bamborough, mark'd they there,
King Ida's castle huge and square,
From the tall rock, look'd grimly down,
And on the swelling ocean frown.

But if their fathers were again to visit earth, they might hasten from these modern Baias to inhabit their ancient picturesque abodes, without its being necessary to conclude that they were impelled by sentiments contrary to meekness, or that theirs was the crime of Pazzo and Rinieri, whom Dante beheld tormented in the seething flood for having filled the ways with violence and war.* Even the two honses of Pliny on the Larinm lake indicate a nobleness of nature, of which the modern rustic villas present no indication: he built one upon the level shore, hut the other was placed npon a rock looking down upon the water. This latter he called tragedy, sustained as if hy buskins.† The former was comedy, like all the honses erected in our times, in which there is nothing solemn, to favonr sweet melancholy, and no part lofty or painful of ascent, requiring force of soul; whereas the very rooms of the ancient mansions inspired thought and feelings of devotion, and were a defence to preserve the mind in purity. There were indeed many characteristics in the architecture of the middle ages which seemed to have a relation to their manners; and first its beanty and durahility merit admiration. Men consulted almost a poetic taste, and worked for posterity: the ancient laws prescribed a certain thickness to the walls and beams of houses.‡ The magnificent old baronial castle of Glammis, the hereditary seat of the earls of Strathmore, is described by Sir Walter Scott as bearing signs of great antiquity in the immense thickness of the walls, and the wild and straggling arrangement of the rooms, "I was conducted to my apartment," he says, "in a distant corner of the building. I mnst own, that as I heard door after door shnt, after my conductor had retired, I began to consider myself too far from the living, and somewhat too near the dead;" and be also gives a description of the castle of Dunvegan, whose turrets standing upon a frowning rock, rise immediately above the waves of a lake. Except, perhaps, for some tapestry hangings, and the extreme thickness of the walls, nothing could have been more agreeable than the interior of the chamber; hut if you looked from the windows, the view was such as to correspond with the highest tone. An antumnal blast, sometimes clear, sometimes driving mist before it, swept along the troubled billows of the lake. The waves rushed in wild disorder on the shore, and covered with foam the steep piles of rock, which rising from the sea in forms somewhat resemhling the hnman figure have obtained the name of Macleod's maidens, and in snch a night seemed no bad representative of the Norwegian "choosers of the slain, or riders of the storm." Bnt whether such was the situation of castles, or whether as at other times they rose from the dome of forests which resounded to the cry of solemn birds, or whether as at others they crowned the hill or rock that served as a citadel to towns from whose streets below a distant murmur ascended to the protecting battlements, their interior was always grave and spacious, and furnished many places favourable to retirement and meditation. Those vast chimney recesses, which in the fifteenth century were adorned with that noble architectnre which may still be seen in the castles of Fontainhleau, Vincennes, St. Germain, and others, might be said to have a literatnre belonging to them, and a school of taste, in which, judging from gennine principles, we shall find nothing to disdain. We shall have occasion to recur to this when we consider the learning of these ages. The decoration of these houses was thoroughly Christian, and this is a characteristic which deserves to be remarked. To this day the feudal science of heraldry rejects absolutely all immoralities, to a degree that would indicate the purest manners and the ntmost spirituality of conception. Wherever to our eyes the principle of modesty might seem transgressed it arose from the simple reverence with which men read creation's holy book describing the innocence of the life of Paradise, and before the mysterious light of primal sanctity onr ancestors thought that every pollnted fire wonld be extinguished. In respect of its disposition to take a different view of this subject, onr own age has no grounds for self congratulation. Plato even says, that at no very distant time from that in which he wrote, it was deemed disgraceful

* Hell, XII. † Epist. ix. 7.
‡ Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. III. 253.

by the Greeks as it still continued to be by the greatest part of the barbarians, (that is, nations who had no sophists), to see the images of naked men, and that the Cretans first and then the Lacedemonians adopted the gymnastic discipline so contrary to this sentiment.* Cicero quotes a verse of Ennius:

Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora.†

Naked statues were not seen in Rome till after the reign of Augustus. One may conceive that the Christian society would be rather favourable to the ancient taste; and accordingly the old mosaicks of our blessed Lady with the Child are always recognised by the circumstance of the infant Jesus being clothed. The crucifixes used in the time of Charlemagne represented our divine Saviour on the cross, not naked but clothed, and with a royal crown on his head, and nailed with four nails in the two feet separately, and in the two hands. The celebrated crucifix at Lucca and that in the cathedral of Amiens are in this form, as was that in the church of St. Cilinia, the nurse of St. Remi, at Rheims. The body, however, is not clothed in the crucifixes that were found in the catacombs, nor in those painted by Giotto and earlier masters, such as may be seen at Pisa and in other places. The chief decorations of the castle, representing the history of saints, differed not in this respect from the general tone of Christian modesty: those that were peculiar to its adornment were either carved representations of ancestral fame, as the silver tables in the palace of Dido:

Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,
Per tot ducta viros antiquæ ab origine gentis.‡

or else heraldic blazons which sometimes recalled ancient virtue,

——— Veterum decora alta parentum,

and at others were the symbolic expressions of the piety of the founder or possessor. In the superb castle of Ecouen, built by the grand Condé, in the forest of Montmorency, the floors of several of the rooms are paved with painted tiles representing in each compartment the monogram of our blessed lady, and the ceilings represent the sword of Condé, interlaced between the initial letters of the angel's salutation and the beloved name. The walls of these castles contained beautiful recesses arched with rich tracery to hold the water that was blessed, and solemn tapestry flowed to the ground,

In whose glittering tissues bore emblazon'd
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
Recorded eminent ———.

There is little wisdom, and not more of taste, in the man who would despise the ancient symbolic decoration, even when considered exclusively in its historic and ancestral character. It is a sensible appeal in our great poet, "Will you mock at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of pre-deceased valour?"* Who could enumerate all the worthy deeds to which this imaginative science may have given rise, as in the instance of Perez de Vargas at the siege of Seville? Besides these decorations, the walls of a Gothic castle in these ages were covered with paintings, historical, theological, mythological, geographical, and so generally instructive, as to form almost an encyclopædia, in which every science and art was, at least, indicated. The ancient apartments and galleries of the Vatican were not singular instances of this mode of imparting knowledge. The castle of king Robert, at Naples, contained numerous apartments to receive men celebrated for their learning and genius, and there was a correspondence between the decoration of each and the studies of the men whom it was to receive. The apartments of preachers and theologians were adorned with paintings of Paradise, those of poets with mythological devices, and so of the rest. In the halls of the castle of Meudon were painted the sessions of the Council of Trent. In the reign of Charles VI. the castle of Vincestre, near Paris, was adorned with portraits of Pope Clement VII. and all the cardinals of his College, with those also of the kings and princes of France, and the emperors of the East and West.† The deacon Paul collected the fashion of the dresses of the Lombard warriors from the paintings made by order of Teodolinda in the castle built by her at Monza.‡ The return of Cosmo de Medicis to Florence was painted in the hall of the castle of Poggio Caiano; and Tasso only

* De Repub. lib. V. † Tuscul. IV. 33. ‡ Æn. I. 641.

* Hen. V. s. 1.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, X. 16.
‡ Paul. Diac. lib. IV. c. xx.

describes a common practice, when he says, speaking of Clorinda,

Her prison was a chamber, painted round
With goodly portraits and with stories old.*

In general the taste of men was directed towards grand and striking matters, instead of being confined as at present to promote the invention of ten thousand little minute objects of fashionable manipulation, exquisite trifles which have neither beauty nor meaning, nor use, excepting as some contrivance to facilitate the gratification of personal vanity. In our times men fear almost to traverse these moonlight halls of knightly state, so little in accordance with the desires of luxury and the habitations of the effeminate; their very decoration impels men too strongly to meditate; they may admire indeed with Wilfrid, that huge old hall in the castle of Rokeby, when

The moon through transom shafts of stone,
Which cross'd the latticed oriels shone:

but they cannot disguise their impatience to pass on; for they feel as if

——— By dim lights these portraits of the dead
Have something ghastly, desolate and dread.

"The pale smile of beauties in the grave, the charms of other days, glimmering on high in starlight gleams," all that would have excited such deep and tender emotions in the ancient possessors, are to these men only sources of gloom and regret, objects only that they think every eye would shun. But in all the parts of these ancient castles there was some aspersion of religion. Its high towers were generally under the protection of the holy martyr, St. Pancrace. Thus at Fontenay-le-Vicomte was the tower Pancrace.† The very name was often that of a saint. Thus the magnificent castle of Kenilworth was anciently Kenelmworth, so called from the Saxon saint whose name occurs so frequently among the students of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Often where we least expect it in visiting the interior of these castles we are compelled to fall upon our knees. Thus in the eleventh century, the castle of Harzburg, in the midst of the Harz, fortified by Henry, who placed in it the insignia and treasures of the kingdom, would hardly seem to have been a place to visit through devotion. It stood upon a high hill, and could only be approached by one way, and that was most difficult. The other sides of the mountain were covered with a vast forest which extended in one continued tract of solitude as far as the borders of Thuringia; yet in this castle were many holy reliques. The lords of castles were sometimes even troublesome to the churches of neighbouring villages, from desiring to transfer their reliques to the chapels within their own walls.* It must be remembered, however, that at others they came to the possession of such treasures in a way more honourable, as in the case of several noble families of Rome, such as the Mariscotti, Falconieri, Corsini, and others, having saints among their line whose bodies are preserved in their private chapels. The chapel was a constant appendage to the castle. At the time when Hugues Capet was only Count of Paris, Count Haymon, not content with having built the church of St. Spire close to his castle, on the translation of the body of St. Guenaul built also the church of St. Guenaul within the very walls of this castle, which stood close to the junction of the rivers Juine and the Seine, and there he founded four priests to celebrate the divine service.† The seigneur de Montmorenci having procured the reliques of St. Felix for the chapel of his castle, which was dedicated in 1174, such a multitude of devout people were attracted there annually on the day of his festival, that a fair was established for the time.‡ Thibaud the fair-haired, forester of king Robert, built the castle of Montlhery in which were two churches, that of our Lady, and the collegiate church of St. Peter, of regular canons having an abbot at their head. At the same time his son Guy founded without its walls the monastery of Longpont.§

Louis Guibert, counsellor of state and Seigneur de Bussy in 1628, founded a chapel of St. Louis in the knightly castle of Bussy, assigning revenues for the chaplain, who was to celebrate mass every day in the week but one, and to teach the children of the village, and above all six of the poorest; and he was to lead them every evening to the church of the castle

* XII. 23.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, XI. 104.

* Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, XI. 179.
‡ Id. tom. III. 379.
§ Id. tom. X. 157.

for night prayers.* The parish church of Andresel, in the diocese of Paris, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, is within the walls of the baronial castle, which was a rare example in country places; but the Abbé Lebeuf observes, that the name of the seigneur of Andresel at the time determined them in the choice of the patron, as was usual; and after all, the seigneurs were the founders of most of the parish churches.† In short, no seigneur in these ages ever thought of building a castle without a chapel, and in some there were even two. In the vast castle of Marcoucies, built by John de Montaigu, on a steep rock which stood in a deep valley, there were two chapels in the dongeon court; one, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built expressly for the Celestin monks, that they might serve it and be lodged in the adjoining tower, when war should oblige them to seek an asylum within the walls.‡ At the same time the episcopal permission to found chapels within private walls was always indispensable, and never granted without assigning specific reasons, such generally as the great distance from a church, the danger of crossing rivers, or the event of sickness. Thus in 1552, Anne Noblet, widow of Guerin de la Coustardiere, obtained leave to have a chapel at Cachant, on account of her advanced age:§ and in 1617 John Tronson, seigneur of Condray, obtained permission to have a private chapel, from the bishop of Paris, on account of the distance of his castle from any church. By the canons of the Council of Orleans, in the year 541, the possessors of chapels were forbidden to receive strange clerks without the consent of the bishop of the place. They excommunicate the possessors who should prevent the priests who serve their chapels from acquitting themselves of what they owe to the divine service. Indeed the Council of Chalons in the year 650 complained that some great men who had chapels, withdrew their clerks from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. In the year 506, that of Agde found it necessary to make provisions against the danger of abuse, lest the priest might insensibly lose the spirit of his order, and the lord usurp ecclesiastical power. From this outline of a feudal castle in the middle ages, one may conceive that no great alteration was necessary in the structure, whenever the possessor through devotion thought proper, as was not unfrequently the case, to convert it into a house for persons of a religious order. Thus Anne de Bretagne, wife of king Charles VIII., converted the ancient country-house of the dukes of Chaillot into a convent of poor Clares:* and Charlotte, queen of Portugal, in our age, has left in her will her superb castle of Guadras to the Dominican sisters, on condition that they are to maintain a house of refuge. In the year 962, St. Guibert, a nobleman of Lorraine, abandoned his arms to serve God alone in his castle of Gembly, in Brabant, which he offered to God, converting it into a monastery of Benedictines;† and the Comte de Rougemont, the fierce and terrible champion of Savoy, being converted by St. Vincent de Paul, condemned himself to a life of austere penance, selling his estates to employ the price in charity, and changing the place of his residence, the castle of Chaulnes, into a hospital for widows and orphans. From all this too we can understand why even holy writers did not disdain to borrow similitudes from the structure and parts of the feudal castle, as when St. Theresa compared the soul to a superb castle, of which prayer is the gate, and which has many courts, in the principal of which God dwells; of which castle the souls that enter not in themselves are as it were the sentinels, who only go the round of the walls without entering it; and of which in the first lower cloister, answering to the first step in the awakening of the soul, all is dark and tortuous, and full of danger and difficulty, and infested with phantoms and demons to scare one. F. Benedict also, an English capuchin, composed a book entitled "Le Chevalier Chrestien," containing a dialogue between a Christian and a Pagan, in which he teaches all the doctrines of the Christian religion, and inculcates all the lessons of a spiritual life by means of emblems furnished by his castle and tower, as well as his arms and equipage: indeed the castles of these ages being constructed on nearly the same plan in every part of Christendom, might serve in this way as a universal language. In Italy, however, it would meet with a new order of ideas, but even the palace of the Vatican, amidst the master-pieces of Greek and Roman art, contains the vast arched galleries, the solemn flights of stairs, the sombre Sestine chapel, the guards, clothed in the striking and picturesque uniform of

* Id. tom. XV. 34.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. XV. 343. ‡ Id. tom. IX. 271. § Id. tom. X. 31.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. III. 54.
† Hist. des Evesques de Senlis, p. 360.

the middle ages, which all are in such harmony with the recollections of Charlemagne, who so long inhabited it after being crowned emperor by the Pope S. Leo III. In the fifteenth century, owing to the destructive policy of the government, many castles in wild parts of France were left uninhabited, excepting by some old porter who had care of it. Before the revolution, these castles were thickly scattered over France, and often within sight of each other.* Eury-les-châteaux was so called from the number of castles which surrounded it.†

The huge old halls of knightly state,
Dismantled seem'd and desolate:

but such was not the case with the castles or mansions in the middle ages, when the very word which expressed them implied the constant residence of the possessor.‡ The Catholic religion kept families at home and prevented them from degenerating into a kind of nomadic tribe, ever wandering about with wives and children, like the Tartars, whether their journeys would be made in coaches or in carts. Here we may remark some particulars relative to the castle life which deserve attention. The feudal castle was Homeric, inasmuch as it deserved the title of "the well-inhabited house." Walstein in his castle of Prague entertained sixty pages, all children of ancient families, who were trained under the first masters kept expressly for the purpose. Froissart and other writers describe at length the immense households entertained by private noblemen of that age. Guizot affirms that a characteristic feature of the feudal system was the strange development of individual characters, such as might be expected, he adds, "from men who lived isolated; free to follow the originality of their nature and the caprice of their imaginations:" but immediately after he speaks as follows; "every one knows that the domestic life, the spirit of family connexion, and the high importance of women, were characteristic of the same state of society. The husband lived in the castle with his wife and children around him:" he observes also, that each castle became peopled with a crowd of pages and squires, who were sent there as to a school of chivalry. Thus the interior became animated; all these young sons of vassals became members of the house, and performed service of different kinds, and thus social movement and the communication of equals entered into these isolated habitations.* There seems then to be no ground for supposing, as he says, that this was "a solitary, sombre, or hard situation." In truth it is in our days, notwithstanding the multiplication of clubs and chambers of political debate, that men are doomed to the misery of an isolated existence. In no state of society were they possessed of more bonds of union, than in the ages of faith: no one was then condemned to a life of solitude, if he sought to be protected from the assembly of the malignant, and from the multitude of the workers of iniquity. The principle of association, so eminently Catholic operated both in the highest as well as in the lower ranks of the state. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the morality of this society: for the present, I would only entreat a suspension of judgment. Facts present themselves in every direction to warn us from lending too entire an assent to the view taken by modern writers on this subject. Leopold, archduke of Austria, used to examine his own pages respecting their manners, and he regarded more their innocence and piety, than the nobility of their birth.† St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluni, when a youth in the service of count William of Aquitaine, residing in his castle, and an attendant on his hunting, used to retire, as he says himself, on the vigil of our Lord's nativity, to watch during the night, and pray before the public office in the chapel.‡ The castle of these ages was not always as felonious as that of Nabon le Noir, in the history of Gyron, in which the good knight without fear was imprisoned in an iron-grated chamber, till after killing a giant who had been sent to despatch him, he at length went mad. Sometimes it was an asylum for the poor. The count de Tendilla during one period lived in the impregnable fortress of Alcala la Real, perched high among the mountains about six leagues from Grenada: this was a place of refuge for the Christian captives who used to escape by night from the Moorish dungeons of Grenada. Often, however, they missed their way in the defiles of the mountains, and wandering about bewildered, either repaired by

* Monteil, Hist. des François, III. 126.
† Lebeuf, XIII. 206.
‡ Lord Coke says, "Manerium dicitur à manendo."

* Cours d'Hist. IV. 5, 6.
† Avancin, Vie de Léopold d'Autriche.
‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, p. 17.

mistake to some Moorish town, or were discovered and retaken at day-light by the enemy. To prevent these accidents, the count built a tower on one of the heights near Alcala, which commanded a view of the Vega, and of the whole country; and here he kept a light blazing throughout the night, as a beacon for all Christian fugitives to guide them to a place of safety. An amusing instance occurs in the old Fabliaux, which is sufficient to show how generously the poor were admitted to hospitality by the lords of these castles. On a certain day, the story relates, count Henry invited all the world to an entertainment; rich and poor, nobles, knights, and peasants were all equally accustomed to receive his invitations; but he had a discourteous and niggardly seneschal, who took pains to insult the guests. A poor ploughman, named Raoul, became the object of his insolence, though the seneschal, fearing that the count might observe him, had at length provided a seat for the poor man. When the minstrels and jongleurs, who sat at the end of the banquet table, had exerted themselves to the utmost to amuse the count and the guests, Raoul advanced and kicked down the seneschal before the whole company. Then being called upon for an explanation, he related humbly to the noble count how his seneschal had treated him in a similar manner, on his first entry, though he came to the castle on the count's general invitation. The count was highly delighted, as were all the company, and to Raoul was adjudged the prize of a robe which was to be given to the jongleur that caused most merriment in the hall.* Here is at once a great contrast to the gloomy pride of modern manners in the houses of the great. Sir Walter Scott takes notice, that "the union betwixt the nobles of La Vendeé and the peasants was of the most intimate character; many of their employments, and even their amusements, were in common. Upon the evenings of Sundays and holidays, the young people of each village and farm-house repaired to the court-yard of the château, as the natural and proper scene for their amusement, and the family of the baron often took part in the pastime." It is not beneath our notice to remark that the same customs and delights prevailed with the great and with the poor. Both reserved their gayest habits for the same days of common religious rejoicing; there was not that anxiety in the noble to avoid the simple practices of the people, and to abandon successively whatever exercise or dress they adopted: on ordinary occasions, all were equally attired for the business of life. Montaigne says that he loves to imitate that cheerful carelessness of youth with respect to their dress, having their cloak only on one shoulder, their stockings torn, and many things about their person indicating a fierce disdain of art. A great deal of this may be ascribed to the circumstance, that there was no false or artificial state of social elevation in those days: of the arrogance and vanity of a timid grandeur we find some trace in Virgil, when he speaks of Drances:

> ——— genus huic materna superbum
> Nobilitas dabat.*

There can be no doubt but that the higher classes in these ages sympathised far more with the people than that numerous race of men, who have of late been multiplied by the progress of luxury, who live by a thousand ignoble arts which tend to debase the mind and consign it to sensuality, while they yield a sufficient supply of maintenance to enable their possessors to appear in a rank above the poor. The feudal nobles encouraged agriculture, which in the fifteenth century had attained to the dignity of a science, and was studied as such.† The duke of Milan had magnificent stabling and sheds for 1800 cows and 14000 goats and sheep, as appears from the account of the voyage of Charles VIII. to Naples, by Pierre Desrey of Troyes. In the forest of Landes, the viscounts de Rohan supported a breed of wild horses. But to return to the hospitality of the castle. The zeal with which this virtue was exercised is sometimes amusing. Gyron le Courtois was thus invited by the knight of the tower. "Sire, il est bien heure de vespres, et scays bien que vous avez huy trouve par cy devant si mauvaise voye que vous estes travaille, et apres le travail se doit chascun homme par raison reposer; et pour ce je vous prie pour la foy que vous devez a tous les chevaliers errans du monde que me faciez or endroit une courtoysie que assez petit vous coustera. Et saichez, sire, que je la triendray a moult grant bonte." "What would you have me to do?" said Gyron. "En nom Dieu," said

* Bibliothèque Choisie, Recueil de Fabliaux.

* Æn. XI. 340.

† Monteil, Hist. des Fran. III. 33.

the knight, "je vous prie que vous herbergiez ceste nuyt avecques moy dedans ceste tour, il mest avis certainement ce saichez vous que ce me sera moult grant honneur, si si preudhomme comme vous estes herberge a mon hostel, et pour ce, sire, je vous prie qne vous y demourez cesluy soir, car certes ce sera une chose que bien me donnera moult grant confort."* Boniface, the pious marquis of Tuscany, might be chosen as an example of the magnificent spirit of these times; though every feudal castle, like that of the count de Foix, exhibited something similar. On his marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Frederick, duke of Lorraine, he kept a public table for three months, at which not only the noble foreigners who accompanied his hride into Lombardy were entertained, hnt also people of all descriptions. Gold and silver adorned the tables, to which the meats were carried on beasts of hurden; there were wells of wine, where every one could quench his thirst out of pails of silver. In the same spirit of magnificence, Albert, visconnt of Mantua, made a present of 300 horses and as many goshawks, to the emperor Henry III. when he came into Italy. Nor were holy ohservances neglected amidst the splendid triumph of the feast; as the minstrel of Branksome Hall bears witness, saying how

—— o'er the heron and the crane,
And princely peacock's gilded train,
And o'er the boar-head garnish'd brave,
And cygnet from St. Mary's wave,
O'er ptarmigan and venison
The priest had spoke his benison.

The gaiety that reigned in these Gothic halls was simple, and from the heart. The chronicle of Alberic, speaking of the marriage in 1237, of Robert, hrother of St. Louis, with Mathilda, danghter of the duke of Brabant, describes some of the amusing pageantry. At the four corners of the hall were minstrels mounted on oxen covered with scarlet, who hlew trumpets at each service. Sometimes were introduced dancing dogs, apes on horsehack, and goats playing upon the harp. And yet with intervals of this occasional merriment, there was generally an ancient Christian discipline observed which is now only found in colleges or episcopal palaces. To the moderns alone was the sanctity of the Christian hanquet a surprise. The custom of reading during repasts came from the ancients. Pliny never neglected it, and Juvenal inviting a friend to supper, promised that Homer and Virgil should be read. The Christians continued to observe it, only substituting holy lessons for profane. Charlemagne preferred hearing read at his repast the books of St. Augustin de Civitate Dei. Christine de Pisan, descrihing the table of the queen of Charles V., says, "durant son mangier, par ancienne coustume des roys, hien ordonnée ponr obvyer à vaines et vagues parolles et pensées avoit un prendomme en estant au bout de la table qui sans cesser disoit gestes de meurs virtueux d'anciens bons trespassez." This was the discipline to secure τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἔρανον, a feast among men of ardent spirits, where at least there was no shoulder of Pelops to eat, where all was peaceable and well. With the ancients, indeed, there was often extravagance in their affectation of mixing pleasures with severity. The father of history relates, that at the feasts of the rich, after the repast a hier used to he borne ronnd the hall, on which was placed a wooden figure resemhling a dead hody; it was shown in turn to each of the guests, with these words, "Turn your eyes towards this man, whom you will resemble after your death. Now drink and divert yourself."* The heroic chants, as with onr own ancestors, were the ordinary accompaniment of the ancient repast, and certainly far more useful than would have been any reading from their more formal anthors, or conversations philosophical, such as that of the guests in Athenæus. A young sophist on being asked hy his father, at supper, to take up the lyre and sing a song of Simonides, is represented as replying "that it was old-fashioned to use the lyre in order to sing while drinking, like a woman grinding barley:"† these pedants were all for sophistical discourses. But though there was no pedantry, it cannot be denied that there was much solemnity in the customs of the haronial feast, which bore no resemhlance to that of Agathocles, the merry tyrant. The very hall was sometimes in a mystic form, as that of Tau in the archiepiscopal Palace, at Rheims: the light from long flambeaux, held hy varlets who stood ronnd the table, harmonized with nothing trivial; when discourse was held, it was often learned and philosophic. St. Thomas Aqninas sitting silent in a musing postnre at the table of the king of France, at last hroke forth with these words: "Conclusum est contra

* F. cccxxxix.

* Herod. lib. II. † Aristoph. Nubes. 1358.

Manichæos:" their very dances were solemn, as when the king used to dance between two flambeaux, which were held by two knights.* And here I cannot help remarking, that in point of taste there were many features of the ancient castle to delight and exalt the devout poetic fancy, without having recourse to the fictions of any absurd pagan superstition. Was it nothing that corresponded with such an imagination, when the strange guest was told, as he was conducted to his chamber on some wild tempestuous night, that the faint glimmering which he observed in a distant turret proceeded from the lancet casement of a holy monk, who lived a recluse under the baron's roof? Did his collected steps across the Gothic galleries awaken no solemn thought? And when his spirit had passed from the earth, did the memory of him afterwards cast no halo of sanctity over the chamber which he used to occupy? Madame de Chantal, walking one day alone in the fields near her castle, had a vision in which she saw St. Francis de Sales;† and we have all heard how the old crucifix in the little chapel of the castle of Xavier, in Navarre, at the foot of the Pyrenees, had still a mysterious connexion with the great saint of that house when he was in the distant regions of India. When St. Theresa came to Madrid, she descended at the house of the Lady de Mascarengas, adjoining the convent of the nuns of St. Francis, which that lady had founded. There was in her house at this time a hermit, who was greatly venerated, to whom she had given a chamber in a retired part of the palace. The lady was overjoyed at this occasion of making two saints known to each other. The hermit's history was remarkable. Ambrose Marian, born at Bironta, in the kingdom of Naples, pursued his early studies with such success that he became doctor in the three faculties of letters, law, and theology; he was a great mathematician, and at the same time a master of Roman eloquence: being deputed to attend the council of Trent, he was employed in negociating several important matters relative to the Church in Flanders and Germany. The queen of Poland, who observed his merit, desired that he might be of her council, and he became intendant of her palace. Nevertheless the world had but few charms for him; he accordingly took the vows of a knight of Malta, but being falsely accused by two perjured witnesses of being accessary to a murder, he was thrown into prison, and there he took the final resolution that, in the event of his innocence being manifested, he would leave the world for ever. The examination disclosed the crime of his enemies, for whom he entreated mercy; and on being set at liberty, after accomplishing certain orders of the king of Spain, he retired to the house of the Jesuits of Cordova to follow the spiritual exercises. One day as he was looking from his window he saw a venerable hermit enter the church: he sent down to entreat him to come to his chamber. The holy man obeyed. He was the superior of the hermits of Tardon, and renowned for his sanctity. Ambrose questioned him respecting their manner of life, and resolved to visit their desert; here he was so moved by the example of these devout men, that he finally took their habit in 1562, and being obliged by their rule to support themselves, he learned to spin, as affording the most humble occupation, and as at the greatest variance with his former glory. He was now at Madrid on the affairs of his order, being deputed to seek permission from the court for a new establishment. In some places, as at Ormoye, in the diocese of Paris, the curate used to be lodged in the castle of the seigneurs.* In the houses in England of the old Catholic gentry, the chambers, and even the concealed retreat of the priest, during the times of persecution, are always found. One of the latter having been lately discovered in an old mansion, after remaining unknown for many years, there was found in it a table, on which lay a copy of the Imitation of Christ, curiously bound with old clasps of iron. But in the castles of the nobility, in ages of faith, saints and persons of holy order were generally most eagerly received. Thus when it was known that St. Theresa was to come to Salamanca, the count and countess of Monterei obtained permission from the superiors that she might be lodged in their palace. An old chronicle, speaking of St. Victor, a holy recluse, who lived in a solitary wood near St. Saturnin, in Champagne, records another beautiful instance. "It was a wonderful gift of God to this holy recluse and austere anchorite, that he should be so greatly loved, respected, feared, and revered, by the great men of his time, who were all happy whenever they could enjoy his presence. There was one gentleman, allied to the crown of France, whom he had

* Mémoires de La Marche, liv. I. chap. vii. an. 1442.
† Marsollier, Vie de M. de Chantal, tom. I.

* Lebeuf, XIII.

held on the holy baptismal font, who resided at Cupigny, and who desired him earnestly to come to his castle to bless his family. After many pressing invitations the holy man at last consented, and set out on his journey thither. All the castle was overjoyed, and the nobles of the neighbourhood hastened there to meet him, thinking that they would be in paradise to be visited by such a saint. On his approach, lords and ladies, sons and daughters, servants, old and young, hastened out to meet him, receiving him into their halls as an angel of God. There was nothing but rejoicing in the castle, and they wanted to feast him well, but the saint would eat nothing till late, employing all his time in instructing them in what tended to their salvation. After taking a slight repast, as usual, he retired to rest for a time, but at midnight he rose up, and sung his matins, and then meditated till break of day. This was a Sunday, so that a vast number of persons hearing of his being there came up to the castle to receive some heavenly instruction in the Catholic faith, to have the fear of God imprinted in their hearts: he made a long discourse to them, insisting, above all things, upon the love which we ought to cherish, for our Lord the Son of God. After mass, to oblige and gratify them all, he ate and drank in their company, and then remained the whole day instructing them in holy things, and speaking of God. The next day, very early in the morning, he departed from the castle, leaving them much more sound in their souls than they were before his visit."* The castle life was a life in the world, and many a dark and sanguinary deed has stained the feudal towers. I know it; but still, methinks, we have already wherewithal to support the opinion, that it was not necessarily *ὀλέθριον βιοτὰν*, a life causing death,† but that it was compatible with the character of men who sought to recommend themselves by meekness to the Divine mercy, knowing that it is only the humble of heart who shall be saved. Faith might have had her residence even within the embattled courts of nobles, and holy lessons may have found within them soft, obedient hearts; but if sad intervals did follow, when all was lost and all forgotten, if the knight who but yesterday at evening had listened to the benign recluse, who taught him "the way for man to win eternity," and had given proof how he did prize the lesson, by moistening the pavement of that recluse's chapel with his tears, if he, as soon as the warden's trumpet announced the beacon blaze of war, lost in an instant all remembrance of that dear paternal image, when

> The blast alarm'd the festal hall,
> And started forth the warrior's all;
> When downward, in the castle yard,
> Full many a torch and cresset glared:
> And helms and plumes, confusedly toss'd,
> Were in the blaze half seen, half lost,

is it for the men whose days now glide luxuriously in undisturbed repose from without, to congratulate themselves on their superior consistency? These would do better to imitate that recluse, who had as profound a sense as they can possess of what it is to prevaricate with God. Far from breaking forth in disdainful reproaches, he only smote his breast, and silently mounted again to his lonely turret, to weep before his altar, and to pray.

But let us proceed to speak of the manners of the castle life. The pompous equestrian exercises which belonged to it, and the passions to which they led, may seem to furnish ground for the accusation of the moderns. We are told how

> Thirty steeds, both fleet and wight,
> Stood saddled in stable day and night;

that many, like the ancient Spaniards, prized a good horse more than their own blood; that, in the case of Earl Morton, who claimed the horse of his bold vassal Gilbert,

> The valley of Eske, from the mouth to the source,
> Was lost and won for that bonny white horse.

There is a worse tale still than this, which we shall hear on a future occasion; but after all that can be advanced and conceded on this head, there is no necessity for concluding that pride was inherent and essential in the habits which belonged to men, whose fondness for horses was their characteristic. They may have loved their horses, and thought them all worthy of being shod by St. Eloi; but he who is conversant with the noble muse has heard before of men lovers of horses, and possessing souls better than treasures.

> ——— καὶ κτεάνων
> ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας
> ἄνδρες.*

The horse was not always saddled to bear

* Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 123.
† Medea, 991.

* Pindar, Nem. IX.

his seigneur to the battle, or the tournament; it was often his companion to the monastery, to the cottage of the poor, or to the deep wood, whither he might repair, like Count Thibaut, of Champagne, to cultivate a sweet poetic fancy.

J'aloie l'autre jour, errant
Sans compaignon
Sur mon palefroi pensant.

The church availed herself of this love of horses, and contrived to make it minister to goodness; for under her direction men sacrificed it during many intervals of the year, when in proof of penitence and humility they refused to mount on horseback; and for some capital offences the prescribed penance consisted in never mounting on a horse during the rest of their lives. This was the ecclesiastical penalty for some deeds of violence, and it was virtually a forfeiture of nobility, and of all its interests.* The immoderate passion for hunting is advanced as an objection against the feudal life, and no doubt it was one of its peculiar temptations. St. Odo says, that when a young servant in the castle of Count William of Aquitaine, after continued days devoted to laborious hunting, he used to be frightened at night with dreams that indicated remorse.† If we are to credit the Saxon chronicle, King William "loved the tall deer as if he were their father." John of Salisbury is delighted with the text that saith that "hunters ben not holy men."—"Venatores omnes," saith he, "adhuc institutionem redolent Centaurorum. Raro invenitur quisquam eorum modestus, aut gravis, raro continens, et ut credo sobrius nunquam. From their centauric banquets no one returns without spiritual wounds."‡ Justice, however, would oblige us to make some allowance here, in consideration of the title of the work in which this sentence occurs, which is on the follies of the great. There were sober hunters, and many modest and humble men hunted, and so far from being only second Chirons, the master of Achilles, whom Homer calls the most just of the centaurs,§ some of them were saints, and rode through the forests with a thoughtful heart, and attended by smiling angels, winnowing the air with their eternal plumes. Romuald, a young nobleman of the family of the dukes of Ravenna, when he went a hunting, if he found an agreeable solitary place in the woods, used to stop in it to pray, and used to cry out, "How happy were the ancient hermits who had such habitations! with what tranquillity could they serve God, free from the tumult of the world!" Religiou never sanctions an extravagant censure that is without reason or moderation. It is to be remembered that hunting in these ages was not always an illiberal, sybaritic, cruel amusement. It was not like the sport of him, alluded to by Dante, "who throws away his days in idle chase of the diminutive birds." The Athenian, in Plato, prays that the love of destroying winged animals, οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέριος, may never possess any of their youth;* but as in many countries of Europe at this day, hunting was then a noble service rendered to the country, and one which was attended with danger. Tancred de Hauteville owed his first advancement as a youth to an act of courage and address in hunting the wild boar, whereby he saved the life of the Duke of Normandy. The noble,

Who had more joy to raunge the forest wyde,
And chase the salvage beaste with busie payne,
Then serve his ladies love, and waste in pleasures vayne,†

the youth who chose to remain at home and fight the wolves and bears, as Bayard's father said to his son George, who preferred this mode of life, may have been real benefactors to men, like the heroes of the ancient world: and though John Le Blond, in his poem on the chase, may go too far in ascribing to the temple of hunters all the parts of a church, yet for such hunters wisdom herself might deign to order the consolations of those Herulean baths, mentioned by Pindar, which the nymphs made to issue out of the earth, by order of Minerva, to refresh Hercules when he returned from his expedition into Spain against Gorion. The knights of Calatrava, in Spain, originally of the Cistercian order, living chiefly amidst great woods and mountains, were allowed to hunt and eat of the game.‡ Omnia innoxiæ remissionis genera breviter amplectar," says Pliny, "homo sum."§ And though we may smile at Xenophon when he says, that "hunting was the invention of the gods,"‖ yet one must admit that it was a very happy com-

* The synodial statutes, published at Verdun, in 1534.
† Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 16.
‡ De Nugis Curialium, lib. I. cap. 4.
§ II. XI.

* De Legibus, lib. VII.
† Spenser, I. 6.
‡ Chronicon S. Bertini, cap. XLI.
§ Lib. V. Epist. 3.
‖ Cynegetici, cap. I.

bination when even amusements were a service rendered to society: they may, indeed, have been too eagerly pursued, as when the boy Ascanius used to wish that the foaming boar, or the yellow lion, might descend from the mountains,* but as a general exercise of the younger men, I do not think that even Momus himself would have inclination to condemn it. There was a literature belonging to hunters, as every one knows. Oppian, in his poem on hunting, speaks of the excellence of the British dogs. Ælian, in the second century, speaks of falconry which had been long practised in Upper Asia, though at that time unknown in Europe. It need only be observed here, in conclusion, that certainly, notwithstanding the inventions to diffuse a taste for literature, the lovers of hunting at present would be greatly at a loss if called upon to justify their contempt for their ancestors by composing a book upon their favourite science, which would have equal merit, as a literary composition, with a number of treatises written during the middle ages by various members of the feudal nobility. "Life was not gross and barbarous in these castles and Gothic towers, as we might suppose," says a modern French critic. "Many books of the time breathe a kind of delicate urbanity and generosity worthy of the most civilized age. It seems that almost in every period of the middle ages, whether by a tradition preserved from the old Roman society, or by the effect of a happy nature," (for religion is not taken into account by these philosophers) "some minds did attain to a high degree of moral cultivation." Of this we shall hereafter see abundant evidence. It would be foreign from the design of this enquiry to speak at length of the general manners of the castle life, but a few instances may be produced illustrative of their tendency to assume a mild and humble because a holy tone. The owners of these castles, however barbarous we may think them, at least did not always virtually admonish their guests conversely in the words of St. Bernard, that they should leave their souls without the house, and enter only with their bodies. Over the door of the great tower of the castle of Sévre there were inscribed in marble these words belonging to the arms of Longueil, "Animas colentium te Deus rem et domum tuetur."† In the histories of the saints we are often presented with very interesting views of the interior life of great families in the middle ages. Thus we read that St. Theresa being an invalid in her father's house, he resolved to take her to the country house of his daughter who was lately married. On the road they stopped at the castle of Don Sancho de Pépéde, brother of Don Alphonso, and uncle of our saint. Don Sancho kept them in his house, and would not hear of their leaving him. This gentleman was a widower; he had retired to one of his estates, where the love of solitude and the desire of his salvation enabled him to derive the greatest consolations. Holy readings, the delights of prayer, the innocent occupations of rural life, divided his time. It was the reading of some books on the spiritual life, which this old knight put into the hands of his niece, that first inspired her with the thoughts which afterwards enabled her to rise to such a high degree of sublime contemplation. The very announcement of the domestic offices of these houses breathes a tone of devotion. Thus we read, that it was the duty of the porter of the castle to sound the bell of benedicite for dinner and supper, to keep clean the niches of the saints of the gate, and to keep their lamp carefully lighted. In his examination of conscience it was a distinct article whether he had ever closed the door against the poor, or against monks, or clerks, or brothers of hospitals who sought alms, or whether he had opened it to lewd singers and dancers, or to receive improper letters, or to persons of evil intention.* But there is no occasion for our delaying any longer amidst these scenes of feudal life, compatible indeed, as we hope to have proved, with the character of the meek, but certainly not the most congenial with the loves of those whose eyes have been opened on the difference between things temporal and eternal. Perhaps we have already halted there too long: there was no Diomedian necessity that we should undertake to dwell upon the praise of nobility; we were not driven to it with hands bound, and the edge of a sword laid upon our shoulders, as was Ulysses when he was driven back to the Greeks without having gained the Palladium from Troy; but it was right to produce some features of its institution and manners in ages of faith, in order to shew that men might have been meek Christians, and have had the centurion's faith, though

* Æneid IV. 159. † Lebeuf, VIII.

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, III. 130.

they had vassals under them who came and went at their command, and that there was no insurmountable obstacles in the circumstances of each inhabitant of the embattled towers, to prevent his being able to say with truth in the presence of God, "Non est exaltatum cor meum:" it was right to meet an objection upon which men at present lay such great stress, for they produce their arguments founded on the pride of nobility, like a tower which they keep constantly in view, λίαν πυργοῖς χάριν, as the Greek poet says;* and after all, it is much to have seen that poverty was not then a crime in the eyes of the rich. We are incessantly told that some feudal towers were in the hands of nobles who pillaged travellers, and it is satisfactory to be able to answer that the roads and villages were secure and open for the wandering poor, whom no haughty baron ever thought of consigning to a prison for the general interest of society. The feudal noble, on the contrary, exercised that Homeric hospitality shewn by Nestor who received the two strangers with such kindness, although he thought in his mind that they might be robbers who passed over the watery ways bearing evil to men of other nations.† He was revered and even sacred whoever came wandering:

ἀνδρῶν ὅστις ἵκηται ἀλώμενος.‡

It least of all becomes the men of our age to declaim upon the pride of feudal nobility. But, indeed, as for those who stand near the sweet mountain to inhale the celestial air which descends thence in the refreshing of ambrosial shower, the present retrospect may have been wearisome and tasteless: for how little seems to them all that belongs to the plain which they have left below? To those whose eyes are ever turned upon the eternal throne of Him who has dissolved the crowns of many cities, and who will still dissolve more, for His is the surpassing strength,§ what is nobility of race, what is feudal splendour? why dwell, they may ask us, upon that piety which would have passed unnoticed with the poor? Why describe these brief distinctions which pass like a shadow on the mountain's side, or like a messenger who runs on his way? "Transierunt omnia illa tanquam umbra et tanquam nuncians percurrans."‖ Nothing was more dreaded by the early Greeks than the extinction of a family and the destruction of a house, by which the dead lost their religious honour, the household gods their sacrifices, the hearth its flame, and the ancestors their name among the living; but is it for Christians to return to these shadows of past things when all things are made new? Is it for them to search for glories which even this earth has ceased to recognise? It is a voice in Paradise which cried:

——— Mark Luni! Urbisaglia mark!
How they are gone; and after them how go
Chiusi and Sinigaglia; and 'twill seem
No longer new or strange to thee, to hear
That families fail when cities have their end.
All thing that appertain to ye, like yourselves
Are mortal; but mortality in some
Ye mark not; they endure so long, and you
Pass by so suddenly.*

What remains of the families sung by Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Pindar? What of the race of Charlemagne, of Alfred, of so many families that shed such a lustre upon our heroic age, which gave imperishable themes to minstrelsy and knighthood to illustrious kings? Our age has beheld the extinction not alone of families, but of monarchies; it has beheld the principles themselves that give permanence to civilized society, and a value to the promise of offspring, erased from the constitution of a great people; it has beheld, and if only for one day there would have been matter for the tears of angels, indifference to religion, that universal solvent of all social harmonies, that fearful representative of atheism, that last heresy which is to precede the tremendous advent, not alone in the shop of the mechanic, not alone on the tongue of creeping sophists, but reigning in principle on the throne of Saint Louis.

We began by dreading to approach this subject of nobility: we only expected deliverance from the sea of this discourse, as Plato says, either by means of some dolphin coming up to us or by some other unexpected deliverer. Reader! thou wert aware how perilous was the passage; how only by yielding much we could avoid the shock of its proud billows. But say has the great difficulty been overcome? Have we shewn that it was possible to reconcile these institutions and manners with meekness? We only sought a chance for these men, and is this now granted? I am of opinion that we have escaped, and indeed, it was a formidable danger. So now then I think we may glide on cheerfully, and hope "o'er better waves to speed."

* Medea, 526. † Od. III. ‡ Od. V. § Hom. II. ‖ Sap. V.

* Dante, XVI.

CHAPTER VII.

THE last development of the principle of meekness which the present view of history will propose to our consideration is seen in the rise of associations among the lower ranks of the Catholic state, and this will lead us at the same time to observe what were the characteristic features and employments of that class of men during the ages of faith, when the people shewed forth the wisdom of the saints, while the Church declared their praise. The modern writers acknowledge that the Catholic religion has been the origin of associations.* "Ecclesia in commune orat," says St. Ambrose, "et in commune operatur."† The spirit of the Church is eminently social, and opposed essentially to that isolation which appears now equally as the source and fruits of misanthropy in men and nations. Wherever the modern philosophy triumphs all associations dissolve before it, and the state becomes only a nation of individuals, of wretched men, who have recourse to a system of desolating fatalism, in order to account for their position in regard to life, and to justify their hatred of mankind. Lo! where stands solitary a sublime unhappy spirit that has lately passed upon the earth; he will instruct us if we hearken. "I found myself alone," it cries, "on entering the world, alone in my house, and I shall die alone. I am a being essentially solitary, not from choice, but from necessity." In the ages of faith, it would not have been so with him. We have seen that the spirit of association entered virtually into the courts of nobles, and we shall hereafter observe it in fuller action in the great religious institutions which then covered Europe. It is pride which has dissolved the Catholic associations of the middle ages; it is pride which renders men isolated in the modern states; for each man disdains to be regarded as a member of any body which does not immediately of itself minister to pride by conveying a title to some material advantage, such as the reputation of science, learning, rank, or riches. To associate together to honour God would be a thing in their eyes ridiculous to the last degree, and yet to associate together with any object which does not include this, is only preparing a fresh link to that long chain of disappointed hopes which men drag after them to their graves. There is no alternative between the society of the saints, and the solitude of sin; an age of pride must be also an age of isolation. The middle ages understood that man is born for society; they knew, as Bonald says, "that such is the general law, that men receive from one another physical existence by generation, moral existence by language, and religious knowledge by communication, according to the apostolic words, Fides ex auditu."* Human intelligence was therefore employed in directing the creative and associating spirit of charity to form those numerous colleges, universities, orders, congregations and brotherhoods, which opened an asylum for every want, and a prospect of fulfilment for every desire of the human soul. It is with the latter we shall be now occupied. Tertullian is an evidence that these different fraternities were as old as the first days of Christianity with which they arose. They were instituted to facilitate the salvation of souls, and to edify the Church, in order that under the fraternal crown of the martyrs the meek might rejoice, and obtain for their faith increase of virtues, and might be consoled by multiplied suffrages. Such was that institute at Paris in the year 1168, called the Confrèrie de Nôtre-Dame, composed of thirty-six priests and thirty-six laymen, in memory of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ. In the year 1224 women were admitted into it. Such were also the fraternities of the blessed sacrament, of the holy name of Jesus, of the blessed Virgin, and others. There were others whose specific object was to assist the poor, to tend the sick, to bury the dead. Others had their origin in pilgrimages; those who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to Compostella, or to mount St. Michel, en-

* De Laborde sur l'Esprit d'Association.
† De Off. lib. I. 29.

* Législat. Prim. III. 34.

tered into their respective fraternity in Paris. Others were established by merchants to draw down the blessing of Heaven upon their commerce; such was the Confrèrie des Marchands de l'eau at Paris, in the year 1170, of those who conducted the trade on the Seine. There were also fraternities instituted by officers of justice, notaries and artisans, all of whom had their respective patrons, churches, statutes, and banners.* Great seigneurs in Flanders used to consider it an honour to be received into a corporation, or fraternity of merchants or artisans. At Paris the community of brethren shoemakers was formed in the year 1645, by the charity of the Baron de Rentè. He had already procured instruction for the poor inmates of the hospital of St. Gervais, and he wished to extend this benefit to the artisans, who were in danger of profaning the Sundays and festivals through ignorance and the corrupt habits of life which were then commencing. With this view he associated himself with a shoemaker, whose virtue was so well known that he was generally called le bon Henri. This poor man being thus encouraged, assembled some people of his condition; and a doctor of the Sarbonne gave them rules, and they commenced their exercises. They worked and ate in common, recited certain prayers and psalms, and gave the surplus of their profits to the poor.† Similar associations existed in every country of Christendom, and in none were they more numerous than in our own. Machiavel describes the citizens of Florence as divided into numerous bodies of trades, each having rules and banners peculiar to it. A number of Lombards, particularly Milanese, being banished into Germany by Henry I., in the year 1014, in order to console themselves, joined in a devout society, which, as a sign of Christian humiliation, they called the humbled, umiliati. Professing to live by the work of their own hands, they applied to various trades, and particularly to the wool trade, and to the making of cloth. Returning to their country in 1019 they preserved their manner of living; they assembled on particular days in houses purchased at the common expense, afterwards united together in convents, where they worked conjointly. Down to the year 1140 they were all laymen; but at that time an order of religious priests was formed who did not work, but directed the labour of the laymen. The lamb was their emblem. Their rule was approved of by Innocent III., and by other pontiffs. They acquired riches, while their diligence and honesty caused them to be sought for by the government for various offices. In Como charge was given them of the weights and measures; in Florence they had various public duties. They furnished preachers and authors, of whom a long list may be seen in Tiraboschi.* Unhappily they did not escape the degeneracy which accompanied the rise of the Lutheran heresy, and as they resisted the reform which the cardinal Boromeo endeavoured to effect, they were suppressed by Pius V. in 1571. In the eighth century these mutual societies and anniversaries in commendation of the living and the dead had been greatly multiplied. A remarkable instance is furnished by Bede, who as a reward for the life which he has written of St. Cuthbert, asks in the prologue addressed to Eadfrid the monk and bishop of Lindisfarn, that he would inscribe his name among those of that society for whose souls after death the holy sacrifice was offered, that in testimony of this future aid he would give orders that his name might appear from that time in the album of their holy congregation. Many other examples occur in the epistles of St. Boniface. Briefs used to be sent from one place to another, containing the names of the persons who desired to be united in the suffrages, and the laity of all ranks, as well as the clergy, were in habits of desiring this grace. Persons thus inscribed were entitled Fratres Conscripti, as appears from Goldasta on the monastery of St. Gall. The fraternity of the Holy Trinity was founded in the year 1373, in the reign of Edward III. The members were bound to maintain thirteen wax lights burning about the sepulchre in the church of St. Botolph Aldersgate, in the Easter time, and they were to make their offerings and hear mass on Trinity day. They had a common hall; their chaplain was to say mass every day in the year, winter and summer, by five o'clock. A dirge was to be sung on the Sunday night after All Souls' day, and on the morrow a requiem for the dead brothers and sisters. One statute of the order says, "gif eny of the bretherhode be a losed of eny theft, or he be an comm' contellaur, or com'n hasardour, or of eny oth' wycked fame, it is

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom I. 564.
† Idem, tom. III. II. 616.

* Humiliat. hist.

ordeyned that theii ben yputte out of the hreth'hode." Taillepied says, "the people of Rouen are so devout towards God and his saints, that to encourage and excite each other to live virtuously, and to recommend themselves to the prayers of the saints of paradise, they have instituted such a number of fraternities that there is not a trade or condition which has not one belonging to it.* Some are common to all persons, as that of the hlessed sacrament, and that of St. Romain. The singers have their fraternity of St. Cecilia, the notaries theirs of St. Mark, the lawyers theirs of St. Yves, the boys and children of the town have theirs in the church of mount St. Catherine, the jewellers theirs in that of St. Eloy, the poets and orators, the merchants, the butchers, the hrewers, the cooks, and the tailors, have all their fraternities. The carters celebrate their fraternity on the day of the three kings. The mariners, masons, painters, fruiterers, shoemakers, dyers, hakers, porters, fullers, arquehuss-makers, surgeons and barbers, soap-makers, mercers and carders, have all their particular fraternity dedicated under the invocation of some saint, on whose festival they have a high mass, celehrated with a sermon and procession, and a banquet afterwards; besides every week they have one mass celehrated for them; and when any brother dies the rest assist at his funeral with lighted tapers, and the fraternity bears the expense; and besides this there is one fraternity for all the dead. The members of all these fraternities are commanded to do works of charity, to visit hospitals, to assist widows and orphans, to visit the sick and the prisoners, to hury the dead, to found sermons for the instruction of the ignorant. There is extant," continues Taillepied, "a letter of St. Paulin, hishop of Nola, in praise of St. Victrice, archhishop of Ronen, in the time of St. Martin of Tonrs, in which he says that St. Victrice had announced the name of Jesus Cbrist with such success that the city of Rouen was celebrated throughout the world, and that in the West it was as much venerated for its holiness as was Jerusalem in the East; for as many came to Jerusalem to contemplate the holy places, so do multitudes repair to Rouen to contemplate the holiness of St. Victrice, and to see its magnificent monasteries and churches." These fraternities were even encouragers of literature. In the time of William the Conqueror, that of the Conception, in the church of the Carmelites at Rouen, used to give every year a prize to those who would make the best hymn, ode, sonnet, royal soug, rondeau, ballad, or other laudatory poem, in praise of the hlessed Virgin. A similar custom was observed by the fraternity of St. Cecilia in the church of our Lady, and the citizens of Dieppe followed this example. Taillepied gives specimens of the successful pieces in the year in which he wrote his Antiquities. Charity and piety were, however, the chief objects of these institutions. The silversmiths sent a large sum every year to the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris, to assist the poor workmen of their body, and in 1399 they huilt a separate hospital, with a chapel, to receive such as were aged or infirm, and also widows.* In every trade hy the statutes of the fraternity, masters were bound to assist their workmen when they were in distress. If sick they were to be taken care of, if dead to be buried, if they left widows and orphans these were to he supported and educated, and portioned and enabled to marry.† In the year 1830 it was stated in London that the Ironmongers' fraternity were then in possession of 104,000l., and of 3,000l. per annum, accumulated in their hands from ancient donations, which had been dostined for the redemption of Christian slaves on the Barbary coast. It was stated that they could not find objects for their bounty. The laws of these fraternities of artisans were also directed to watch over the morality of the members; they were forhidden to live in sin. Luxury was prohibited, the necessity for which restraint is sufficiently remarkable, and the expense of their banquet on the reception of a master was not to exceed ten sous; hut the members of these fraternities were to invite each other to their family banquets on occasion of a marriage or christening.‡ Any act of dishonesty caused a forfeiture of all the privileges of the fraternity. Apprentices in every trade were only such as were born of legal marriage. The hastard of Arminhac holding his baton of marechal of France, the bastard of Burgundy seated on his high daice, the hastard of Orleans proclaimed the deliverer of France, unless the statutes of every fraternity were changed, could not he received in any one of them. This is the observation of Monteil. There were guardians to watch that the workmen took their rest, and did not labour on days of festival, or during the

* Recneil des antiquitez et singularitez de Rouen, 58.

* St. Victor, I. 627, Tablieu de Paris.
† Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. III. 315.
‡ Monteil, III. 293.

hours of repast, or too early, or too late. If any master or apprentice was suspected of having any immoral connection he was to be expelled the fraternity, losing all the rights and privileges and claims attached to it.* If Catholic artisans lived among Pagans, or among the Moors, no consideration of profit or esteem of neighbours was admitted as a justification for their exposing goods to sale upon a festival, an example which may startle some of London who now drive their traffic, though within Geneva's walls, where the quick flight of wanderers would furnish more excuse, it can be witnessed still. No master, or apprentice, or servant, was to receive or work under any one that was excommunicated. If any one were known to play at dice, or even at an honest game on the vigil of Christmas, or of the Epiphany, he was to forfeit his privileges for a year. In some places these fraternities chose a patron peculiar to themselves only within that neighbourhood. This was the case in the town of St. Denis, where the masons adopted St. Betesus as their patron, and assembled to celebrate his festival solemnly in the church of St. Marcel, which contained his reliques, for this saint had been a common mason of the town.† In all solemn processions artisans walked under the respective banners of their trades, representing the patron of the fraternity. Thus in France the silversmiths and founders, blacksmiths and cutlers, carried the banner of St. Eloy, masons and stone-cutters that of St. Blaise, potters and tile-makers that of St. Fiacre, carpenters that of St. Joseph, glaziers that of St. Mark, barbers that of St. Cosma, brewers that of St. Amand, bakers that of St. Honoré, wax chandlers that of St. Nicholas, farriers that of St. John the Baptist, shoe-makers that of St. Crispin, drapers that of the Annunciation, weavers that of St. Arregonde, clothiers that of our Lady, silk-mercers that of our Lady-the-rich, dyers that of St. Maurice, tailors that of St. Lucy, makers of amesses, which were long hoods covering the head worn by women, and clerks and solemn laymen‡ that of St. Severus, embroiderers that of St. Clair, weavers of tapestry to cover the walls of churches and castles that of St. Francis, rope-makers that of St. Paul, paper-makers and book-binders that of St. John-port-Latin. The fraternity of each trade, wherever there was an abbey of their patron in their neighbourhood, used to dine there on their festival. Thus at Rouen the master brewers used to dine in the refectory of the abbey of St. Amand on their festival. Each fraternity had devotional exercises, and a church assigned to it, where the obsequies of every member were solemnized with great lights at the expense of all the members. These details may be deemed trifling, and an evidence of nothing substantial, but yet what a beautiful picture do they furnish of the harmony prevailing between the different orders of the state during ages of faith, of the consolations provided for the laborious poor and of the restraints imposed upon the avarice of masters! From this picture of society we can understand how in a Catholic city the most utter stranger never felt himself isolated: there were so many beautiful harmonies, so many affecting relations in which he found a bond of union with all the persons around him, who all seemed to walk in love as most dear children of Jesus Christ, and followers of God. With the young and old he might instantly have been united in some pious association, in the exercises of which he recognized their tender love for all that was dear and venerable to him from his days of sinless youth. How could he feel himself a stranger among such men? he could serve at mass in their common temples, he could walk with their children in their solemn processions, he could repair every evening to their pious assemblies round the divine altars, where like one family they adored their Saviour, and heard the exhortation of some meek man of God, who seemed like a common father to them all, who every day offered up the oblation of their lowliness, praying that it might be pleasing to Almighty God in honour of his saints, and that it might purify them in body and mind through Christ their Lord.

Another very striking characteristic of the Catholic society was the religious and even poetic character which the most ordinary and vulgar employments of the lower ranks acquired by their association with some sublime affecting mystery, the memory of which would bring every high thought into captivity, and dissolve the soul in a transport of amaze and love seraphic. These poor mechanical and rustic trades, which the ancients held in such contempt, assumed quite a new character; for besides that the Catholic religion, from being eminently averse to all singularity, while it respected the privileges of the great, left the affections on the side of the people, whose employments be-

* Monteil Lettres des rois relative à l'homologation des statuts des differens corps de métier.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. III. 219.

‡ Ducange, Gloss. v. Almacia.

came therefore estimahle even to the imagination, it furnished also particular motives for viewing them with especial regard. The trades of the people had heen exercised hy Christ and hy his apostles: in the poor carpenter men would hehold St. Joseph; and perhaps from some person of tender susceptihility the sight of his apprentice would cause a tear to fall, a sweet tear of gratitude and devout amaze. A soft hallowed light was shed round every pathway of life, however humhle. In simple shepherds were seen those who hastened to the stahle on the hlessed night, to give faith to Mary;* in fishermen were beheld companions of those who were obedient to the call of Christ. Ah! let the modern sophists hlush for their own report, if no pity move them for us. They may now compose as many treatises, as they have ruins made, on the utility of associations and friendly societies among the labouring classes; they will never confer a henefit on men as great as that which their predecessors took from them. These poor meek banners of St. Joseph of the Annunciation and of St. Paul, these airy unsuhstantial things, as they appear to some, were worth more than thousands of their pompous books, and libraries that are styled of useful knowledge! With respect to the employments themselves, there are some observations still to offer. The primitive Christians, in following different trades, chose such as were the most innocent and most favourable to retreat and humility; and these were always subordinate to religion, which was the principal and, as it were, only husiness of their lives. Their profession was simply to be Christians: they avoided as far as possihle all professions which engross and dissipate the mind too much. Fleury's description† might stand for that of the middle ages. Can we douht of it when we read the modern books so full of disdain for what they term the depressing power of superstition, which acted upon them? It was deemed imprudent in puhlic penitents to return to the mercantile profession, for, says Pope St. Leo to Rusticus of Narbonne, "It is more advantageous to the penitent to suffer some temporal loss, than to expose himself to the perils of commerce, for it is difficult to prevent sin from gliding into this reciprocal office of huying and selling." Deguignes speaks of religion being made a pretence for the pursuit of commerce; hut it would he more correct to

* St. Ambrose.
† Mœurs des Chrestiens, 47—50.

say that commerce was made an instrument for furthering the interests of religion. It was the merchants at Paris who facilitated the correspondence between St. Geneviève and St. Symeon-Stylites at Antioch:* it was they who furnished St. Eloy with the precious materials which he was to employ in shrines: it was the traders of the Levant, who, under the direction of Popes, founded schools for the oriental languages which were to be employed in the conversion of the infidels. St. Gregory of Tours speaks of merchants of Syria who hrought the relics of saints into France; of others who supplied hermits dnring Lent with roots of Egypt; and others were unceasingly employed in redeeming captives. We shall continne to meet with proofs that the vices of the middle and commercial ranks, during the middle ages, were at least not connected with the detestable love of sordid gain. The noble reply of Hegio to the captives in the old Roman play, spoke the sentiments which belonged not exclusively to heroic yonths hut to merchants and mechanics in Christian ages.

Non ego omnino lucrum omne esse utile homini existimo.
Scio ego, multos jam lucrum luculentos homines reddidit.
Est etiam, nbi profecto damnum præste facere quam lucrum.
Odi ego aurum: multa multis sæpe suasit perperam.†

The old poet Charles Fontaine ascribes to his father these sentiments, joined with the love for literature.

Loyal marchand; tel estoit son renom,
Dès son jeune âge avoit science acquise,
Qu'il estimoit plus que sa marchandise.
Toujour hantoit les lettres et lettrez,
Non les grand gens richement accoutrez.‡

But with this nohle spirit, discoveries in the arts, the ἀρχαῖα σοφίσματα, of which Pindar speaks§ as heing taught hy time, and to which Æschylus also applies the same word, were cultivated with a diligence and a success of which, as I remarked in the introduction to the first book, no other period of the world can furnish an example. Still, these discoveries had also a connection with some liberal nohle and even religious end; they were all Promethean, not for the injury hut for the immediate benefit of men. Far

* Ball, Vie de St. Geneviève, c. vi.
† Plautus Capteivei, II. 2.
‡ Gouget Bibliothèque Français, tom. XI. 113.
§ Olymp. XIII.

different was their spirit from that of these modern mechanics so cunning with their hands like Sisyphus, πυκνότατον παλάμαις :* "fools," cries an English writer, "who account themselves honoured with the shameful title of being the inventors of evil things, endeavouring to out-infinite God's kindness with their cruelty." The list of trades as set forth in a charter of Philip Augustus shews a great predominance of the liberal arts. Thus at that time the principal trades which formed privileged corporations and had kings of arms, were silver-smiths, workers of sacred ornaments in gold, coral, shell, jet, and amber, cutters of chrystal and precious stones, silk-weavers, founders and carvers of brass, makers of lamps and chandeliers, weavers of tapestry, makers of crucifixes and images of the saints, makers of chaplets of flowers and feathers of peacocks, and along with these there appear only bakers, tavern keepers, makers of halberts and locks, carpenters, stone-masons, dyers of cloth, makers of bows and arrows, and those who ornament the guards of swords, fishermen and saddlers, the last of whom, at least, Homer would have commemorated as worthy of the same praise which he bestows upon Menestheus.

τῷ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ,
κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.†

In the common estimation of men, the members of these different trades were persons entitled to respect, and many of them were even exercised by the companions of nobles. In the fifteenth century it was deemed no derogation to a scholar, bachelor, master of arts, or one entitled "honourable" to be a printer and bookseller.‡ Every thing relative to men was raised in dignity by the principles of the Catholic religion; for meekness in manners was not an hypocrisy, but the manly expression of a sincere conviction. To these various professions I shall only add, as forming a curious and truly Homeric personage of the middle ages, the office of a messenger, to which Monteil has done full justice. There was the messenger of the university, the flying messenger, who could speak Latin, and who used to sing his hours as he rode along, "par monts et par vaux." Even gentlemen used to charge themselves with messages and letters, travelling night and day to serve great lords and others. There was the feudal messenger, the messenger of men of arms who had to ride from castle to castle; there were foot messengers, town messengers, and church messengers. In 1464 posts were established in France, which proved fatal to this profession. Before that time the conveyance of letters and pacquets belonged almost every where to the universities. That of Paris had at least 100 messengers under its orders. But on the whole it is to be remembered, that the religious and poetical character of these ages was unfavourable to many branches of industry which now may appear to flourish, even under the circumstances of a state of continued concealed or open war between the masters and their labourers. The race of men who seem to have no conception of moral and social perfection beyond what is implied in the smoke of a steam engine, did not then exist. Men exercised themselves in honest and useful employments, but not with an insatiable thirst for gold and a heart hardened against the harmonies of life, against the associations of poetry, against the movement of humanity, and the inspirations of religion. Neither in their intellectual nor bodily discipline did they resemble the heretical race who, as they inquire for the sake of inquiry, so do they seem to labour for the sake of labour. "We are called to liberty," they might have said, "and we desire not to sacrifice the whole of our time about interests of money, in which there is no companionship: we require intervals of leisure for our religious exercises, for the festivals of the Church, for the recreation of our minds, for the improvement of our various intellectual powers. In this we give no just cause of offence for any one to condemn our faith, if he also respects it; but if he will only hearken to arguments drawn from natural reason he must admit that this is a question of which, as far as respects ourselves, we are the best judges, and we will therefore give him his dismissal in the words of Plato: οὐδέν γε δεινὸν ποιοῦμεν, κρίνοντες τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄργανα πρὸ Μαρσύου τε καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου ὀργάνων."*

The various civil dignitaries of the social order during the ages of faith have now passed before us in all their relations; we have beheld the ancient magistrates, counsellors, nobles, and kings; it would be unjust to pass on without taking notice of the humble members of a Catholic state, upon whose character the history of Christian associations has already thrown such light, and in

* Pindar, Olymp. XIII. † Il. II 552.
‡ L'imprimerie par La Caille XV. Siècle.

* De Repub. III.

whose manners there will be found so much to interest the historian and the philosophic observer of mankind; but as it would be difficult to make a selection from such a multitude of examples as present themselves incidentally in history to the mind of accurate and reflecting readers, it will, perhaps, be sufficient to choose one of whose life we have the most curious details given by a very ancient writer, himself a saint, and in whose manners we can behold not only the singular merit which has entitled him to the veneration of the Church, but also the general tone and habits which belonged during these ages, in some degree or other, to a multitude of persons who trod the same paths with him. Eligius or Eloy, says his contemporary St. Ouen, born of devout parents, at Limoges, was placed as an apprentice to "an honourable man, by name Abbo, who was a silversmith and kept a public shop! He was a pious youth and very skilful in whatever he undertook; he used diligently to assist at the divine offices in the churches, and whatever he heard there used to be the subject of his meditation when he returned home. He became known to king Clotaire, who gave him abundance of employment; and on the death of this king, his son and successor, king Dagobert, treated Eligius with no less kindness. His integrity and diligence, his piety and meekness, his charity and mortification, were beyond all description. While at work, he had always some holy page open before him, that his mind as well as his hands might be well employed. His fame was so spread that whenever strangers from Italy or Gothland came to the royal palace, they would first pay a visit to Eligius; and also holy men and poor people and monks used to come to him in crowds. His great desire was to redeem captives" (we have seen what zeal was evinced in this respect by the fraternity in London of Ironmongers), "and sometimes he used to deliver at once as many as thirty, and fifty, and even one hundred; for ships used often to arrive with that number on board of Romans, or Gauls, or Britons, or even of Moors, but especially of Saxons, who at that time used to be carried off from their country in whole droves like cattle;" (for paganism had still great power, and the inhabitants of the sea coasts were for the most part pagans) "and if his money failed he would give his clothes, or his food, his belt, or his shoes to redeem them. He used to give these redeemed captives the choice of three things. If they wished to return to their own country, he would supply them with means to regain it. If they wished to remain where they were, he undertook to provide for them, so that they should live, not as slaves, but as his own brethren. If he could persuade them to engage in the monastic life, he treated them as his lords, and supplied them with what was necessary. He had many holy laymen living with him in his house. When any stranger asked for his house, 'go into such a street,' he would be told, 'and where you will see a number of poor people there you will find his door.' He used to send out his servant to seek for poor strangers to invite them to hospitality, and he used to serve them with his own hands. The king and rich men used often to send him bread and other necessaries, which he used to distribute to the poor. He used to pray and sing Psalms during the night, keeping vigils, and if the king would send for him suddenly, he would never go until he had fulfilled his service to Christ. Being sent on a journey into Britain, he gave large alms on his way, for his thoughts always rested on the sentence of the apostle, 'Habentes victum et vestitum, his contenti simus; nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum diaboli.' Having obtained a villa from the king, he built a monastery on it, and whatever property was given to him he destined to support it. Here were many religious who were skilled in arts. It was a fertile and agreeable spot, so beautiful that when any one tarried there, finding himself among gardens and groves of apple, he might exclaim, 'quam bonæ domus tuæ, Jacob,' et 'quam pulchra tabernacula tua Israel!' like the shadowy woods, like the cedar near the waters, like a Paradise on the river's bank. 'Habitacula justorum benedicentur.' It is surrounded with a ditch and a hedge, and comprises a space of ten stadia, by the side of a river, with a mountain crowning it, covered with wood and breaking out into steep rocks, while the whole space is full of fruit trees. Thus the mind is refreshed, and may congratulate itself in enjoying in some measure the sweets of Paradise. Moreover, he built a Xenodochium in the city of Paris for poor maidens: he built also and restored several churches, and covered them with lead. Thus was he bountiful in alms, sedulous in watching, devout in prayer, perfect in charity, profound in humility, excellent in doctrine, ready in speech, most holy in conversation, bound by no chains to the world, active in ministering to the servants of God, solicitous to redeem

captives, brave in suffering hardships, cheerful in good works, generous in hospitality. Nothing could he more clement than his mind, nothing sweeter than his severity, 'Nihil risu gravius, nihil prorsus tristia suavius.' Under a laic habit he had a mellifluous doctrine from God filled with the Holy Spirit, with the desire of Christ, and of eternal happiness, and being forgetful of secular dignities, he had all his conversation with the poor, and with monks, 'omne consortium cum egenis haberet et monachis.' Though monks used to flock to him, yet he was never satiated with their conversation, so that he would often repair to divers solemn monasteries. Who could describe with what devotion, with what humility he would enter the monastery and walk among the brethren! It was his custom on a journey, if be knew that the same night he could visit a monastery or a church, or any religious man, he would never take food till he arrived there, and the last three or four miles he would go on foot, and then would he eat their eulogia fasting. This blessed man among other good works made a great number of rich shrines composed of gold, and silver, and precious stones; as those of Germanus, Severinus, Quintinus, Genoveva, Columban, Maximian, and above all of the blessed Martin of Tours: king Dagobert was at the expense of the materials. Also he made the mausoleum of St. Denis, at Paris, and adorned the altars and the doors with silver metal. This was the time when heresy afflicted the empire, and many heretics came into Gaul. Eligius reclaimed several of them, 'erat enim ipse in studio Scripturarum subtilissimus,' and being himself sufficiently instructed he went about among the people with evangelical exhortations, teaching them to persevere irrevocably in the faith of Christ, and to beware of the contagion of the heretics: he was subject to the king, and devout to Christ; he prayed frequently, according to the apostle, for kings and for those who are in high station, that men might lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity. So that under the laic habit he possessed the priestly grace, an indication of his future destiny. Oh what a perfect layman, whom priests themselves might desire to imitate! O mind worthy of being celebrated by all to whom to live was only Christ, only to fear him with love, and to love him with fear! O happy foe to this world, to whom the world was crucified, as was he to the world!"* Here concludes that part of the life of this saintly man which was spent in the exercise of his humble trade: henceforth he goes on to greater blessedness, but as occasion is not given us now to view the graces of his ecclesiastical life, we shall take leave of him for the present with submissive reverence, although with the earnest hope that we shall meet again in the cloisters of Noyon.

Such then are a few of the leading facts presented in this history, of the associations and employments of the middle and lowest ranks of society during the ages of faith. Perhaps the prospect held out to the reader in the commencement of this path was not inviting, but it seems indeed to have supplied much that may give us pause if pondered fittingly. It was impossible to impart dignity to such a subject, and to speak of the most ordinary trades in a manner that would prove agreeable seemed difficult; but although Callimachus might turn away in contempt, our offering is, as it were, a Cyclic rhapsody which can omit mention of nothing however little or common, and it appears as if in this instance it has made us acquainted with circumstances and with personages, such as no one meekly wise can reasonably disdain. The truth is, that the Catholic religion enjoys that privilege which belongs in a lower degree, to genius, of ennobling what to us without it appears common, and beautiful is every path on which its light has shone. But henceforth, reader, be assured my theme will rise, for this humble pathway has conducted us to the confines of that happy earth, the pledge and earnest of eternal peace which the meek do now inherit. We from this stage of our course proceed like those who journey over a plain, gazing intent through the evening sky upon some noble mountains crowned with holy towers, the object of their vow, which stretch in purple splendour against the bright vespertine ray. But here must we pause awhile and gather strength as wearied men halt when they first gain sight of home. A short space separates us from the realm of joy; if no interruption should occur to our remaining enterprise, I shall in the next book endeavour to trace its shadowed form, and set it forth to view.

* Vita Sancti Eligii Episcop. S. Audœni auct. apud Dacher. Spicilegium, tom. V.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK III.



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MDCCCXLV.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

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CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THAT the meek were blessed has already been seen incidentally in surveying the development of the mild and humble spirit in the reciprocal relations of political order, but in what manner they truly inherited the earth remains to be shown; and the attempt to explain this in reference to the history of the ages of faith, will constitnte the snbject of the present book.

"Beati mites," has been hitherto our theme, but now we must ottend to the conclusion of that sentence, "quoniam ipsi possidebnnt terram," and mark well the saintly commentators' distinction, who add with St. Jerome, "not the land of Juda," nor the land of this world "whose base affection many a spirit soils;" not the cursed deceitful land which beareth thorns and briars, which the cruelest warrior rather may possess, but the land which the Psalmist desired, saying, "Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium:" "for no one can possess the former land by meekness, bnt by pride."* "Beati mites: qnoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram," "that earth I believe," continues St. Augustin, of which it is said in the Psalm, "Spes mea es tu, portio mea in terra viventinm:" for it signifies a certain solidity and stability of perpetnal inheritance where the soul by a good affection rests in its place as the body rests npon the earth; this is the rest and life of the saints; of the meek who yield to improbity and resist not evil, but overcome evil by good.* "What then are the riches that the earth will offer to them? They shall be delighted in the multitude of peace. The proud are delighted in the multitude of gold, in the mnltitude of slaves, in the multitude of luxurious banqnets; but what will be the riches and the delights of the meek? The multitnde of peace. Their gold will be peace, their possessions peace, their life peace; they will love and desire it in their houses, in their business, in their wives, in their children, in their servants, in their friends, in their enemies: whatever they possess or desire will be peace to them; for God will be their peace for ever."† Nevertheless, though it was promised that the meek should inherit the earth, yet the redeemed children of the holy discipline were not like the Jews to be always looking for a temporal reward and blessing which would often be interrupted by that necessary sword which Christ came to send, or by that more ancient trial imposed in the command "Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tna." They were not to possess the earth according to the conception of those who were immersed in matter and inextricably entangled in the net of the senses. The Israelites themselves were

* St. Hieronym. Comment. in Matth. v.

* St. August. Lib. I. de Serm. Dom. in Monte.
‡ Id. Tractat. in Ps. xxxvi. et in Ps. cxlvii.

not to possess it like the Philistians, of whom we are told, that they had fat beeves and abundance of store, and of all that could gratify mere animal life. The first that sought to live on this earth like an inhabitant thereof, being indeed but a stranger and pilgrim, was Cain, and that the reprobate race may in a certain sense gain possession of the earth, is an evident fact, which must not be denied through that reckless love of antithesis in which some writers indulge according to the license of those associated with Nicole, who says, "it is the condition of man to have God or nothing:" on the contrary, we read that the devil would have given our blessed Lord all the kingdoms that he showed him from the pinnacle of the temple, if he would have worshipped him; and until God will arise to judgment that he may save all the meek upon earth, that adversary has beyond all doubt permission to bestow gifts on such men as consent to serve him, of which power, without recurring to fable, the world has in different ages beheld wondrous and fearful examples. Yet, on the other hand, the lofty and inspiring doctrines of the bright school must not be forgotten, which affirm that the real possession of the earth, and of its genuine good, can never be obtained by any excepting by those to whom that possession is promised; for not to insist upon the explanation of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who supposes that Satan lied when he said he would give all that to our Saviour, as if it had been at his disposal,* is it not clear to the dullest apprehension, that, in order to enjoy the fruits of a real possession, something more is required than the bare material and external gift, or the mere nominal right? for that these do not always of necessity confer the real personal good, may be witnessed in a thousand families and unquestionable instances; so that strictly speaking, not only according to the deepest conceptions of philosophical truth, but from the observation of the undeniable facts in human life, it may be said, that the proud or wicked can possess nothing, since every thing is evil to them, which is itself nothing. Sin and evil cannot have a substantial existence. "There is no substance of evil," says St. Basil, "for malice is not any thing subsisting." And St. Gregory Nazianzen says, "there is no essence of evil, nor does it subsist by itself, nor was it created by God;" and St. Epiphanius says, "there is no evil by itself subsisting." St. Augustin also says, "iniquity of itself is no substance, for iniquity is not the nature which God formed, but it is the perversity which man made; all natures are made by God: iniquity has not been made by itself, because iniquity has not been made."* The meek Hildegard expresses this with scholastic brevity, in writing to Eberhard, Bishop of Bamberg, "All things are made by God, and without him is nothing made, and this nothing is pride,"† which the wicked alone possess. So that in fine to convey an idea of the possessions of the proud, one might borrow a similitude from those popular fables which represent the splendour and beauty of the elfin elysium, in which to the eye of a seer, the illusion vanishes at the first glance, the young knights and beautiful damsels showing themselves as wrinkled carles and odious hags, their wealth turning into slate stones, their splendid plate into pieces of clay, fantastically twisted, and their stately halls changing into miserable damp caverns; an emblem, if rightly understood, teaching the real and inevitable condition which awaits the ambition of the proud; for as Cardan says, "Human things are rather shadows in the imagination, than essences of real subsistence."‡ On the other hand, it would be easy to show that the meek preservers of the interior life, can impart reality to earthly things by connecting them with what essentially exists in God; and not only that, but by faithfully continuing in obedience to the will of their Creator, beholding him in all creatures, and praising him in all their actions, besides really enjoying the positive material advantages which flow to them from all creatures, they are enabled to draw even higher and spiritual treasures of consolation, and rapture, from possessing somewhat of the very essence by which these creatures subsist. The world which the little flock was not to love, is not the beautiful creation of God, which with such multifarious excellence declares his wisdom, his beneficence, and his glory; it was by conquering himself, as the holy Columban said, that man was to trample upon the world "in se enim solo mundum aut diligit aut odit."§ The world which he was to detest, had no more a material existence than the vice and evil which are a shadow in the embraces of the wicked: but as for the innocent, the admirable, and

* Cateches. VIII.

* Serm. I. in Ps. lxviii. † Epist. ad Eberhard.
‡ Prudentia Civilis, cap. 91. § Instruct. III.

lovely creatures of God, they were to be hallowed and received with thanksgiving. The moderns, indeed, entertain such erroneous notions of spirituality in their theoretical contempt for matter, that not only would these sentiments be inadmissible to them, if they were with themselves consistent, but, according to their principles, it would be impossible to account for the creation of the material universe: but in Catholic philosophy there is no contradiction of the wisdom of nature, and the consequences of the Manichæan opinion are, therefore, excluded. In a Catholic country every thing, to the eye of faith, seems to acquire a new and supernatural value, being sanctified to the holy end of supplying the spiritual necessities of redeemed men, and of glorifying God, both as Creator and Restorer. Harmony and innocence seem to reign there amidst creatures, as if they were no longer subject to vanity, and as if man were again placed like Adam in some other paradise of pleasure. The marble and gold of the mountain, the cedar and oak of the forest, and the flowers of the enamelled meadow, seem all to have a reference to the divine temples, and to the mystic beauty of holiness, and to have acquired in some sense an eternal duration. They who have minds capable of feeling the charm of beauty in material form, on descending into Italy perceive at once that it is the religion of the meek which has created in it such a multitude of lovely objects, and given men the means of really possessing the earth, changing its stones into magnificent churches, its metals into gorgeous altars, its minerals into exquisite paintings, crowning its hills with noble convents, and sprinkling its verdant plains with chapels and oratories; and, accordingly, we find that while the moderns ascribe their external prosperity, which by the way is always attended with the deformity that accompanies moral disorder, to their industry, to their superior skill and higher spirit, to the influence of their chosen system of philosophy, or to something arising from themselves, the faithful multitude in Catholic countries, ascribe all their possessions to God and believe devoutly, that whatever smiles upon them, in the beauties or in the sweet enjoyments of the present existence, is always "because of truth, and meekness, and justice." In short, if we consider how much of what is thought possession from its consisting of matter, has no real existence, but arises from the merest delusion and vanity, and how much of reality though esteemed imagination, because it is spirit, is often sacrificed to the regret of losing what is only imaginary, it appears evident that the innocent playful carelessness of youth, which, in a certain sense, the meek carried with them into all the occupations of life, enabling them to endure with the utmost cheerfulness, the vexations and losses which overwhelm the proud worldly race, must have imparted a large portion of that earthly enjoyment which is described as their peculiar inheritance. To behold how Christians inherit the earth, we have only to visit any Catholic country, like the Tyrol or the small Cantons of Switzerland, or any of the great kingdoms, where the institutions and spirit of the ages of faith have not been destroyed: there men seem to live in a terrestrial paradise; while property is respected, every thing seems in common as far as relates to its enjoyment; the arts do not minister to the pleasures of the rich alone; they have no exclusive consolations; the poorest possess similar corresponding with their desires, whether arising from the same ravishing spectacle of beauteous nature, or from the same benignant exchange of kind and courteous greeting, or from entering the same sublime temples hallowed by common and most sacred rights, or from hearing alike the sweet and solemn tones of morning and evening bells which seem to blend earth with heaven, and to spiritualize the very material elements which they possess through every sense. To their meek and innocent hearts the earth is a garden of pleasure; and no storm of foul and bitter passions ever disturbs the serene composure with which they receive and enjoy the wonderful gifts of God. "Donum et pax est electis Dei." A Catholic state is wholly a supernatural condition in respect of happiness and abundance; it verifies the divine sentence. "Mansueti hæreditabunt terram: et delectabuntur in multitudine pacis."*

The blessedness of the meek in faithful ages may be considered in relation both to the material, external, and to the spiritual and interior possession of the earth which is their inheritance. With regard to the former, we shall survey the monuments erected by faith, and the various institutions which were directed to the development of temporal advantages; and in relation to the latter I shall attempt to

* Ps. xxxvi.

show in what manner the earth and all things proceeding from it were made to minister to intellectual good, and to assist the cultivation of the spiritual nature; so that as in the last book our principal object was to prove how widely the spirit of meekness pervaded the society of Catholic states, in the present we shall be chiefly occupied with demonstrating how that spirit received even literally its recompence in the fulfilment of the divine sentence.

In attempting to develope this view of the beatitude of the meek, our course to some may seem retrograde; but even for those fledged souls who desire to soar upon the eagle wings of heavenly meditation, it is well, from time to time, Antæus like, to rest upon the earth. I may perhaps be drawn into a variety of details, which will appear to some minds irrelevant and frivolous; for there are many who conceive that every idea relating to theological truth should be involved in a certain tone of severe and reserved language, and others profess to feel alarmed at whatever wears, in modern literature, the semblance of novelty; but after making every due allowance for the influence of the circumstances in which such persons are placed—for their opinions seem to be only the result of circumstance—there would remain sufficient encouragement for pursuing this argument, if one possessed but the ability to do it justice, in the single sentence of St. Augustin, where he says, "Utile est libros plurimos a pluribus fieri diverso stylo, etiam de quæstionibus eisdem; ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat ad alios sic, ad alios sic."*

The monuments with which faith covered the soil of Europe, belong to the history, not only of ecclesiastical, but also of civil architecture. Churches, monasteries, hospitals, oratories, crosses, and isolated towers, proclaim more obviously indeed the creative spirit of the religion of the meek ages; but these are not the only examples of its power.

> Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,
> Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis.

The Catholic Church fulfilled the poet's prediction—

> ———— Populosque feroces
> Contundet, moresque viris et mœnia ponet.

As in missionary countries at the present day where the Catholic religion is preached, so in the first ages of the Church, the inhabitants of towns became Christians before the country peasants; and hence, for a long while, the term Pagani was used as synonymous with heathens. In proportion as the faith spread, the multiplication of towns proceeded; for the Christian religion is essentially social, and converts were excited, both by faith and charity, to congregate, as much as possible for the worship of God in common, and for the exercise of beneficence, just as other men are induced to separate and disperse through infidelity and selfishness. Oratories and cells of retirement for devout persons, became therefore the kernel, as it were of future communities, and many of the towns, and even cities, of Europe have no other origin.

Shortly after the death of saints it was usual to build an oratory or chapel, under their invocation, to which some devout men had brought their relics, or the garments which had touched their tombs. In time, houses were built round the chapel; and thus, gradually, a village was formed, bearing the name of that saint. The chapel then became a church, and a town was the final result. Thus arose in France the towns of St. Martin, St. Hilaire, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Remi, St. Medard, St. Sulpice, St. Brie; and similar instances in England must be familiar to every one.* When the monks of Lindisfarne first brought St. Cuthbert's body to Durham, it was a barbarous and rude place, with nothing but thorns and thick woods, where they first built a little church of wands and branches, wherein they did lay his body; whence the said church was afterwards called Bough Church.† In the thirteenth century, before the angelic visit, Loretto was a mountain covered with thick wood, and uninhabited. Saint-Merry is a village in the diocese of Paris, so called from a chapel which was built on the spot where St. Merry was detained for one day, either by sickness or fatigue, as he travelled from Autun to Paris, about the year 695; so that the village is a memorial of the event.‡ In the third century, Æonius, an evangelical missionary, having been martyred and buried on the mountain called St. Ion, in the diocese of Paris, the faithful erected an oratory on the spot, where, in course of time, such a number of

* St. August. de Trinitate, L. I. c. 3. n. 5.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 253.

† The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 111.

‡ Lebeuf, Tom. XV. 362.

devout people resorted, that a village was formed; and as this belonged to a certain rich knight, he fortified it on the top of the mountain, that the people might be secure from the attacks of the barbarians. Lebeuf thus explains the situation of St. Ion, on the mountain of that name.* Mabillon shows, that in this manner the Benedictine monks in Germany were the founders of cities, as well as the cultivators of the soil. Not only did the great monastery and town of Fulda rise up in the midst of forests that had been before pathless, but also Saxony beheld Corby and Brema. Thus too commenced Hersfeld and Fritislaria in Thuringia, Saltzburg. Frisinga and Eisted in Bavaria, St. Gall and Campidona in Helvetia, and numerous other towns throughout all Germany, as well as in other kingdoms where the Benedictine family extended.†

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the propagation of Christianity in Prussia and Livonia was immediately followed by the erection of walled towns and cities, in places which had before been horrible deserts, or where the only habitations had been some wretched huts on the banks of rivers, composed of boughs and sods of earth.‡ Holm, Riga, Thorn, Elbing, Kulm, Christburg, Marienwerd, and Marienburg, were founded and built with stone by holy missionaries, and by the Teutonic order.§ The last was built so late as in the year 1274. In the thirteenth century, Bishop Henry of Ermland, besides other works for the good of Prussia, founded Frauenburg, and gave it privileges. Bishop Siegfried of Samland, and Bishop Eberhard of Ermland, converted barren wastes into fruitful fields. In one year the left bank of the Weichsel saw the rise of three new cities.‖ Lithuania, which had been a vast wilderness of wood and marsh, over which wandered a wild and ferocious population, became now covered with towns and villages. Prussia itself possessed no city before the arrival of the Teutonic knights. The manners of a city life were wholly unknown to the ancient inhabitants: as in Germany of old, these savage sons of nature had neither walls nor towers. It was the desire of living under the just and free government of the Teutonic order, which was wholly ecclesiastical, that induced multitudes of Germans, in the thirteenth century, during a season of scarcity, to pass into Prussia to inhabit the new cities, which had been founded there in the desert. The bishops of Prussia testified to the college of cardinals, that the Teutonic brothers administered the public affairs with such justice, discipline, and peace, that innumerable people, from diverse nations, passed into their colonies, desiring to live under their rule.* Parish churches were generally to villages, what monasteries and cathedrals were to great cities—the centre and bond of their rise and progress. The ancient capitals, indeed, were generally allowed to convey the right of pre-eminence to their churches; and in the great council of Nice, which regulated the rights and jurisdiction of the chief bishopricks of Christendom, these ancient and primitive customs were strictly maintained.† But after the overthrow of the Roman empire, and in the multiplied divisions of territory which ensued, it was the state which looked to the church for the site of capitals; and the residence of a bishop or the existence of a great monastery, were often the preservation of the rights of the ancient cities, to which they owed their being chosen as the seats of the new government. The social elements which existed in every converted nation were highly favourable to the increase, not only of towns, but even of capitals; for, independent of the political circumstances of the world, it was natural that cities which acquired such extreme importance from the devotion of the people, should be invested with a corresponding dignity in relation to the civil power. However, perhaps it would be more correct to say, that the capitals were not allowed then to assume that exclusive importance which they at present possess. The influence of religion was too universal for any one city to become like Rome, in heathen, or like Paris or London, in our times. The church was the attraction and point of union; and therefore Canterbury, and York, and Winchester, and Salisbury, and many other cities of England, were as much desired as places of residence as the metropolis itself, although the presence of the court drew there the attendance of a certain number of persons, whose duties connected them with it. Had Rome been Christian at the fall of Veii, she would not have deemed

* Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. X. 252.
† Præfat. in II. Sæcul. Benedict. § 5.
‡ Procop. Riga Histor. Goth. 339.
§ Voigt. Geschichte Preussens.
‖ Voigt. IV. 138.

* Voigt. IV. 270.
† Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, Tom. V. c. 5.

the subsistence of that city, even if it were inhabited by Romans, and possessing elective magistrates of its own, as endangering the unity of the repnblic. In point of construction too, as well as in their customs and government, the provincial towns of Christendom did not resemble those of modern times, nor the old Roman colonies, miniature likenesses of the capital.* Each had often a style of architecture, as well as municipal laws, peculiar to it; and thus the charm of variety was added to the advantages of a maternal administration.

It has been remarked by Baron Cnvier, in his Lectures on the History of Natnral Philosophy, as a circumstance of the middle ages, which was favourahle to learning and to the cultivation of minds, that centres of government were then multiplied; for in the vast nnmber of small states which then existed, each capital became a source of real civilization, the influence of which was concentrated within moderate limits. In vast empires, letters and sciences are necessarily drawn to one seat of government, and the distant provinces are left in comparative destitution. The modern systems of empire, are, in fact, in this respect, heathen, in the same manner as those of the middle ages indicated the influence of the philosophy and of the manners of Christians. I am aware, indeed, that an exclusive acquaintance with the religion of the modern sects may render the whole of this statement an extraordinary and untenable proposition to the ears of many; these opinions, it is true, tend to separate men, instead of to nnite them, or at the most, they leave them free to follow the caprice of their disposition, or the condition of their birth. A life in community or in towns is not reqnired where religious worship, to which no obligation is attached, consists in attendance only on the Snnday, and at an advanced honr of the day; hut the Catholic religion, hy the celebration of its consoling mysteries, both attractive and obligatory, draws men together in multitudes, who, merely for the sake of fulfilling the duties or desires of their supernatural life, are induced to establish themselves in places that furnish the means; and hence, no argument can be drawn against this view of the rise and progress of Christian cities, from observing the wants and manners of the present age. Indeed, that this was the process in the rise or augmentation of the Christian towns, is a fact which is attested by history. Paris, in the beginning of the third dynasty, being confined to the island in the Seine, and there being four abbeys on both sides, at equal distances from it, those of St. Laurence, St. Geneviève, St. Germain-des-Près, and St. Germain l'Auxerrois, each surrounded with the houses of persons who songht the neighbourhood of the abbey, the jnnction of these fonr villages formed the fntnre enclosure of the capital.* The suburbs of most cities were formed by the devotion of people who chose to fix their habitations near the convents and hospitals, which stood originally without the gates. The great abbey of St. Clande in Franche-Comte, gave rise to a considerable town huilt abont it. In the fifth centnry, St. Briget, having chiefly resided in her monastery at Kildare, the repntation of her sanctity and miracles made that place so renowned, and so much frequented, that the many buildings erected abont the convent, during her life, formed a town, which in process of time grew to be so considerable, as to have the episcopal see placed there.

Religion had always first possession. Freyburg in Switzerland was huilt in the twelfth century, by Bertholde Duke of Zaehringen; but before his time there was there a solitary castle with a chapel on the rock over the Sarine, in the midst of a vast forest. A multitnde of towns and villages retained the name of what had originally given them birth. Such as Lachapelle, Abbeville, Monasteriolnm, Little Monastery, which became Montreuil, of which there are so many in France, and one in Ireland, Monastereven; and even when the origin was different, the piety of these ages desired that the very name of cities should be a homage to religion. When it was proposed that the new city, which was built on the ruins of the Christian camp before the walls of Grenada, should be called by the name of Isabella, so dear to the army and to the nation, that devout princess, calling to mind the holy cause in which it was erected, gave it the name of Santa Fé, or the city of the holy faith; and it remains to this day a monument of the piety and glory of the Catholic sovereigns. The custom began in the East with the religious orders of knighthood, and it was extended to the north by the Teutonic order, of giving holy names to cities newly erected;† thus as the clergy and

* Aul. Gellius, XVI. 13.

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. I. 83.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 583.

people celebrated a devout festival, and deposited a shrine of relics in a chapel, was the town newly recovered from the Lithuanians solemnly named Christmemel, in honour of the holy Saviour.* From these, then, and many other similar facts, which the reading and observation of each person will easily suggest, it will be seen with what justice we may apply to the Catholic religion those celebrated words of the Roman orator, which were only true on his tongue so long as they referred merely to the great original traditions and revealed principles, of which the full development was reserved for Christian ages. "O vitæ dux! o virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! tu urbes peperisti; tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti; tu magistra morum et disciplinæ fuisti: ad te confugimus; à te opem petimus; tibi nos, ut antea magna ex parte, sic nunc penitus, totosque tradimus. Est autem unus dies bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati anteponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus utamur quam tuis? quæ et vitæ tranquillitatem largita nobis es, et terrorem mortis sustulisti."†

The Catholic religion not only founded and preserved cities and towns, but also gave a new importance to those which she found existing, and to many imparted a renown which from henceforth cannot be separated from her own eternal destiny: for although wherever the Catholic religion has been withdrawn, the material glory, unless preserved by very extraordinary local circumstances, has passed away, and often been followed by utter ruin and desolation, still to many the fame, grandeur, and interest cannot be said to have perished; since even in those streets which are now deserted, as those we read about in ancient times, of Gabii and Fidenae, their intellectual greatness stands like a monument for everlasting ages and books, and the solemn offices of the universal church will make it in some sense even to the eye of men as durable as the world. But this refers only to those whom learning makes conversant with the past. To the generality of men, nothing is more certain than that these cities are not what they once were: if any one should retain that superstitious scruple which restrained the ancients from ever affirming that any thing had perished, he may adopt, with regard to them, Virgil's expression and say,

——— fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum!

To seek proof of this, we have not to look to a distance. Witness any of our great ecclesiastical cities; for example, Canterbury, and compare its former with its present condition. In the ages of faith, men of learning, artists, saints, and kings used to repair thither with a multitude of devout pilgrims from all parts of the world: and without an inducement from recollection or from observation of the past, who would now travel from a distance to visit it, unless some farmer, who desired to sell the produce of his hop ground? If any others there should he, anxious to repair thither, methinks they are so few that we might say of them with Dante, "a little stuff would furnish out their cloaks." Formerly, the men of learning and sanctity, and of intellectual greatness, all over Europe, felt an interest in what passed at Canterbury. Under St. Theodore, and for many ages afterwards, it gave penitential laws to almost all the churches of the West. The site of its various monuments was known, studied, and explained by scholars in Italy, Spain, and France. Chardon, a Benedictine in France speaks of the situation of a little humble church of St. Martin in the suburbs, as if he were describing the most familiar monument in his native town. What could be said of Canterbury at present, excepting that it resembles every other provincial city in England? and assuredly that is not a description which is calculated to sanction the idea that it is intimately connected with the fine arts, with learning, with sanctity, and with every kind of intellectual interest which should endear it to the most distant members of the Christian family. Had England continued in communion with the Catholic church, it is possible that Birmingham and Manchester might not have attained to their present character, for merciless inhuman industry would not have been tolerated; but York, and Winchester, and Canterbury, and Exeter, and Salisbury, and other cities of the same type, would have possessed some degree of the interest attached to Milan, Verona, Bologna, and even Florence. In another way also religion gave celebrity to places, for the meekness which left men of the greatest genius and learning without any other distinction but that of the place of their birth or residence, the name of which was attached to that which they had received in baptism, was an occasion of ren-

* Ib. IV. 300
† Tuscul. V. 2.

dering almost every little town celebrated. Thus Malmesbury triumphed in her William; Tours in her Gregory; Blois in her Louis; St. Denis in her nameless Monk; Verona in her Zeno; Pisa in her Peter; Exeter in her Joseph; Ramsey in her Monk; Huntingdon in her Henry; Salisbury in her John.

Anqnetil says in the Introduction to his History of Rheims, that "the history of some cities may be as curious as that of great states." Poncius Cato, one of the most learned of the Romans, collected accurately the origin of the Italian cities, as did Terentius Varro, and Antiochus, the Syracusan, and many others. Their motives in collecting such materials were different indeed from those which made Christian writers feel so deep an interest in the antiquity of their cities, but yet there were some grounds in common between them. Dionysius Halicarnassus says of the reasons which induced him to write upon the antiquities of Rome, "It seemed right that so illustrious a history should not be left to silence; for the importance of such a work would be great; since by these means brave men, who have fulfilled their fate, will gain an immortal glory, and the men of this age and of all future times will be led to imitate the example of these god-like men in adopting, not the sweetest and most easy, but the most generous and honourable life, resolving to think highly of themselves on account of such a noble origin, and never to commit any action unworthy of their ancestors."* The old French histories of the different cities of France, form a department of literature highly curious, and in every respect remarkable; and, indeed if on general grounds, as the wise critic of heathen antiquities observes, the histories of illustrious cities ought not to be written hastily and rashly, but with the utmost diligence and caution,† they ought to be more peculiarly studied in our own times, because cities and churches are now described in books elaborately executed, but composed by the most audacious triflers, who write, as the present holy father of the faithful says, "what they find, not what they understand," and by the most inveterate enemies of the religion of truth. With respect to the old local historians, we find that they generally passed over the heathen antiquities of their cities, though, like Lyons, they may have been successively Celtic, Greek, and Roman: they confine their researches to the commencement of the Christian annals, as it was to them they referred when they wished to exhibit their trophies of truly honourable renown. The cities of Italy and France could boast of the names of apostolic men, who had preached the faith in the first century, and founded episcopal sees in which the regular succession of pontiffs had never been interrupted. Thus St. Apollinare was revered at Ravenna; St. Savinian, at Sens; St. Sixtus, at Rheims; St. Potentian, at Troyes; St. Martial, at Limoges; St. Trophime, at Arles; St. Julien, at Mans; St. Crescens, at Vienne; St. Memme, at Châlons: St. Ursin, at Bourges; St. Austremoine, at Clermont in Auvergne; St. Entropius, at Xaintes; St. Frout, at Perigueux: St. Irenæus, at Lyons. It was considered the highest glory of a city or of a province to have produced a number of saints. Thus the chronicle of St. Riqnier says, "while all the world rejoices in being redeemed by the descent and incarnation of the only Son of God, and the common deliverance gives rise to a common exultation, it is known to be the peculiar joy of some places that they possessed men who, from their sanctity and learning deserved the title of Fathers, and with this privilege our province is indeed richly endowed."* Even little villages by the way side acquired sometimes great celebrity and importance from having given birth to saints. Witness Nanterre, which produced St. Geneviève, and Nogent in Champagne, where St. Vinebauld was born.

The Prologue to the Life of St. Marcellin, Bishop of Embrun in the sixth century, contains the following passage: "By the liberality of Christ, the combats of illustrious martyrs, and the praises of blessed confessors have filled the world to such a degree, that almost every city can boast of having for patrons martyrs born within its walls."—"I take a pleasure," continues that ancient writer, "in seeking every where the palms of these glorious champions; and I often travel about with this design, inquiring of the inhabitants respecting them, and addressing myself to the oldest men, who are often unanimous in their accounts: with such materials I then transmit their memory to future ages." St. Ceraune, Bishop of Paris in the seventh century, devoted his life to this employ-

* Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.

† Dionysii Halicar. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.

* Chronicon Centulensis sive Richarii, Lib. IV. c. 1. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

ment: he wrote to all the clerks whom he supposed were instructed in the traditions of their conntry, praying them to collect for him this kind of information. Many similar examples may be found in Gaul, from the fonrth to the tenth century. These were often the materials nsed in the great collection of the Bollandists. The spirit of all this traditionary lore is well expressed in the inscription which has been placed over the gate of the suhterranean church in Cremona's Cathedral, which is to this effect: "Your holy fellow citizens here have altars for tombs. Enter and revere the ashes of those whose examples you will imitate." But in speaking of the new interest which the ancient cities of the world acquired with their adoption of the Christian faith, who has not already been transported in imagination to Rome—to that city, justly called eternal, not hecause her heathen glories have been perpetuated, but on account of her saintly lustre and divine pre-eminence, which, hy a mysterious law of heaven has been associated inseparahly with the interests and the destiny of souls, which are themselves immortal. It is not to Rome, triumphant, to Rome, queen of the world, that onr mind would now revert, but, as Torqnato Tasso says, in his reply to Plntarch, it is to Rome, restored hy the virtue of one and of many most holy Pontiffs, to Rome become hnmble from being proud, pacific from being warlike, and as it were celestial from being earthly, to Rome, boasting not so mnch of her former greatness as of the present things which inspire her with joy.* Let us go back to the age of this wondrous transition, and behold a scene nohly described hy the anthor of the Martyrs. "Whence come these immense armies? who are these people, hastening from the four regions of the earth? the scourge of God condncts them: their horses are lighter than leopards: they gather troops of captives as mountains of sand. What mean these kings clothed in the skins of beasts, who slay their prisoners round the cities which they have besieged? All come from the desert of a fearful land: all march towards the new Bahylon. Art thon fallen, qneen of cities? Is thy capitol huried in the dust? How desert are thy plains! what a solitnde around thee! Bnt, O astonishing prodigy! the cross appears in the midst of this whirlwind of dust! it rises over Rome risen from ruins; it marks all its edifices; the children of the Apostles occnpy the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars; the porticos where the death of the Christians was vowed, are changed into pious cloisters, and penitence now dwells where before reigned triumphant crime."* "I also love Rome," says St. Chrysostom, "and though I might praise it for its greatness, its antiqnity, its beauty, its multitude of inhabitants, its empires, its riches, its warlike fame; yet omitting all these things, on this account alone I proclaim it blessed, because Paul, while alive, was so affectionate towards it, preached to it, and lastly ended his life within it, whose holy body it possesses; and therefore is this city illustrious more than all others. The sun shines not with snch splendour in the heavens as this city of the Romans casting forth beams from these resplendant bodies of Peter and Paul. Consider it, and shndder at the spectacle which Rome will hehold; namely, Paul snddenly from that shrine, with Peter, rising to meet the Lord in the air! What a rose will Rome then send to Christ; with what two crowns is this city adorned: truly I admire this city, not on account of the ahundance of gold, not on acconnt of columns, nor any other object of beauty, hut on account of these columns of the Church."†

In a lower degree some associations of a kindred nature belonged to almost every city, for there was hardly one which could not boast of having some martyr or holy confessor connected with its history. Vienna rejoiced in her St. Stephen, Brussels in her St. Gudule, Madrid in her St. Isidore, Paris in her St. Denis, St. Germain, and St. Geneviève, Lyons in her St. Irenæus, Poitiers in her St. Hilary, Limoges in her St. Martial, Sens in her St. Savinien, St. Columbus, St. Lonp, Milan in her St. Ambrose, Tours in her St. Martin, Arles in her St. Cesareus. The circumstance of any person of eminent sanctity residing within a city was enongh to make it celebrated; his death was in one sense a puhlic calamity, though in another, religion converted it into a higher consolation, as in the instance when St. John of God was dying in Granada, and he gave the city his dying benediction hy order of the archbishop; or as when their bodies were preserved as treasures, and their prayers invoked as affectionate intercessors for their fellow-citizens. At other places, thongh

* Torquato Tasso Risposta di Roma a Plutarco.

* Les Martyrs, Liv. XI.

† St. Chrysost. Serm. XXXII. in Moral Exhort.

men could refer to saints among their own citizens, yet they chose to invoke the prayers of blessed spirits who had earlier passed upon the earth. Such were Florence and Genoa, of the former of which Dante says,

"In that city I dwelt,
Which for the Baptist her first patron chang'd."

Such too was Parma, which chose St. Thomas for one of its protectors on account of having been delivered from its enemies on his festival. Lawful, useful, and landable was known to be this invocation of holy patrons. Lot prayed to the angels, and obtained that the city of Segor should not be destroyed by fire from heaven.* Jacob asked and obtained a blessing from the angel.† Moses besought God to remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, his servants.‡ The three children in the furnace implored his mercy for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Israel;§ and God declared He would protect that city, and would save it, for the sake of David his servant.||

With respect to the new character assumed by cities, it is worthy of remark that Petrarch, though speaking with the pride of an old Roman, yet in contrasting the ancient with the actual state of Cologne, is obliged to give the preference to the latter. "I have beheld the capitol," he says, "an image of our own, excepting that instead of the senate assembling there to take counsel upon peace and war, there are inhabiting it beautiful youths and holy virgins, who sing nocturnal lauds to God with eternal concord. There one heard the noise of wheels and arms, and the groans of captives; here one finds rest and joy, and the voices of the cheerful; there, in short, moves a warlike, and here a pacific conqueror."¶

To religion must be ascribed not only the rise and preservation of cities, but also many peculiarities of their structure, and by far the greatest portion of their beauty. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that in three things he chiefly beheld the magnificence of Rome, in the aqueducts, the great roads, and the sewers; all monuments designed to promote material interest, none connected with mind and with spirit for the benefit of the soul. In Christian Rome, and in a Catholic city, the cloaca maxima are but little regarded: which circumstance ought not to be a surprise to the moderns, since even the heathen philosophers themselves acknowledged that, as Pliny says, "Oportet mortalibus utilitatibus æternas anteferre."* It was not merely public utility, as he says, that was to be preferred to private, but eternal to temporal, and therefore it ought not to be an offence to philosophers when they find that churches and monasteries had pre-eminence over docks and sewers. The unhappy heathens, indeed, found within their cities more objects to proclaim national glory, or the power of a selfish superstition than resources even against their temporal calamities. In that celebrated forum they had three arches of triumph, temples to Fortune, and columns to princes, but they had never heard there of the via della consolazione. If with modern cities there should be any poetry connected, it is only as with the city of the Phœnicians, on entering which Ulysses wondered at the harbours, docks, and ships, the market places and public halls, the long walls and lofty bulwarks of defence wondrous to behold.† The modern philosophy has in this manner paganized the very structure of cities; though, indeed, Juvenal pays a compliment to the Romans at the period of their greatest corruption, which could not be extended to ourselves, for he tells them that they had erected no temples to money. But in the middle ages some image or emblem of religion was always the first and most striking object to excite the admiration of a stranger. In the fourteenth century men could not begin to build, even that lofty tower at the public palace of Sienna, without placing a marble chapel at its base; and even the material monuments of cities were spiritualized, and in some way or other connected with the intellectual and immortal nature. A striking instance of this may be witnessed in a certain town of the Tyrol, where one sees a fountain surmounted by an image of our Saviour; the stream of water issues from the wound in his adorable side, and at the foot is this inscription, "O all ye that thirst, come to the fountain of life," at once supplying the temporal wants of the people, and under this beautiful emblem affording a most instructive Christian lesson. So again the author of the "Calendrier des Bergeres," which was printed in 1499,

* Gen. xxxiii. † Id. xlviii.
‡ Exod. xxxiii. § Dan. iii.
|| Reg. xix. ¶ Epist. Fam. Lib. I. 4.

* Epist. Lib. VII. 18. † Od. VII. 43.

in enumerating the praises of the city of Paris, begins with its schools of theology and arts:

> O Paris, souveraine et digne
> Source de science divine
> Comme saincte théologie.

And he says that its material grandeur consists in its beautiful churches, its vast cemetery of the Holy Innocents, its great bridge, Nôtre Dame, and its Hostel Dieu.*

In fact, in the cities of the middle ages, there were no monuments of decoration to be seen which corresponded with the heathen philosophy, no pantheons, columns, statues of kings, or triumphal arches; or, as at Rome, such remains of pagan grandeur were sanctified and converted into Christian monuments, for purposes analogous to the truths of the holy wisdom. Thus at Rome, the monuments of Egyptian superstition are made to pay homage to the Christian church. The solar obelisk erected at Heliopolis by Psammiticus I., king of Egypt, which had been brought to Rome by Augustus, is now near the church of St. Lorenzo, in Lucina. The immense obelisk transported from the ruins of Thebes, in High Egypt, stands in the place of St. John Lateran. That which was transported to Rome by Caligula, and described by Pliny, is in the front of St. Peter's, and bears an inscription on the base, which fills with tears of admiration the eyes of the devout stranger.

Wonderfully is the power of religion developed there in converting the most loathsome monuments of crime and error into objects that are gazed upon with devout reverence. Such is that stair-case of the Hall of Pilate, which every Christian on visiting the Basilica of St. John Lateran ascends upon his knees; such that colosseum that once used to flow with the blood of martyrs, which is now a place of prayer and holy contemplation; such that pagan portico, which now leads to some church of the living God; such are those columns erected to commemorate the triumph of worldly conquerors, which are now surmounted with images of apostles; such those obelisks once dedicated to an impure superstition, which now sustain the cross of Christ; such that Mamertine and Tullian prison in the forum, built by Ancus Martius and Servius Tullius, which heard the expiring groans of Jugurtha, and which is now a sanctuary, crowded incessantly by faithful Christians, who go there to venerate the prison which confined St. Peter and St. Paul.

At Aosta again, the triumphal arch which was built by Augustus on subduing the inhabitants of that valley, is surmounted with a crucifix, which is said to have been there ever since the first conversion of the city to Christianity; but in no instance did Christians in the ages of faith erect such monuments. When Pope Adrian VI., indeed, entered Rome, a triumphal arch was constructing at Porta Portuense for his reception, but he ordered the work to be interrupted, saying, "These were the pomps of heathenism." The only trophies in Christian cities were suitable to the victory which overcometh the world, and, like that colossal image at Arona, in honour of the best sort of conquerors. The first triumphal arches in Paris to commemorate temporal conquests were erected in 1670, when the walls were demolished.*

The first statue erected to a king of France was that of Henry IV. on the Pont-neuf; and Portugal had erected no statue of any of her monarchs, until the sophist Pombal awarded this honour to King Joseph the First, when he placed a portrait of himself in bronze on the front of the pedestal. During the middle ages, if a statue of a king were made it was to be placed upon his tomb, or on the portal of some church, or over the gates of some hospital or college, which he had founded. Even the ancients never formed a statue for a public square, like that of Louis XIV. in the Place of Victory, which seems a personification of frivolity and egotism. The statue of himself which Constantine erected in Rome, after his victory over Maxentius, was in fact a trophy of religion, for it represented him holding a cross in his right hand; and the inscription which was placed under it testified that by that salutary sign he had delivered the ancient city from the yoke of a tyrant, and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their former dignity and greatness. The columns of modern cities date from the protestant scholars commemorating, in language worthy of a nobler cause, the fanaticism of heresy in England; those of France have been erected in days subsequent to the revolution.

Thus our very buildings and monuments bear witness to that tendency towards pagan opinions relative to the motives of

* Gouget, Bibliotheque Française, Tom. X. p. 189.

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. 439.

human action, which has been constantly on the increase since the sixteenth century, till we have lived to see it arrive at a complete and open profession of idolatry, in the establishment of a pantheon in the frivolous and guilty city. It was indeed natural that the honour of Apotheosis should be first revived in that land where there would be always a supply of men vain enough to desire it. St. Jerome said long ago, in writing to a heretic of Gaul, "The world is full of Centaurs and Sirens, Ululas and Onocrataluses, Leviathans and Behemoths. There is the Erimanthian boar and the Nemean lion, the Cacus of Virgil, and the Gorgon of Spain. Gaul alone has no monsters, but abounds with eloquent and brave men."* But if Christian cities wanted these impure ornaments of worldly triumph, they were not without objects of a meek and admirable beauty peculiarly their own.

Theodoret, in his life of St. Simeon Stylites, testifies that every where in Rome before the entrance of shops stood an image of that saint whom they invoked as a guardian; and the fathers of the second Council of Nice recommended the erection of holy images and paintings on the public ways, according, as they said, to the ancient pious custom. In all cities, at the corners of streets, and in the markets amidst the busy crowd and piles of objects for sale, you beheld the gracious image of our blessed Lady, holding the divine child enfolded in her arms. The laborious people occupied amidst these tumultuous scenes, from time to time, would turn their eyes to this benignant form, and feel fresh strength to support their various trials. The sweetest flowers of the season are placed, from time to time, by pious hands at its feet, while garlands of every hue are suspended over it and across the public ways. The same image smiled upon the poor from the portals of palaces, and seemed to encourage the timid to pass beyond the proud threshold of the more powerful citizens. Thus, in the court of the old Hotel of Harcourt, in the street of La Harpe, at Paris, as also in that of the Hotel de Cluny, in the street of the Mathurins, you see over the small Gothic door which led to the principal apartments, a niche richly decorated to contain the image of our Lady. Monteil reckons among the multitude of little services daily rendered by the people of Paris to one another, "the indication of images in the streets or of the signs of houses, for almost every private house was then distinguished by a sign which generally represented the patron of the family."* At the present day a walk through Oxford or Gloucester, if the eyes be kept fixed upon the buildings of ancient times, is like reading an old book full of majesty and holiness. Under the images of our Lady, which are in nearly every corner of the solemn and almost cloistered streets of Bologna, you observe sentences inscribed from the holy Scriptures, teaching the way of a blessed life and death. Upon a wall at Padua, which contains the monument of Rolando de Placiola, you read these divine lines:—

Præter amare Deum, cum cætera deleat ætas,
Hic sere, quod plena postmodo falce metas.

Entering Stia, a small town among the Apennines, with the ruins of an old castle above it, I saw a little chapel at the end of the bridge, on which was an inscription to this effect: "Here is the bridge to enter Stia, and here is the chapel of our blessed Lady. May it prove to us a bridge to heaven." At Lucern, there is a little chapel in which is a lamp ever burning over that pier of the bridge, which one might fear every moment was going to be swept away by the fury of the flood which swells and rages round it, in a remarkable manner. At St. Maurice, there is an oratory on the great arch over the Rhone; at Dresden, the bridge is lined with images of saints; and at Prague the Moldan still beholds its martyr as if looking down gratefully upon the waters which had given him the blessed palm. Walking one night in Florence, I saw a great light upon a bridge over the Arno: it was from a little oratory of our Lady where three priests and some children were singing nocturns before an illuminated altar. Then, in order that passengers in the night may be reminded of heavenly things, and our blessed Lady honoured in the night, you behold the lamps before her image which are lighted as the sun goes down. In fact, the streets of cities derived their light from the number of these lamps which burned before the images of our Lady, or the paintings of saints.† Tiek beautifully avails himself of these in representing one who has overheard a horrible plot arranged in a street at midnight before an image of our Lady; when the

* Epist. XXXVIII.

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. IV. 377.
† Monteil.

wretches had moved away, this person comes forth from the dark niche, shuddering and lifts his looks to the image and says, "Before thine eyes, thou mild and blessed one, are these miscreants audaciously holding their market and trafficking in their infernal drugs. But as thou embracest thy child with thy love, so doth heavenly love encircle us all with its protecting arms; we feel their touch; and our poor hearts beat joyously and tremulously toward a greater heart that will never forsake us." The whole of the fronts of houses exhibited beautiful carvings of some sacred subjects, of some symbolical device, or interesting local tradition, or else of grotesque figures, to inspire gaiety. The windows were richly ornamented, and the patron of the family appeared everywhere. On the houses in Sarnen you see painted the history of the holy hermit Nicholas of the Rock, whose prayers once saved that town from the flames. At Paris, the celebrated Nicholas Flamel only followed the custom of that age in adorning the exterior walls of his house with images of devotion, and with pious inscriptions.* This custom is still observed in many Catholic countries, where you read continually, "Glory be to God alone. Blessed be God." The inmost thought of the possessor seems to be often expressed by an inscription. Over the door of one house, on which a crucifixion was painted, I read, "Jesus amor meus crucifixus est." Sometimes the inscription and device were mysterious, like that dove with an olive branch represented on the gate of Marengo at Pavia, under which a treble woe is denounced against its enemies.† At others, they were intended to impart to men some important council respecting the affairs of life. Catholic sentiment was most ingenious in this respect. In the year 1445, a citizen of Milan, Thomas de Caponago, placed an inscription at the foot of the staircase which leads to the tribunals of justice to warn the passengers from law suits. "In controversiis causarum corporales inimicitiæ oriuntur, fit amissio expensarum, labor animi exercetur, corpus quotidie fatigatur, multa et inhonesta crimina inde consequuntur, bona et utilia opera postponuntur." Such was the inscription. On approaching Italy from every side, we find the exterior walls of the inns and other houses adorned with frescos representing generally the Annunciation or the Nativity, executed in the style of the miniatures in the old illuminated prayer books, from which one might suppose they had been copied, having caught all that delicate grace and simplicity which captivate us in the works of the middle ages. Antiquity admired those paintings, with which the Athenians decorated the walls of their porticos. Pausanius relates that the exploits of that people were represented on the Pœcilia at Athens; and the moderns speak of the moral advantage resulting from the erection of monuments to great men that have been ornaments to their country; but how much lovelier, more cheering, and instructive to the eye of humanity are these peaceful trophies on the walls of Christian cities in which the barbarous principle of national glory is excluded, and nothing commemorated but what should be dear to the affections and inestimable in the judgment of the universal race of men? It must be admitted that devotion and reverence of the olden time contributed to irregularity of structure. Streets were made to bend to the position of churches, and as churches were generally built in the direction of east and west, the continuity of streets was often broken by their erection; for no one ever thought then that temples should be made to bend to the convenience of a mechanic's warehouse. The site and direction of churches were never determined by any obstacle from profane buildings.* In the year 846, while the Cathedral of Rheims was rebuilding, Charles-le-Chauve gave permission to Archbishop Hincmar to change, and to suppress the adjacent streets which might interfere with its convenience or decoration.† It may be observed that these crooked winding streets of our ancient cities are more favourable to picturesque effect than the regularity of the ancient Thurian or Ionian streets, mathematically arranged at right angles to each other like those of some modern cities. The bends and windings contributed even to the convenience of the passengers; for they broke the rays of the sun, and force of the wind, and served as a protection against both heat and cold. When the crookedness and narrowness of the streets of Rome had been remedied after the fire under

* Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa Femme, p. 11.

† Flavia Papia Sacra del P. Ghisoni Prolog.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. chap. 4.

† Anquetil. Hist. de Rheims, Lib. I. p. 115.

Nero, it was found that the broad straight streets were injurious to health,* and Niebuhr remarks that the quarter of the city which was erected in the middle ages with the same disregard of regularity as at the rebuilding after the departure of the Gauls, is at the present day, much more healthy than those which have wide regular streets running through them; and he considers the contrary opinion of Aristotle respecting the cities of Greece to be a mere theoretical assumption.† Viewed from a distance the appearance of the ancient Christian cities was full of indescribable majesty. How grand is the effect produced by those stupendous towers at Florence, raised by Giotto and Arnolpho di Lapo, the former encrusted with coloured marbles to the summit, the masterpiece of that famous architect and painter, as he is styled on his epitaph which is within the church, composed by Angelus Politian, the latter Gothic, and from its height and proportion, a prodigy of art! The tall and slender towers which rise above the Gothic palaces of Sienna, and those of Asinelli Garisendi at Bologna, leaning in such strange disorder, which have furnished images to Dante,‡ are the admiration of every beholder. Benjamin of Navarre reckoned ten thousand towers in Pisa. On one occasion one hundred and forty towers were demolished in Rome. Asti could boast of one hundred. Writers of the twelfth century speak with admiration of the towers of Pavia, which according to Breventano, amounted in all to five hundred and twenty five. One of these, erected in honour of the learned Giasone del Maino, stood reversed upon the cone; and was destroyed through stupid timidity, in the last century, when it was too late discovered that it had been built with such skill that it might have stood for many ages.§ The towers of Ravenna are round, and remind one forcibly of those so celebrated in Ireland, with the exception of the huge Torre del Publico, which now stoops as if from age, and of which no one knows the origin and founder. According to Bettinelli it was in the eleventh century that the rage for building towers in cities prevailed; those over private houses were generally for ornament and pomp;‖ on those of churches and palaces of justice were placed those curious clocks, like that on the tower of the palace of Padua in the year 1344, which were the work of men who were philosophers and astronomers, like John and James Dondi, with whom Petrarch corresponded, of a family so renowned for these works, that it took the surname of "degli orologi." But to return to the towers, what a contrast now is here to the dull uniform and unbroken line over the cities of the moderns! In London one can distinguish the Catholic and the Protestant city by the number of beautiful towers in the former, and the almost total absence of them in the latter, or the substitution of shapeless deformed masses; as in Genoa, where you behold the hideous forts built by Napoleon in the age of revolutions rising out of the midst of the beautiful palaces raised by the noble Genoese in the ages of meekness and faith. The situation, too, was often more favourable to devotion, and to the natural enjoyment of life, than to the desires of vanity or the wants of the effeminate. Towns were often called castles, being, like those which we see upon the Rhine, dependants upon a castle, and enclosed within its walls. Thus we have still Château-Thierri, Château-Goutier, Château-Landon, Château-Roux, and others. One might sometimes suppose that these Christian cities were built among wild rocks and mountains, from some religious and mysterious motive, suggested by the situation of Jerusalem, for the holy city was raised in a savage spot that it might be insulated on the mountains, to be free from the contagion of the earthly nations; and such a supposition would not be altogether groundless, if we bear in mind that as at Saltzbourg, monks were frequently the founders, and that a monastery had originally determined their site. But, be this as it may, our ancestors are to be admired for their choice of situation in the foundation of towns. Those picturesque cities encircled with crags, with their Ἐπιπολαί, such as Freybourg, Sion, and others, or those Etrurian bourgs which strike the pilgrim's eye at every step as he travels on between Florence and Sienna, and which have exactly the appearance of great castles rising over the woods, and crowning the summits of hills, may be a terror to the speculator in the transport of effects, but to a natural taste they are beyond all comparison preferable to those modern cities, extending beyond their original pleasant site upon the bank of rivers to

* Tacitus, Ann. XV. 43.

† Polit. VII. 2.

‡ Infer. XXXI.

§ La Torre del Pizzo in Gin Pavia. 1832.

‖ Risorgimento d'Italia et Muratori, Tom. II. Antiquit. Ital.

spread over uniform plains, to which, perhaps, the beams of the sun can never penetrate through the clouds in which their innumerable manufactories envelope them, as the people and city of the Cimmerians are described.

ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι.*

A city of this description is, to one accustomed to a city of the middle ages, what the gloomy forest was to Dante:

Which to remember only his dismay
Renews, in bitterness not far from death.†

He would describe leaving it in the words of the same poet, where he speaks of "emerging from a dead vapour which had saddened his eyes and heart." Such were not the cities which the Catholic religion founded and inspired, which seemed almost to have been raised expressly for poets or for saints, for those who love meditation, and beauty, and peace. Such, to name but one, is Pisa, with its towers, of white marble, its silent Gothic streets, and its holy field of the dead. But where are there not examples, notwithstanding the rage of modern destroyers? When I had visited the churches of Genoa, many of which present an interior like a vision of paradise, as far as mind at the sight of material beauty can conceive primeval things, and then in the sweet hour of twilight, when the sun had set upon

Those tall piles and sea-girt palaces,
Whose porphyry pillars, and whose costly front,
Fraught with the orient spoils of many marbles,
Seem each a trophy of some mighty deed;

and I had ascended one of the towers of that noble city, and looked down upon it in quiet contemplation, (aspect indescribable, which filled my eyes with "pleasant tears,") and then when I heard the sweet chiming of the Angelus break forth, and observed suddenly how innumerable lights began to cast their beams, burning before images of our blessed Lady,—there was in all this so planet-like a music, an order, and variety,—there was over the whole such a sky of poetry, such beauty to inhale in the very forms of man's creation,—that I felt as if suddenly presented with a new view of the wonders of the human course; and it occurred to me, that a great and important problem remained to be solved connected with the destinies of our nature: for how are we to explain this fact, of which I have here the evidence before me, that a religion which proposes only a future recompence, should yet put men in possession of so much that has affinity with supernal bliss? Yet the explanation is not difficult if we take into account the morality of the Catholic Church and its influence upon intelligences. When men are left to themselves and to their own miserable philosophy, all the energies of their noble natures are then directed to base ends, either to gratify their appetites, their love of sensual pleasure, their selfish pride, or love of personal and exclusive distinction. Abandoned to the pleasures of sense, they find in that dishonourable servitude a temporary source of satisfaction, sufficient, not indeed to give them peace, but to paralyse every generous and heroic effort. The active or creative spirit is either destroyed or misdirected to base and selfish ends; but when the principle of self-denial has once begun to operate, when the mind is restored and resuscitated by the vivifying spirit of Catholicism, all these energies, besides being strengthened, are employed in giving expression to their infinite desires, which have relation to beauty in its highest perfection. They seek no longer life to support

By earth, nor its base metals, but by love,
Wisdom, and virtue,————

and therefore their works resemble those of the Divine Architect, and bear testimony to the sublime and amazing record, that man was created after his image and endowed with capacities analogous. Their temples are each like a world coming forth from his plastic hand, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Their cities are so rich in beauteous forms, that they seem like the wondrous works of the Eternal Master, and the ancients would have believed that, as was affirmed of Athens, the gods themselves contended for their possession; or at least, that they were worthy of those who sought but one employment, —to celebrate them with a perpetual song.* In Rome, the utmost expression of beauty is seen at every step. The exquisite taste which is displayed in the disposition of works of art is no where else to be found. Rome, independent of all

* Od. XI. 15. † Hell. I.

* Hor. Carm. I. 7.

associations, is doubtless the most splendid city in the world. Her churches, porticos, fountains, palaces, obelisks, and palmy villas, make her like some ideal city in the fancy of a poet. It is right, and unqnestionably it is of necessary consequence, that the city of spirits, under the dominion of Intelligence and of the heavenly life, should be also that in which bodies and material forms approach the nearest to the essence of beauty, and are the farthest removed from all imperfection. Petrarch, in a letter to the Genoese, describes that state as it appeared in his youth. "Yonr conntry appeared a celestial paradise: such surely were the Elysian fields! What a beantiful object towards the sea! those towers which rose to heaven, those palaces where art excelled natnre! those hills covered with cedars, vines, and olives! those houses of marble built under the rocks! those delicious retreats on the shore, where sand shines like gold, on which the foaming waves, dashing their crystal heads, attract the eyes of the pilot, and stop the motion of the rowers! Can we behold without admiration the more than mortal figures that inhabited your city? Those who entered it, thonght they were in the temple of felicity and joy." Milton borrows one of his most beantiful similitudes from the appearance of such a city at the rising of the sun:—

——— As when a scout
Through dark and desert ways, with peril gone
All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renown'd metropolis,
With glittering spires and pinnacles adorn'd
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams.

A modern French writer (in a book of which I would conceal the title, as a man doth of some horrible thing), offers one admirable passage, in which he contrasts ancient Gothic Paris with the present capital, and shows the superior beauty of the former, appealing to all who have ever seen a Gothic city—entire, complete, homogeneous—such as Nuremberg in Bavaria, Vittoria in Spain, or even the little specimens of Vitré in Bretagne and of Nordhausen ln Prussia. "After all," he says, "since the time of Louis XI. Paris has not increased much more than hy a third part. It has eertainly lost much more in beauty than it has gained in extent. Let one imagine himself looking down from the towers of Nôtre Dame upon Paris as it was formerly. The eye was at first confused with the mass of roofs, streets, bridges, spires, and belfreys. There was the lofty sharp gable, the turrets suspended at the angles of walls, the round walled tower of the dungeon, the square and decorated tower of the chnrch; the great, the little, the massive, the aerial. The eyes were lost for a long time in the depth of this labyrinth, where was nothing which had not its originality, its reason, its genius, its beauty; nothing which did not owe somewhat to art, from the least house, painted and carved as to its external wood-work, and with its arched door and sloped stories, to the royal Louvre, which had then a colonnade of towers. After describing the multitude of beantiful and snblime edifices, churches, convents, colleges, palaces, hotels, and halls, which were distinguishable ont of this mass of hnildings, he concludes with observing, "This is nevertheless the city of which Voltaire has said, that 'before Louis XIV. it possessed only four fine monuments;' a sentence which proves, that a man may have a great genius, and comprehend nothing of an art in which he has not been initiated. Thus Moliere thought to pay a high compliment to Raphael and Michael Angelo, in calling them those Mignards of their age. Gothie Paris became first disfigured hy the architectural paganism which was contemporary with Lnther; then followed a succession of other styles till the Revolntion, when a taste arose, Greek and Roman, which produced monnments that bore as much resemblance to the Coliseum or to the Parthenon, as the constitution of the year four did to the laws of Minos. This he calls the style Messidor. Then followed the style Napoleon, with its columns of bronze made with cannon, and, he might have added, with the bells of ehurches. In the modern styles, there is a total want of that presiding jndgment which knew how to adapt the architecture of an edifice to its particular destination, and to the climate of the conntry. Thns an exchange is shown which might be a royal palace, a chamber of parliament, a town house, a college, a riding-school, an academy, a museum, a barrack, a sepulchre, a temple, a theatre; and it has a flat Eastern roof, so that it must be swept and scraped in time of snow, as if it entered into the design of a roof, that it ought to be swept and scraped. Returning to the Gothic city of the fourteenth century, behold that surprising hedge of needles, of towers,

and of belfreys, rising over the midst of the immense city, excepting where it is broken at the point of islands, and interrupted by the winding river. Cover it with the shades of night, and mark the strange play of light and shadow in this sombre labyrinth of edifices; cast over it a beam of moonlight, which may vaguely sketch and bring out the vast crown of towers with the thousand sharp angles of spires and turrets,—and then compare. And if you wish to receive an impression from the old city which the modern cannot give you, ascend some elevated point which commands the entire city, at the hour of sun-rise, on the morning of some festival, and assist at the awakening of the bells. At the same moment these thousand churches vibrate. At first it is a scattered sound, passing from one church to another, as when musicians give signs of being about to commence. Then suddenly see—for sometimes it would seem that the ear has also its sight—see rising at the same moment, as it were, a column of noise, like a smoke of harmony. At first the vibrations of each bell rises straight, pure, and as if isolated from one another in the splendid sky of the morning; then by degrees increasing, they melt into one, and are mixed and amalgamated in a magnificent concert. It is now only one mass of sonorous vibrations, disengaged unceasingly from innumerable towers, which floats, undulates, rebounds, and thunders over the city, and prolongs, far beyond the horizon, the deafening circle of its oscillations. And yet this sea of harmony is not a chaos. Vast and profound as it is, still it has not lost its transparency; you see winding apart each group of notes which escapes from the belfreys; you can follow the dialogue alternately grave and piercing, from the chime to the great bell; you see the octaves jump from one tower to another; you see them dart forth, winged, light and hissing from the silver bell, and fall broken and heavy from that of baser materials; you see the rich gammut which descends and remounts unceasingly from the seven bells of one tower; you see dart through it the clear and rapid notes which make three or four luminous zigzag lines, and vanish like the lightning; below, it is the sharp and glassy chime of the abbey of St. Martin; on that side, it is the deep low murmur of the Louvre, and on the other it is the royal volley of the palace, while from time to time, at equal intervals, the heavy tone of the belfrey of Nôtre Dame makes them all sparkle like the anvil under the hammer. Through the whole mass of sublime noise you see pass at intervals sounds of every form, from the low indistinct murmur to the sharp note of the Ave Maria, which explodes and sparkles like a shower of stars. Certes, this is an opera which deserves to be heard. The city seems to sing, as during the stillness of the night it had seemed to breathe. Lend an ear then to this chorus, which rises over the murmur of half a million of men, which mingles with the eternal lamentation of the stream, the infinite sighings of the wind wafted over the surrounding forests, which blend and soften what might have been too rough and piercing, and then say whether you know of any thing in the world more rich, more joyous, more golden, more resplendent than this tumult of chiming and tolling bells, than this furnace of music, than these ten thousand voices of brass, chaunting altogether within flutes of stone of the length of three hundred feet, than this city, which is only one orchestra, than this symphony, which is as loud as a tempest."

Of the churches and monasteries, which were the noblest, and generally, as at Paris, the most ancient of the Christian monuments in cities,* I shall speak hereafter: but besides these, the learned stranger was sure to meet with objects in most cities connected with ancient heroic or saintly fame; for religion stimulated men to preserve them with more than merely human care. Nothing is older in the history of men than the indications of a similar inclination to revere ancestral associations; so that the monuments have existed even where the fame had perished,—like those walls at the villa of Mecænas at Tivoli, of which antiquarians can only say, that they are an astonishment and an uncertain work, opus incertum. Dionysius says that down to his time the Romans preserved one of the original houses of the companions of Romulus, when he lived among the swineherds and cow-herds on the mountains, where their huts used to be made of wood and rushes, without any joining: he says that this one, which was preserved sacred, used to be called the house of Romulus; there were persons appointed to take care of it, and to see that nothing should be added to it for the sake of ornament, but if any part were destroyed by the injury of time or weather, it used to be carefully

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XVIII.

repaired and restored, as far as possible, to its original appearance.* Before the time of the Dorians, at Mycenæ were to be seen the Cyclopian Hall of Eurystheus, and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon. Nevertheless Cicero was a witness that the most noble city of Greece, and once the most learned, knew not the monument of one of its most acute citizens until it was shown to them by a man of Arpinum.† But the old monuments in Christian cities were chiefly venerable from a pious sentiment, which made men revere whatever was connected with the friends of God in former times, and there were more certain grounds than the ancients possessed for determining their authenticity, because the ecclesiastical records had been constantly preserved from the first ages in the capitals of each diocese and in the monasteries. When the Abbé Lebeuf was employed in composing his history of the diocese of Paris, he found that the country curates were able to supply him with much local antiquarian information that was highly interesting. It appears that in the very first ages the Christians adorned cities with memorials of the grace of heaven. Eusebius relates, that when he was at Cæsarea Philippi, he saw at the door of one house a bronze image of a woman on a stone column kneeling and with hands outstretched as a suppliant, and opposite to it stood, in the same metal, the image of a man, standing holding out his hand to her. These represented Jesus Christ and the woman who touched his garment to be healed. On entering the city, adds the historian, we beheld these statues.‡ These images were afterwards destroyed by Julian, but the fragments were collected by the Christians, and placed in the church, as Sozomen relates.§ Many streets of Christian cities became distinguished by some venerable name or memorial of faith. What stranger is not now moved with indescribable sensations of devout pleasure when, for example, in that pious and faithful city which the Rhone devastates and the Saone caresses, he finds himself unexpectedly in the street of St. Polycarp, or in the streets and churches of St. Irenæus, of St. Just, and of St. Pothin? or when at Rome, though I can now only hint at the sacred memorials of that amazing and holy city, he enters the way of St. Nicholas in Carcere, and the way of St. Peter's Chains, and beholds the prison where the blessed apostles were confined, and that Pyramid by the Ostian road which saw the blessed Paul go to martyrdom. All Rome flocks to the chambers of a retired student in the Roman College, when the Church commemorates St. Aloysius Gonzaga. In the Gesu are preserved the small humble rooms which St. Ignatius occupied, his little study, and the small low chamber floored with tiles in which he died. Here is now an altar, at which St. Charles Boromeo said his first mass. The same chamber was inhabited also by St. Francis Borgio. Here you see the old family painting of St. Ignatius, as a young knight, clad in complete steel, possessing a fair and engaging countenance. How solemn are the emotions on finding oneself in these rooms, where such an intercourse passed between earth and heaven! Who can depart from them without kissing the ground! In the house of the novices, adjoining the Church of St. Andrew, on Monte Cavallo, is shown the chamber in which St. Stanislaus Kostka died. It is now a chapel, and on the spot where he expired a most lovely figure of the little saint is represented as on his bed, in black and white marble. The sculptor, from being a heretic, was converted by the work of his own hands. What a tender mystery of grace! These are the doors which open not for gold, but only to the symbolum or sacred sign of Catholics. In the convent of the oratory at Rome, you see the chamber of St. Philip Neri, with the furniture as it stood in his time. What stranger can be insensible to the influence of local associations as he passes through the streets of Florence, when in a lane near the Cathedral, which enters the Piazza at the spot where Dante used to sit, he is shown the house in which St. Antoninus, the sainted archbishop, was born and educated? or when at Milan his attention is arrested in a street near the Basilica of St. Ambrose by an inscription, stating that in that house was baptized St. Augustin by St. Ambrose? or when he sees there the halls of the Palatine schools, and the statue of St. Augustin, under which is written "Augustinus hic humana docens, Divina didicit?" With what reverence does one enter that cell at Padua, built by the very hands of the seraphic father, inhabited at various times by five saints, and where Jesus Christ himself appeared in a visible form to the

* Antiq. Rom. Lib. I. cap. 79.
† Tuscul. v. 23.
‡ Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 18.
§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 20.

dying Antony. From this spot was that blessed soul conducted to heaven, attended by a choir of exulting angels. Ah! well may the inscription over the entrance be "supplex ingredere." In Sienna, the city which boasts the two holy advocates, is that cell of St. Catharine, in the house where she was born, which was originally a little room at the far end of the shop of her father, who was a dyer. In this cell she slept, and wrote her celebrated Epistles, and studied the holy Scriptures and the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. The hole in the wall is seen through which she daily gave alms to the poor. In this cell she performed her penitential exercises: in this cell she had the vision of angels: in this cell did she remain in an exstacy during three days after the festival of the conversion of St. Paul. At Paris, in the street de la Calendre, the fifth house on the right hand, on entering from the street de la Juiverie, was believed by tradition to have been that in which St. Marcel, Bishop of Paris, was born, whose image was over the door. The clergy of Nôtre Dame used to make a station before this house on the day of the Ascension.* At Rheims, on the eastern side, was a gate called of the Prison, because there was a tower there in which Archbishop Tilpin confined Oger le Danois, and where Archbishop Vulfar retained some Saxons, whom Charlemagne had confided to him."†

The first bishops of Rheims were St. Sixtus and St. Siniceus, among whose converts fifty martyrs sealed their faith with their blood, at a spot called La Pompelle, one league from the city, on the great Roman road, which was shown by constant tradition.‡ At Troyes there was a house which bore the sign of the tower of St. Mastie, to commemorate the tower of the house which had formerly stood there, in which that holy virgin lived with her parents in the fifth century, where her family received the first Christian missionaries, and were converted by them.§ In the wall of the house before which St. Loup stopped Attila, when he passed by Troyes, was a piece of sculpture, representing the holy Bishop with his mitre and crosier, and a great soldier followed by others of a lower stature, and under it was an inscription, stating that in that spot did St. Loup, Bishop of Troyes, stop Attila. It would be endless to enumerate similar instances.

The streets of the cities of Italy are immortalized, not merely by the fountains that have been sung by Dante,* but by the miraculous graces of heaven commemorated by solemn pillars, as that column near the Baptistery in the Piazza del Duomo at Florence, which attests the miracle connected with the body of St. Zenobio, and that stone cross in the square at Aosta, which commemorates the flight of Calvin from that city on his return from Italy. In these cities are bridges containing houses in which were born canonized saints, and palaces, from the balconies of which most holy pontiffs have given their benediction.† At Florence there is that bridge of graces with its little oratory of our Lady, and the house still stands in which was born the blessed Thomas de Belacci, of the order of St. Francis. Some of these ancient Christian cities wore a grave and melancholy aspect, which announced the city of recollections and of the past. Witness Arles, with its hotels and castles whose mysterious inhabitants have long since disappeared, and with its images that have an undefinable air of strangeness, which startles the beholder. Witness Pisa, with its palaces, that contain mysterious inscriptions over the gates, enigmatical, and full of ancient and forgotten lore. On the palace Lanfreducci are the words "alla giornata," under which hangs a captive's chain; the origin of which is no less a mystery than the inscription, though one feels that there is some connexion between them, and that they refer to the secret of some forgotten history. Into what meditation does the pilgrim fall when he reads over the gate of an ancient palace in Ravenna, the city which received the banished Dante, these words, which seem to refer to that event: "Deesse nobis terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest:" or when, over the door of another house in the same city, he reads, "Amicis et ne paucis pateat etiam fictis?" These palaces, erected in the middle ages, have a solemn and tragic aspect, and they astonish us by their number as well as by their vastness. The verses of Horace do not seem to have cooled the ardour of our ancestors for building, although they did not require to be reminded of their tombs. The interior of these ma-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II. chap. 2.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. XIX.

‡ Id. Liv. I. 28

§ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 18.

* That of Sienna.

† From the Palace Pitti Pius VII., in 1804, gave his benediction to the Florentines.

jestic hotels, as we observed of the castles of chivalry, announced any thing but an effeminate and trifling taste. It is impossible not to be struck with awe on ascending those majestic staircases in the palaces of Genoa, or on entering that terrible Hall of the Giants in the palace of Tau at Mantua, in which, when once entered, you see no means of exit; but you are surrounded with rocks, which fall upon giants wounded and flying, and defending themselves in vain on ground which is covered with ruins, while the distance is involved in clouds and thunder. Even the windows of shops in Catholic cities correspond with the spirituality of the inhabitants, and present more beautiful objects of piety for the use and decoration of churches and oratories than instruments of luxury and secnlar pomp. Jewels and gold are displayed there in snbservience to religious reverence, and not to the vanity of the rich. The profession of the silversmiths of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was connected with all the arts of design, and formed an apprenticeship and a school of sculpture; so that from their shops came forth snch men as Brunellesco, Donatello, and Ghiberti.

As he who kneeling gazes on the relicks of the saintly dead within the walls of Vallombrosa, feels his eyes drawn on every side, and knows not where to stay his looks, so does the pilgrim feel his sense confused on entering an ancient city of the Christians, which on every side contains some wondrous monument of sanctity, beneficence, and zeal. The streets of cities in the middle ages, as indeed those of Italy and Spain at present, were not a scene of constant commotion and bewildering activity, from the din and dnst of wheels, like those of modern lnxurious cities,

—— where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage.

Men were taught, as in the time of St. Chrysostom, to walk through the streets of cities with the utmost modesty, having their eyes rather cast upon the ground than directing them from side to side, lest their enemy should take occasion to wound their soul. The inhabitants seemed employed but not dissipated. Every thing indicated that they had heard the holy warning, "potes citò fugare Jesum, et gratiam ejus perdere si volueris ad exteriora declinare." The streets were not disturbed by that confusion of hideous discords which pervade the towns of France and England, where the haste of those who have deserted the place of virtue to become the restless slaves of sordid gain, gives rise to a multitude of sounds distracting and ignoble: they were not a stage of continued agony for poor animals, sinking under the blows of merciless tormentors, who seemed in every stroke to think of their political enemies. The streets from the thirteenth century, as at Rome till lately, and as at Florence to this day, were flagged across like the pavement of a church, being less designed for wheeled carriages than for passengers on foot or on horseback. The latter were sufficiently numerous, for nobles used to pay their visits on horseback, judges to proceed to the courts, and even the clergy to go about on horseback; monks nsed sometimes to preach from horseback; kings went to be crowned on horseback; and it is even recorded that the constable of St. Pol went on horseback from the Bastile to the Place de Grêve to be beheaded.* It was not necessary to be rich and to have a vast palace in order to sleep in the city;† the sweet refreshment of the first rest was not excluded there. Guillaume de Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims, gave to that city the ground called "cultnram" in the suburbs, in order to build upon it houses for the cartwrights, carpenters, coopers, and all who exercised a noisy trade, that the streets of the city might be tranqnil.‡ Their silence was only broken by the cheerful sound of human voices, or by the sweet tinkling of innumerable bells, for such was the number of clocks that struck minute divisions of every hour, from churches, convents, palaces, and portals, that it was like a constant shower of hours and beautiful harmony, or else it was by the chaunt of the solemn Litanee, begun within a church, and then continned in the adjoining street by the kneeling crowd. In the south of France, at the present day, as we read was the case in Avignon in the time of Petrarch, the stone benches at the doors of the houses are occupied every evening by persons of all classes, not excepting even the noblest, conversing familiarly together, as if members of one family, while children play in the centre of the streets, and poets recite their verses to the plaintive melody of a guitar. Snch seats are fonnd outside the

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. IV. 301.
† Juv. Sat. III.
‡ Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, II. 341.

house of Ariosto, in the street of Mirasole at Ferrara.

To account for the different character which architecture, customs, hours, and all things relative to life in cities assume with the moderns, and with those who followed the Christian philosophy, would not be difficult. The moderns are only pleased by distraction, and their cities are expressly required to supply them with this ingredient, so essential to their enjoyment. Each house seems to proclaim the character of its inhabitant; the whole man drawn out to things external, and resting on things without.

His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports,
And never noted in him any study,
Any retirement, any sequestration
From open haunts and popularity.

Γαστὴρ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, πανταχῆ βλέπων
Ὀφθαλμός.

And, as Messenio jests in the old play, every city under their influence might have been called Epidamnus, even by themselves; for they never left one without suffering loss;* whereas our Catholic ancestors were most cheerful when the interior life was not injured by things external, but rather assisted; and therefore even the form of their cities was calculated to favour meditation and peace, insomuch that as St. Benedict prescribes to the abbots of his order, "All things seem to have been purposely tempered and disposed, so that souls might be saved." It was clear that a meek placid feeling was diffused through the state. Those narrow modest streets, in which the people seem to live as one family, and to walk as dear children before God, with their eyes continually presented with gracious images of the saints and of our blessed Lady, however disagreeable in the judgment of those who seek to live well by means of horses and chariots, who are accustomed to cities where both nature and Christianity are banished, in which the public ways seem so expressly designed for the purposes of dress and display, that men are afraid to speak or move there, excepting with an air which denotes that they are rich, seem expressly made to favour a form of life for men who rather shun than love distraction. In Christian ages, the poet might traverse Rome from the Quirinal to Mount Aventine without meeting any obstacle to his meditation, and the chorus of writers was not obliged, as Horace says, to fly from cities and confine its affection to the groves.* Wherever streets were necessarily disturbed, it was usual, until two centuries ago, to build houses with their gable ends turned towards it, so that the front was removed from the distraction, being towards some court or garden. In fact, in Catholic cities, the laity could always lead somewhat of a monastic life, while inhabiting their paternal or their hired house. They have other resources there, besides flying from place to place, like hawks or vultures, wherever the smell of meat rises to their nostrils, indicating the preparation for a feast. In a modern city, men in the evening leave their houses for a banquet: in a Catholic city they go out for the benediction. The offices of the Church, morning and evening, and even the night instruction were not wanting to those who were still living in the world; and, if the intervals were past in study, or other intellectual exercise, it was a life scholastic and almost monastical. The number of churches always open, the frequent processions, and the repeated instructions of the clergy, made the whole city like a holy place, and were, without doubt, the means of making multitudes to choose the strait entrance, and to walk in the narrow way. There are many who have no idea of the perfection in which great numbers, in every rank of society, pass their lives in Catholic cities, not excepting even that capital which has of late been made the nurse of so much ill. But wherever the modern philosophy has created, as it were, an atmosphere, that which is spiritual is so confined, closed, and isolated, that its existence is hardly felt or known. The world appears to reign with undisputed possession, and that too as if it had authority to reign. And yet there are tender and passionate souls who have need of being unceasingly preserved in the path of virtue by the rein of religious exercises, who when deprived of the power of approaching at the hour their inclinations may suggest to the sources of grace, are exposed to great perils, and who, perhaps, sometimes incur in consequence eternal death.

Ay me, how many perils doe enfold,
The righteous man, to make him daily fall!

House of prayer why close thy gates? Is

* Plautus Menæchmi, II. 1.

* Hor. Epist. II. 2.

there an hour in all nature when the heart should be weary of prayer? when man, whom highest God doth deign to hear in thee as his temple, should have no incense to offer before thy altar, no tear to confide to thee?*

In Catholic cities there are always somo young persons who lead a life like that of St. Basil and his friend, while students together, who knew the way to two places only of the great city in which they resided, —to the church and to the schools. And yet there even the most frequented ways aro safe for innocence, breathing rather an air of poesy than of diabolic contagion. The poor beggars in the streets of Romo, instead of telling a tale of feigned distress, are heard chaunting the prose for the dead or some hymn to blessed Mary. Homer is represented saying, that he prefers wandering over the world, though weak and poor, to leading an idle life in the sacred streets of Cyme; but in a Catholic city there is no condition which may not possess sanctity and joy. No hostile banner is there hoisted to draw men from the ranks of virtue. The Florentines, indeed, may not at present dress in the simple style which seemed so admirable to Dante, but visit a sea-port like Genoa, and see what innocent and holy manners prevail. It is no longer the nautic crowd whose dissolute insolence is the theme of the Athenian poets. Here angels might pass, aud not drop a tear. Mark the manners even of the multitude that loiters in the publie ways of every frequented town. See how it meekly kneels to receive a benediction from the bishop who happens to pass by: and when the dusk comes on, and the lamp of the sanctuary begins to shine brighter, and to arrest the eye of the passenger through the opened doors of churches, hearken to the sweet sound of innumerable bells which rises from all sides, and see what a change of movement takes place among this joyous and innocent people; the old men break off their conversation on the benches at the doors and take out their rosaries, the children snatch up their books and jackets from the green in token that play is over, the women rise from their labour of the distaff, and all together proceed into the church, when the solemn litanee soon rises with its abrupt and crashing peal, till the bells all toll out their last and loudest tono, and the adorable victim is raised over the prostrate people, who then issue forth and retire to their respective homes in sweet peace, and with an expression of the utmost thankfulness and joy. The moderns in vain attempt to account for the difference of manners in these Catholic cities, and in their own, by referring to their present prosperity and accumulation of wealth; these cities in point of magnificence incomparably surpassed theirs, and with respect to riches they were not inferior: for peace was in their strength, and abundance in their towers. An able writer has shown that the commercial prosperity of Christian nations was owing to that universal church which broke down the barriers between different nations, developed and assisted the spirit of proselytism by withdrawing religion from national and political forms, and by means of that spirit, opened new channels to maritime commerce and to the intercourse of men. St. Louis, in his establishments, laid down the principle of free exportation as the simple dictate of universal charity. It is true men had not for sole motive of activity the desire of making a fortune, tempered by the fear of the executioner; but riches flowed into the Catholic states, as they had been promised in tho Gospel, in the way of a surplus; and temporal prosperity was added unto those who sought first the kingdom of heaven and its justice. In 1764, the Abbe Intieri, founded at Naples the first chair of political economy, and the author who remarks this fact establishes his propositiou that Catholicism comprises in its practical consequences the most admirable system of social economy which has ever been given to the world. In fact, from the tenth century, a multitude of free cities had risen in Flanders and on the Baltic, the ancient territory of the Germans, which rivalled Venice and Genoa in riches. It is admitted that in the fifteenth century, Florence, Venice, and Genoa possessed as much wealth as is now found in London, and without the desolation of its poor. Two millions of florins in gold, in effective monoy, circulated at that timo in the former city, while it was the centre of learning and the arts. Boniface VIII. said to Charles of Valois, who was going to Florence, "I send you to the fountain of gold." Nevertheless Pignotti remarks that the merchants there still lived even in the midst of riches, far removed from the parade of ostentation. They would not have ventured to put either gold or silver upon their garments.

* Lamartine.

nor make use of silver plate at their tables; and it would have been accounted a shame for a citizen to have made use of it.* "For this disposition and greatness of mind" was inherent in a Catholic community, to which these words of Cicero are strictly applicable, "that while in their private affairs and domestic expenses, being content with the least, they lived on the most slender allowance, in the empire and in public dignity they referred all things to grandeur and magnificence." "Quæritur enim in re domestica continentiæ laus, in publica dignitatis."† Pignotti says, that in the course of a few years many sumptuous edifices had been erected in Florence, and that generosity appeared to go hand in hand with religious charity in embellishing that city. In the year 1288, a Florentine citizen, Falco Portinari, better known on account of his daughter Beatrice, who is immortalized by Dante, than by the pious and useful work he began, founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, one of the first in Tuscany. Five years afterwards, the genius of Calimala was employed in adorning the church of St. John with white and black marble. In the preceding year, on the day of the holy cross, the church of this name was begun with that magnificence which we now admire; and in September a beginning was made with all possible splendour to the superb cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore. It was to these holy edifices that merchante voluntarily devoted a part of their gains. The same men built also two towns in the upper valley of the Arno, peopled them, and gave privileges to the inhabitants. These were the castles of St. John npon the left bank of the Arno, and that of Castel Franco on the right. It was the genius of the Catholic religion which inspired Cosmo de Medicis, when he applied his immense riches to embellishing the city and the country with sacred and profane buildings. The hill of Fiesole still boasts of his superb edifices; those of St. Jerome, the magnificent abbey, the splendid villa at the summit of Careggi, Cafaggiolo, and Trebbio, are all works of Cosmo. In Florence, the sumptuous palace in Via Larga, the churches of St. Laurence, St. Mark, and St. Verdiana, owe their origin to him. In Magello, too, he erected the chnrch of the minor friars in the midst of a delightful grove, and he even erected hospitals in Jerusalem: in such works the operation of religion is seen as clearly as if they were enjoined by the very letter of its text. Since the ages of faith, and the revival of the epicurean philosophy, the only monuments erected in towns have been fortresses and prisons, theatres, exchanges, and trinmphal arches.

"Laudantur urbes similiter atque homines,"* says Quintilian. "The virtues and vices of each are the same." Amidst the general character of faith which belonged to Christian cities, there were moral features peculiar to particular places discernible in each. Thus an old writer says, that the city of Rouen assumed a lamb for its arms, to signify that this city was always mild and gentle, insomuch that the blood of no martyr was ever shed within its walls; the first messengers of God who came there having been received with honour, and all strangers being sure, in all ages, to meet there with kind and hospitable treatment.† At Peronne, such attention was paid to innocence of language, that fines used to be levied upon all who offended against it, and these fines were applied to the expence of the walls.‡ Some cities could boast of enjoying the especial favour of holy advocates; others, like Ravenna, seemed to enjoy privileges from heaven. At Lyons, the church had a custom of always expecting a revelation from God before it elected an archbishop. In the sixth century, this custom prevailed there, as appears from the life of St. Eucher; for we read that on occasion of his predecessor's death, a child had a vision of an angel, who indicated to him St. Eucher, who led a hermit's life in a cavern on the Durance. Upon hearing this, the people and clergy, after a fast of three days, sent the archdeacon with some others to the hermit, whom they brought back with them, and recognized him unanimously as their pastor.§ Cities exulted in their ancient exploits of saintly warfare, as a family in those of its ancestors. Thus, in the hall of the palace of the Republic, at Sienna, you are triumphantly shown a painting which represents the departure of the two thousand Siennese crusaders, who were sent to the Holy Land in the year 1098. Cicero says, "that for discipline and gravity Marseilles surpassed

* Hist. of Tuscany, III. † Pro L. Flacco.

* Hist. Orat. Lib. III. 7.

† Théod. Liquet. Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu' à Rollon, p. 11.

‡ Lettres du Roi, 28 Janv. 1368, relative to the town of Peronne.

§ Mabillon, Acta Benedict. Tom. I. 248.

every other, and that it would be easier to praise all its institutions than to imitate them."* Yet his writings are an evidence that the whole character of a city life has undergone a revolution since the rise of Christianity: for in the ages of faith it was assuredly free from the crimes which he seems to think inseparable from it.† In the Augustan age the persons who preferred cities to the country are described as having regard only to their plays, baths, taverns, and vaults of debauchery.‡ In comparison with the character which then prevailed, there was no luxury and consequently no avarice in Catholic cities: it was for every man who wished to visit them, and not, as at ancient Corinth, for the rich alone. "The Romans," says Petrarch, "are not greedy of gain. I was astonished in so great a city, to find so few merchants and usurers." The streets of these cities were less familiar with the bulletins of an exchange, than with the verses of pilgrims, who, like St. Columban from Ireland, sung the shame and folly of avarice.

St. Gregory, of Tours, mentions the coming of Nuninus, a French nobleman, to the city of Auxerre, and expressly says, that he came to that city, "causa tantum religionis," to visit the tombs of saints, and to pray to God.§ Fleury says, that during the solemn fasts of the church, all business ceased, and the streets of the most populous cities were as silent as the desert.‖ On entering a Catholic city during the octave of Corpus Christi, you find the air in every street embalmed with the fragrance of roses, and the pavement still strewed with the beautiful leaves which had been scattered before the blessed sacrament. Cities were privileged, mysterious holy places, which announced on all sides the good tidings of redemption, and from many of them, as still in our days from Rome, each man necessarily returned either better or worse than when he went. When the Normans in the eleventh century first came to Sicily, Messina had been since two hundred years in the hands of the Mussulmans, and yet on the summit of its ramparts shone a cross of gold on a purple flag, a revered symbol which the inhabitants had obtained permission to retain. When Ferdinand and Isabella had delivered the city of Grenada from the dominion of the Moors, the joy was all for the exaltation of the cross. The first step taken by the grand master of Leon, on taking possession of the city, was to elevate a great cross on the highest tower of the Alhambra, while a numerous clergy entoned the joyful hymn of "Te Deum laudamus," and the devout hymn, "O Crux ave spes unica." Three times was the said cross raised on high, and at each elevation the people sung this pious hymn. Then the devout and victorious King of Spain, nobly armed, on horseback in the midst of his battalions, when he beheld the cross elevated, dismounted and knelt upon the ground, and adored the cross, returning thanks to God for the benefits he had bestowed upon them in the recovery of this great city of Grenada. As you enter Rome by the gate of St. Paul, or by that of St. Lorenzo, you see a little cross in the wall of the outer portal, and this every fervent Christian kisses with devout reverence. In Italy, the first thing that meets the eye over the gate of towered cities is a pious invitation to all the faithful from some particular Church, to assist in it at some approaching festival which it is about to celebrate. At the gate of every city there is an image of its patron, or some noble painting which tells the stranger that faith is within those walls, so that he enters full of devout joy and confidence, perhaps, applying to it those mysterious words of the divine text, "Blessed are they who enter into the city; without are the delusions of nature, and the poisonous creatures which infest the desert of the world." Nor are these impressions effaced as he departs from it, for the Catholic traveller must needs feel that the place is holy in which dwells the meek religious man of blessed order to whom he has repaired in the sacramental tribunals, whom he found a man of God, for wisdom and for charity more than human, who has renovated his world-worn heart by revealing to him the secrets of the spiritual side of things and refreshed his parched and fainting soul with some drops of the dew of heaven. Many were the memorable events which followed from this conception of the holiness of cities, of which two instances are related by St. Gregory, of Tours; for he says, that the city of Bazadois being besieged, a certain holy priest used to go round the walls every night singing the Psalms and praying, while the enemy was laying waste all the surrounding towns, burning houses, and ravaging lands, and plundering in all direc-

* Pro L. Flacco. † Pro S. Roscio Amer.
‡ Hor. Epist. I. 14.
§ Greg. Turon. de Gloria Confess. cap. 43.
‖ Mœurs des Chrêt. 290.

tions; but that one night it seemed to Gauseric, the king of the barbarians, as if men in white robes, and carrying lighted tapers, were making the circuit of the city, and raising a chorus of psalmody; that after sending a herald to demand the reason of it, and receiving for answer, that no such procession had been seen by the citizens, and that they knew nothing of it, he concluded if they do not know it is manifest that God assists them, and thereupon that he drew off from the place.* The second example occurred at the siege of Nantes, while that city was surrounded by a host of barbarians, in the time of King Chlodorec, for it happened on the sixtieth night of the siege about midnight, that there appeared to them men in white vestments, and holding burning tapers, who walked forth from the Basilica of the blessed martyrs, Rogatianus and Donatus, and another chorus proceeded from the neighbouring church of the great confessor Similinus. The two processions joined and saluted each other, prostrated themselves in prayer, and then returned each to the place whence it first came forth. At this spectacle, the whole army of the enemy being seized with great horror, fled with such precipitation, that at break of day there was not a man to be seen.† Fanciful writers availed themselves of this opinion of the sanctity of cities in framing tales to amuse their readers. Torquemade relates an instance to show how unwilling were those under the dominion of demons to enter them, and it is told with such simplicity, that it cannot be heard without a certain pleasure. "When I was a student," then says Torquemade, "another young scholar was very intimate with me, who became afterwards so skilled in medicine, that he was made physician to the Emperor Charles V. This youth told me that being at the town of Guadaloupe, learning grammar in the monastery there, he on one occasion went out in the evening to take a walk in the fields, and that he saw a man coming up to him habited like a monk, and mounted on a horse so lean and weary, that it seemed hardly able to bear the weight. The stranger came up to him and said, 'Young man, will you do me the favour to go for me into the town and buy something for my supper, because I cannot enter it myself at present, for certain reasons; and you will do me a great pleasure if you will take this trouble for me.' The scholar said he would go gladly if he would give him the means: and so he gave him silver, and the scholar ran to the town, and brought him back what he desired. The man, spreading his mantle on the ground, sat down and made his supper in the field, and invited the scholar to eat with him. So as they talked together about many things, the scholar asked him where he was going, and he replied, to Grenada. The scholar said, 'I hope to go there myself before long to see my mother, for it is a long time since I have seen her or heard from her.' The man then said, 'If you wish to go there, come with me, and I will pay your expences, and comfort you on the way; only it must be on the condition that we set out immediately, for I cannot delay here.' The scholar, who was very poor, not having a farthing, accepted the offer, and only begged him to wait till he could run to the town, to commend some of his acquaintances to God, and to tie up some books. The man consenting, he ran off, and came back speedily with his books in a string; but as it was night-fall, he begged the man to wait till morning; but he replied that they would better travel during the night, and rest by day, in order to avoid the heat, for it was in the month of June: so they set out, the man on horseback and the scholar on foot, talking together of many things, till after a time the man desired him to mount up behind him. The scholar began to laugh, and said 'How can your horse carry us both, when he is already so fatigued with your weight?' 'Ah,' replied the stranger, 'you do not know him: only mount, boy, as I bid you.' The scholar obeyed, and immediately the horse began to trot in a wonderful style, and so smoothly, that the scholar at last fell asleep. Thus they travelled all night, and at day-break the scholar opened his eyes and saw a beautiful country of gardens and groves, and a great city before him, and he asked his companion what was its name, and he told him that they were on the plain of Grenada, and only begged in return for such a lift, that he would not mention to any one the particulars of the journey; 'for,' he added, 'I must now turn off here, and so you may go your own way into the city.' The scholar, in great amaze, let himself down and took leave of him, and entered Grenada, not a little alarmed, and persuaded that he must have been riding upon a horse possest."*

* S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. I. 13.
† Id. Lib. I. 60.

* Hexameron, Liv. III. 284.

But to return from fable to history. The very seasons of amusement and of busy occupation in cities partook of a religious interest. Sacred plays were represented to honour the entry of kings: it was usual in the public streets to act the play of the Good Samaritan, of Dives and Lazarus, of the Annunciation and Nativity. Coventry, Chester, York, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were famous for their religious plays. The incorporated trades used to perform, and the various sacred parts were assigned to particular trades, according to their respective patrons. A sacred mystery of the passion of Christ was performed at Padua in 1243; and at Friuli in 1298; and at Florence in 1304 there was a representation of Hell upon the Arno, to the fame of which spectacle Dante, then in exile, is said to have been not insensible. In the same city, on occasion of the anniversary of the death of Cosmo de Medicis, there was a grand public festival given in representation of the three Magi coming from the East, guided by the star. It was so pompous, that the preparations cost the labour of three months.* These superb pageants, which used to be celebrated in cities and towns on great events, in which persons of all ranks took part, nourished a taste for art and decoration, and tended to ennoble and humanise the lower orders. Such were the magnificent spectacles given at Venice, when Lorenzo Celsi was doge, in the year 1364, on occasion of the recovery of the island of Candia, and at Milan by the Visconti, in 1355, and by Bergonzo Botta on the marriage of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Arragon; as also by Galeazzo Visconti in 1366, when he married his daughter to Lionel, son of the king of England, and that celebrated at Rimini in 1324, by Malatesta. These were sometimes annual, as that at Venice on the election of a new doge, and on the marrying of the sea, when used to be displayed the eight standards, which sovereign pontiffs had given to the republic; and that on the feast of St. Catherine, instituted by the doge Gradenigo in 1307; and in other places an annual rejoicing took place, as at Ferrara, in pursuance of a statute in 1279; on the festival of St. George; and at Vicenza that denominated of the wheel, on Corpus Christi and on the Assumption; at Pavia on the anniversary of the translation of San Siro; and at Sienna on the feast of St. George, to commemorate its deliverance at Monte Aperto; at Modeno on the feast of St. Michael; at Bologna, in the thirteenth century, on that of St. Bartholomew, to commemorate its deliverance from the tyranny of the Ghibellines; and on that of St. Peter; at Verona, on the first Sunday of Lent, at which latter Dante was present; and on the last Friday of the carnival, in the piazza of St. Zeno.* Stripe mentions the spectacles which were exhibited in London, when Queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236; and again in 1298, on occasion of the victory obtained by Edward I. over the Scots; and again in 1357, when Edward the Black Prince brought King John of France prisoner through the city; and in 1392, when Richard II. passed through London, after the citizens, by submission and the queen's intercession, had obtained the restoration of their charter; and again in 1415, upon the entry of Henry V. after the battle of Agincourt; and again in 1445, on the marriage of Henry VI. with Queen Marguerite, of which last we read, that there were costly pageants with verses by Lydgate, and resemblance of divers old histories, to the great comfort of the queen and her attendants. Sometimes the public amusements consisted in the exercises of the youth. Invitations to tournaments used to be sent to cities as well as to the nobility. In the year 1331, the citizens of Rheims proceeded under their banners to assist at a celebrated tournament near Tournay, at which Hugues de Large, one of their number, defeated and disarmed John Vestin of Tournay, surnamed Le Roi de Cornoüailles, one of the most doughty champions.† Rivers gave occasion to a variety of joyous spectacles, as that at Pavia every year performed in boats on the Ticino; and at Pisa that on the bridge over the Arno, to commemorate the valour of Cinzica Sismondi, whose heroism preserved the city from being surprised by the Saracens in 1105;‡ but the sentiment of pagan glory never entered into them; for the mimic triumph of Castruccio Castracani at Lucca, in 1326, was a rare, if not a solitary instance, of a revival of that barbarous spectacle. In Italy we may still witness the innocent and beautiful form of public rejoicing, as in that city on

* Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Lib. VII.

* Antichita Romantiche d'Italia, Epoca II.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III. 154.

‡ Tranci Annali Pisani. Marangoni Cronica di Pisa, 318.

the Arno,* whose yonth still delights in the exercises of the days of old chivalry, when its festivities could inspire Ariosto with imagery for his world of bright enchantment. The chivalry of humble life played an important part on these occasions. The King of France, Louis XII. and his queen, made their entry into the city of Ronen, which was very trinmphant, for, adds the old historian of Bayart, if the gentlemen did their duty there, the children of the town did theirs no less.† In another respect they condnced to the advantage of society, by causing to meet together the nobles, poets, philosophers, and men of letters of various countries, who thus became acquainted with each other, and mntually imparted those discoveries which might contribnte to the common glory. In fact, noble writers did not disdain to describe these spectacles: and sometimes the earliest efforts of their genius were employed upon them, as those of Giambullari when he described that celebrated at Florence on the marriage of Cosmo I. with Eleanore of Toledo. At Venice, Jaffier had the curiosity to witness the ceremony of the doge marrying the sea, becanse it was to be for the last time. St. Real says, this spectacle of pnblic rejoicing, this tranquil and happy festival of a whole people, so wrought npon him that he lost all resolntion to co-operate with the conspirators and destroy Venice: and it was at that moment that he conceived the expedient which he hoped might save both the city and his companions. Petrarch, describing the joyous festivity at Cologne on the evening of his arrival in that city, after mentioning how he was struck with the number of beautiful women who covered the banks of the Rhine, conclndes thus: "In the midst of the vast crowd I was surprised to find neither tnmnlt nor confusion; a great joy appeared withont licentiousness." The connexion between the Catholic religion and this cheerful and happy aspect of cities, was never more clearly seen than where the modern philosophy is allowed to prevail against it, as in that noble capital which in former times was joyons and comparatively innocent, though now, throngh the mnltitude of her sophists, she is proud and loathsome. There for awhile at least they have accomplished their trinmph: "attrita est civitas vanitatis; clausa est omnis domns nullo introeunte."*

To the intervals of busy occnpation belonged also a kind of religions interest in the Christian towns, which might even snpply matter for a curions episode in their history. When religion had given rise to an extraordinary concourse of people at any place, assembling in conseqnence of devotion to some saint on his festival, merchants availed themselves of the circumstance, and fairs were established during the interval, so that the faithful might exercise their devotion, and at the same time reap the advantage of a plentiful and cheap market for things of more rare or difficult attainment. The clergy favoured commerce to a certain extent, and even granted indulgences to those who, having repaired to these fairs, should make offerings to the poor in the nearest chnrch; for piety fonnd nothing to condemn in this kind of commerce, which was simple and conformable to those primeval maxims of humanity which Hesiod of old developed in heroic verse. All servile labour was indeed prohibited on a festival, bnt dispensations and custom for the good of the community allowed this minor and local traffic, though contrary to the canon law, which on these occasions was considered abrogated.†

At Jerusalem during the seasons when the pilgrims from the West resorted thither, there was a fair held; at Loretto on the festival of onr Lady in September, at Pavia on the festival of St. Augustin, whose relics are there enshrined, and similarly in other places, according to the epoch of their respective patrons, annnal fairs were held. At Lyons the famous fair des Merveilles, owed its origin to a solemn festival, celebrated in memory of the 19,000 victims whose blood was shed for the faith in the primitive Church. This drew such a concourse of people, that the fair was established. The celebrated fair of Beancaire was held at the feast of the Magdalen. In the time of King Charles V. Gilles Malet, Seigneur of Villepecle, obtained leave to have a fair in this place, to begin on St. George's Day, on account of the concourse of people to the chapel there, which was nnder the invocation of that saint.‡ Snch was the crowd of devont people who resorted to the abbey of Gercy

* The famous sport of the Pisans, called the giuoco del ponte, recalls the games of chivalry.

† La tres joyeuse Hystoire, &c. chap. xxviii.

* Isai. c. xxiv.

† Ligorio Theologia, Lib. III. Tract. III. cap. 1.

‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XIII. 195.

on the festival of its patron, when his relics were exposed, that the abbess obtained leave, in 1510, to establish a fair on that day. It was the exposition of the relics in the abbey of Hierre which occasioned the concourse of people there, and the consequent establishment of the fair on its festival. The dedication of the church of St. Remi at Rheims, is still commemorated by an annual fair on the first of October. In the year 1486 the monks of St. Germain-des-Près, at Paris, had the privilege of holding a fair near the abbey; so had also the abbey of St. Laurent. This was the scene of Parisian festivity. Every day during the fair, mass used to be said in a chapel at the end of one of the halls or booths. There was also a fair in the open place opposite the west front of Nôtre Dame; another within the walls of the temple on the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude; another on the festival of St. Clair, before the abbey of St. Victor; and generally there used to be a fair before each church on the festival of its patron-saint.*

In England the history of fairs proves the practice to have been the same as in other countries. When the first mass was sung in Salisbury Cathedral after its erection on the new site, King Henry III. gave a charter to the church, granting, among other privileges, the liberty of an annual fair of eight days, from the vigil to the octave of the Assumption inclusive, for the benefit of the church. The priory of St. Bartholomew in London had the privilege, from the kings of England, of holding an annual fair on its festival.

To mark how much interest might be attached to the history of these fairs, let us delay an instant and hear the account which is given of that of St. Denis, which was for the first time established near that abbey in the time of the pious King Dagobert. It began on the 9th of October, the festival of St. Denis, and lasted during a month, to allow time for merchants to come from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain. In the year 1472, it was finally abridged to eight days. The second fair of St. Denis began on the festival of St. Matthias, because that was the day of the dedication of the church, which had been finished under Charlemagne. Indulgences were published then for all who visited the church. The third fair of St. Denis was called the Landit, from the word "indictus," or "campus indicatus," it being held in the fields between La Chapelle and St. Denis, where the Bishop of Paris used to assemble the devout multitude to show the holy relics of the cathedral, there being no church in Paris large enough for the purpose. The clergy went in procession, "usque ad indictum:" and this was the origin of the Landit. A poet of the year 1290, who had made a list of the streets of Paris in verse, gave a description of this fair as "la plus roial foire du monde."

"Premierement la procession
De Nostre Dame de Paris
Y vient, que Dieu gart de perir,
Tous les bons marcheans qui y sont
Qui les grans richesses y ont,
Que Diex les puit tous avancier:
L'Evesque ou le Penancier,
Leur fait de Dieu beneison."

"There," he says, "are the sellers of beer and the barbers, the tavern-keepers and the sellers of tapestry, and the mercers,

"A la coste du grand chemin
Est la foire du parchemin."

And after that are the tailors, the furriers, the linen-drapers, the leather-sellers, the shoe-sellers, and cutlers, and rope-sellers, the corn-merchants, the jewellers, and silversmiths. These merchants come to the fair from Paris and Provins, Rouen, Ghent, Ypres, Douay, Bruxelles, Caen, Breteul, Chartres, Beauvais Evreux, Troyes, Sens, Auxmalle, Montereul sur la Mer, St. Quintin, St. Omer, Abbeville, Chalons, Louvain, Tourney, Corbie, Lille, Flui Arras. Mercy!" cries the poet, oppressed with the numbers that occur to him,

"Je les mis tous en mon escrit."

"Nor must I forget," he continues, "the dealers in cattle, in sheep, and swine, and horses."

"Rousins, palefrois et destrier,
Les meilleurs, que l'on puet trover,
Jumens, poulains et palefrois,
Tels comme por Contes et pour Roys."

Upon the acquisition which the abbey of St. Denis made of this land in 1294, the Landit came more under its jurisdiction. When the day arrived of the Landit, the abbey sent its officers to receive the bishop and clergy of Paris with the relics. In the thirteenth century, the university of Paris being established in form, began to take part in the Landit, on

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. IV. 351.

account of the parchment sold there, which was then a great article in all fairs. The rector went to choose the parchment for the university. In 1291, all dealers in parchment were forbidden to procure it at the Landit, on the first day of the fair, before merchants of the king and of the bishop of Paris, and the masters and scholars of the university, had made their provisions. This going of the rector to the Landit was a joyful time for the scholars to whom it gave a vacation of some days; for all must needs go with him, as if it were not enough that he should be attended by his officers. The journey was made with all the pomp and rejoicing of an ancient triumph. All the Regents and scholars mounted on horseback in the Place of St. Geneviève, and from thence marched in order; though circumstances sometimes occurred which, as Lebeuf says, gave infinite embarrassment to the masters. It was not enough to go to the Landit, the scholars must go as far as St. Denis. As the Landit was in a hot season of the year, numbers of scholars used to fall sick in consequence of the fatigue, especially the little ones. At length, in 1550, Jerome Garnier, the rector, procured an ordonnance from the parliament, limiting the number that might accompany the rector, and only twelve of each nation were in future permitted to attend him; but notwithstanding, there continued to be private bands of scholars, called Les petits Landits, who persisted in going. The year 1556 completed the calamity of the scholars, for the Landit was removed to the walls of St. Denis. However, the scholars wishing to preserve their old customs, resolved to continue their annual expeditions to the old spot in the plain, though there was to be no longer a fair there. At length, when the art of printing had superseded the use of parchment, the Landit became obsolete, with regard to the university, and nothing remained of it but the leave which used to be granted every year on the Monday after St. Barnabas, which continued to be called the congé du Landit.*

In Italy, on the feast of St. Mark, the indulgences granted by the holy see drawing vast multitudes to Venice, a fair was instituted in 1180 on the shores of the Adriatic, in which various spectacles used to be offered, and where it was the custom for artists to exhibit specimens of their work. It was at this fair that Canova first distinguished himself, and it was the applause there bestowed on his group of Dedalus and Icarus which is supposed to have encouraged him to persevere in that track of glory.* The minstrels who used to sing the song of Roland at these fairs became so numerous, that in 1288 there were statutes published at Bologna against them.† These particulars respecting the fair of St. Mark and of St. Denis, will convey an idea of the features which, in some degree, belonged to all similar assemblies of merchants in the middle ages; for everywhere these annual fairs were invested with somewhat of a smiling, and even poetic character, being closely connected with a thousand innocent recollections of friendship with immemorial customs, which attached men to their homes and to their country, with associations of domestic interest, and with the encouragement of humble and popular artists, who were induced to employ their talents in a multitude of inventions, and to conduce to the recreation, and even to the religious instruction of youth. Tasso, in an unpublished letter, borrows a noble image of the accidents of human life from the confusion of a solemn and populous fair; and, in fact, philosophers as well as poets might have deigned to visit them. In cities on these occasions hermits were sometimes seen, who came either for the purpose of assisting at the festival which gave rise to the fair, or else of addressing some words of holy counsel to the people assembled. Thus the hermit, Nicolas von der Flüe, who had his cell and little chapel in the forest near Sarnen, used never to be seen from home excepting once every year on the eve of the Assumption, when he used to be seen in the crowd at the solemn procession in Lucerne.‡ It was on the Saturday after St. Thomas's Day, in the year 1481, that this holy man came barefoot from his cell in the forest, over the mountains, deep in snow, to Stanz, where he appeared in the assembly, and succeeded in reconciling differences, and prevailed upon his countrymen to admit Freyburg and Soleure into their confederacy. Before all the great festivals holy solitary men used to flock into cities, and

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. p. 257.

* Paolo Morosini, Storia di Venezia, Marrin Storia del Commercio di Venezia.

† Ghirardacci Annali.

‡ Leben und Geschichte des Nikol von Flüe, by Weissenbach, cap. 6.

were sure to appear as the great bells announced the first vespers of the feast. Monteil says, that Olier, the solitary religious man, generally known by the name of the hermit of the Aube, because he lived in a little hermitage near the source of that river, used always to come into Troyes on the eve of great festivals, to assist at the solemnities in the cathedral. On these occasions he used to take up his lodging at the top of one of the towers of the Hôtel de Ville; he was neither priest nor deacon, nor subdeacon nor clerk, his cowl was nothing but what was worn by the peasants; he had made no vows, like the hermit brothers, nor did he belong to any order, but was simply a lay hermit.* The appearance of such men was not an unimportant feature in the solemnities of towns. Those who have resided in Catholic cities may be often reminded of what F. Bouhours says of St. Francis Xavier, that when he used to leave his solitude, and come into the villages to instruct the poor, no one doubted, after seeing him, but that it was a saint come from the desert to teach men the way to heaven. St. Jerome used to say, "let every one judge for themselves, but to me a town is a prison, and solitude a paradise."† This was said at a time before Christianity had imparted a new character to cities; but yet even in those early ages, we find that holy anchorites in the desert still felt an interest in the cities of men; for one of the three questions respecting the earth, which St. Paul the hermit addressed to St. Anthony was, do men raise new edifices in the ancient cities?‡

We find that these holy lovers of solitude did not disdain sometimes to take up their residence in the neighbourhood of cities. It is in a rocky ravine in the forest which comes near to the walls of Sarnen, that the little wooden hut and chapel may be seen where once lived that man of God whose prayers had cured the sick, stopped the flames, appeased feuds, and saved his country. Hermits were frequently to be found living close to the gates of populous towns; and as when a wandering lad, who goes forth to swim on a summer's morning, discovers with joy the beauteous lily, or some wild fragrant blossom, which floats free and odoriferous upon the cool blue waves, though close to the walls of a parched and unwholesome city; so was it sweet to find these men of pure and peaceful souls, devoted to holy contemplation, dwelling within a short distance of the towns which resounded day and night to the busy hum of the multitude, that followed the broad and unsequestered way. In the third century St. Parre withdrew from the city of Troyes, and retired into a country place in the neighbourhood, where he lived a most holy and austere life. This spot is pointed out by tradition in the field, which is not more than 300 paces from the city walls, where, till the revolution, stood the pious monastery of Foici, the origin of which name is thus related: "While St. Parre lived here in holy retreat, St. Savinien, a Greek from Samos, who after becoming a Christian had passed into Gaul, arrived at Troyes, and coming to the banks of the Seine, where he found this holy man, was received by him into his hermitage, and perceiving that St. Parre and his servants were assiduous in prayer, and that the Christian faith was in their souls, he returned thanks to God that faith was here, and hence the place ever afterwards bore the name of Foy-icy, fidiacum a fide."* Even within the very heart of towns hermits were found to dwell. Recluses had their cells either in grottoes under the streets, or in towers surrounded by palaces, where they were devoted to constant prayer and meditation. Such is the history belonging to the cave at Royston, and, if we credit some authors, to the tower of Rolland in Paris. On the hill of St. Geneviève at Paris, lived the holy solitary priest, Dulciolenus, the friend of St. Eloi, whom that saintly silversmith used to visit frequently. It appears from titles of the abbey of St. Geneviève, that in this neighbourhood, in the thirteenth century, there was a street or road called from him, Vicus servi Dei.† In Florence, upon the bridge Allegrazie, lived certain holy women, recluses. At the present day, in each of the little lonely chapels or oratories in the neighbourhood, or even in the sequestered parts of Rome, you find a hermit who takes care of the holy place. There is generally one residing among the ruined arches of the Colosseum. We find indications too in our old literature, of solitary wise and benevolent men living secluded in cities, who used to be sought out as private arbiters and ad-

* Hist. des Français, Tom. IV. 317.
† Epist. XCV.
‡ Lives of the Fathers of the Desert, Tom. I. 10.

* Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 35.
† Lebeuf, Hist. Tom. I. II. c. 1.

visers, in all cases of difficulty, by the people. Thus in the Fablian, the young man who is falsely accused of having stolen oil from the barrels left in his cellar, goes for advice to "a famous philosopher in the town, a good man, who lived according to God, and who employed his talents in succouring the unhappy." The annals of the city of Troyes make mention of a hermit, whose history is so wound up with its old towers, that it is impossible to disengage it from them. In the year 1419 died the good hermit, the blessed friar John of Gand, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans at Troyes, in a chest of wood, secured with bars of iron, in the south wall of the nave. His history was remarkable. During the calamities of France, consequent upon the wars with the English, and at the time when Charles VII. was struggling to defend his kingdom, a hermit of St. Claude was raised up to give warning to men. This brother John of Gand was so called either from a certain noble family, which bears the surname of Gand, and which is of the neighbourhood of Troyes, which still boasts that this holy anchoret was of its blood, or else from the city of Ghent, in Flanders, of which he must have been a native. Be that as it may, he lived as a brother among the hermits on the mountain St. Claude, where many holy men led an angelic life: till moved by the calamities of France, he left his hermitage for a while, and travelled on till he arrived at the place where Charles VII. was to be seen, and entering his presence, he asked him, saying, "Sire, do you desire to have peace? it comes from God." And the king answering, "My good father, that is what I desire from my heart, if it please God to give it to me." Then the good hermit said, "Sire, since you desire peace, you shall have it, and God will grant you victory." Having thus spoken to the king of France, he went to the king of England, and proposed the same question to him, "Sire, do you desire to have peace?" The king answered haughtily, "No, and that he was resolved to conquer all the kingdom, and that the king of Bourges (for so he called Charles VII.) had nothing to gain from him." Then the hermit replied, "Sire, men propose and God disposes, for he is the sovereign master. It will not be as you say; but you should think of your end, which will soon overtake you." The king, naturally passionate, would have given stripes to the hermit, without respecting his habit; however he refrained, and let him depart. Now it is well known that Henry died shortly after, in 1421. But to return to our hermit: he continued to lead an austere life, with fasts and vigils, and practising both external and internal mortifications, so that it was wonderful how he surmounted all passions, and became so humble and patient; for even on beholding his effigy in white stone, which is on the spot where his bones repose, it is easy to judge that he had sanctity in his soul, and great grace from God. People used to style him the holy hermit of St. Claude, for every thing that he did and said was holy. Whenever he came into the city of Troyes, he used to lodge in the hostel of the Moors; or rather the good woman that kept this house, knowing his holy life, respected him, and used to give him lodging for the love of God, giving him a little room in a retired part, that he might be without noise or any disturbance. From there he used to visit the convent of the Dominicans to hear mass, and because these friars were very holy men, and strict observers of their rules, he haunted them willingly, and wished to be buried with them, that he might not be separated in death from those whom he had loved when living. All this may be read in old Latin manuscripts in the treasury of these friars, though it is in a character very difficult to read from the continual abbreviations used. This holy man used thus to move about wherever the inspiration of God suggested an occasion of doing good to the souls of men. So on this occasion he was at Troyes, and in his usual lodging in the hostel of the Moors, and here he fell sick, and he knew immediately that God was about to draw him from this world to the other; he took no thought about what he should eat or drink, or about a physician or medicine, for it was a holy man, whose constant practice was to eat and drink but sparingly, speak but little, be always internally collected, and aspiring to God; so that now he only thought of God more ardently than ever, and expressed his wish to confess, and to receive the blessed sacrament for his viaticum. Now it happened at this time that there was in the same hostel a good old man, a venerable priest, named Messier Gautier Garnot, curate of Torvilliers, a village in the suburbs of Troyes, who on account of the wars, and the danger from insolent soldiers, had been obliged in his old age to take refuge within the walls of Troyes, whence he used to visit

his flock as often as he could, and his retreat in the city was in this same hostel of the Moors, where he had his little room, for the woman that kept the house was his cousin-german. Thus this good hostess gave lodging to one for the love of God, because he was a holy man, and to another for the sake of humanity, because he was old and her relation. The priest then, hearing that brother John of Gand was lodged in the same hostel visited him, and they two used to speak together about holy things, and to encourage each other to serve God. When the hermit fell sick, he told him that he wished to confess for the last time, and to receive the precious body of his Saviour. This venerable priest, Garnot, went to find the curate of St. John, to whom he related the wish of the blessed hermit, who gave him power forthwith to assist him to his end; for Garnot did not like to fail, on this last occasion, brother John of Gand, whom he so loved and respected; so he heard his confession, and administered to him the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also extreme unction, and served him in all that he could; but Garnot was more consoled by the blessed brother John than he consoled him. So there, in that poor little room, after begging of Garnot that he might be buried with the friars preachers, this good man rendered up his soul to God, in evangelical poverty, great patience, human misery, sweet silence, and elevation of mind to God, as a poor stranger, who perchance was only stretched upon some straw in that little chamber. Thus he died on the 29th of September; but it was said, that immediately after his death, a supernatural light gleamed over that hostel, to show to all the world that the death of the saints is precious before God.*

This connection between hermits and the appearance of Christian cities, might naturally lead us to take notice of the scenery which generally surrounded them, for this was not without its characteristic features; and in the middle ages, when moral authority superseded, in a great measure, the necessity of the civil, no stranger was subject to be arrested and led away a prisoner if he attempted to walk beyond the gates of cities, without being able to produce a written pass; but every one was at liberty to enter and depart without molestation. "I am a lover of learning," said Socrates to one who proposed a philosophic dialogue in the fields, "trees and the country teach me nothing; but I look to men who live in the city. You then have discovered the secret to draw me out of the walls by offering to read to me, and presenting me with that written speech which I will follow wherever you go, like one of the cattle to whom you would offer provender, though you should lead me the circuit of Attica, or wherever else you wish."* Now, although Christians were, as we have already seen, naturally led to congregate in cities, in order to enjoy the resources of piety, and to exercise the duties of public adoration, which furnished far higher inducements for loving them than Socrates possessed, yet the Church, with her ingenious and creative discipline, discovered a way as it were to lead devout and affectionate disciples without the walls, as Phædrus prevailed on the Athenian sage, by presenting them with some new sustenance to strengthen a meditative and revering spirit, to follow which they would accompany her along the embowered bank of rivers, and to the summit of overhanging cliffs, which afforded delicious views of lakes and groves and undulating lawns, where she used to erect her oratories and crosses, and make her enclosures for holy retirement and prayer. Thus at Soleure, on the evening of Maunday Thursday, the inhabitants go out to the little hermitage of St. Verone, which stands in a delightful wood within a deep chasm of lofty mountains; it was made by an Egyptian in the seventeenth century. In the rock there is a sepulchre, and lamps are then lighted round it. Certainly no spot can be conceived more sad and fair. I remember to what a golden world of bright and peaceful images I used to be transported, when straying of a summer's morning without the walls of Soleure, immediately after the first mass in the churches of the town. There one might walk through delightful meadows interspersed with groves like a continued garden, watered with a number of clear rivulets, sparkling amidst violet beds, studded with beautiful convents, chapels, and crosses, with villas and pavilions adjoining. There one heard ascend through the clear air the sweet liquid symphony of the bells of the different monasteries, which are tolled at every elevation of the sacred mysteries, and these too seem to answer one another from hill to hill. There one saw the happy and courteous groups that

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 387.

* Plato, Phædrus.

passed along; the children, angel mild, intent upon some office of domestic duty, the cheerful scholar, so anxious to salute the stranger, and the venerable old men, whose smile is like a benediction; and if one entered to say a short prayer in the church of the convent, there would be seen at his devotions some noble proprietor of an adjacent castle, who always desired to be at the mass of that community. The humble little cloister too is open. See the poor devout prints which cover the walls, and the sweet flowers which grow within the little court; and through one of the small windows above you catch a glimpse of some holy friar, who is meditating in his cell. What a peaceful and holy calm reigns all around! the groves and meadows, the gardens and the surrounding hills, seem to have imbibed the celestial tranquillity of the blessed enclosure. Even the walks around Florence are a delightful recollection; though along narrow roads, confined within scorching walls, which you excuse from the memory of that deed of grace rising out of them, which gave origin to Vallombrosa, for as I walked on an evening among the hills which encompass it, near the delicious villa of Careggi, where Lorenzo de Medicis held the Platonic academy, I used to hear at the cottage doors the Kurie eleison from the tongue of children. But since we are already without the walls, let us pass on and depart, though it must be with painful impressions. Heresy, and the influence of its moral and philosophical doctrines, rather than wars and time, have nearly effaced the vestiges of early Christian history which existed in the cities of Europe. In England it has rendered our cities as bare of ancient memorials as our churches; and in France, what was preserved in Lyons, Troyes, Tours, and in other places from the rage of the Calvinists in former times, has been swept away in these latter days during the great revolution, when men were inspired with deadly hatred against even the inanimate monuments which recalled the events and personages of their former history. In the sacking of Rome, where so much still remains, the atrocities committed by the Lutheran soldiers of Charles V. surpassed all that had been committed by the Goths and barbarians, or by the Turks in other places. The venerable cities of Lombardy have remained nearly in the condition to which they were reduced by the philosophy of the unhappy Joseph, and the brutality of the Gallic invaders, who completed what he had begun. The tombs of the eastern scholars who promoted the study of Greek learning in the West, are covered over with military stores in the desecrated cloisters at Milan; and the tumults of barbarous legions seem to leave no other interest to Mantua but its imperishable name.

The celebrated apartment of Troy, covered with the paintings of Mantegna and Julio Romano, representing scenes from the Iliad, is now a granary. The Mantua of the middle ages could boast of her Julio Romano and of those illustrious Gonzagues, who declared that it was the painter who was her sovereign; now her cloisters are converted into barracks, and her sole ornament is a military parade. The Luitprands and Othos of the middle ages had erected at Pavia and aggrandized the mausoleum of Boecius, in the church of St. Augustin, for which Gerbert had composed the inscription: but the sophists of the last century suppressed the church, which is now filled with military provisions; and when I desired to be shown his sepulchre, I could only have the consolation of learning at which side of the nave it stood, for it was buried deep under an impervious store of hay. The refectory of the Dominicans, in which is the divinest painting of Leonardo, the convent which possessed one of the oldest churches of Milan, St. Eustorgius, which contains the tomb of Emanuel Chrysolorus, and the shrine of St. Peter Martyr, are abandoned to the service of a barrack. In one church there is the office of the Lottery, in another a theatre, in another a custom-house. So lost are men at present to those feelings and sentiments of nature recognized by Seneca, when he says, that one has regard for demolished temples, of which persons of religion adore and venerate even the ruins.

Without referring to those shattered fallen cities on which the hand of time seems the heaviest laid, such as Ravenna, with its towers, round, square, leaning, broader at summit than at base, with its palaces of races that are extinct, and its monuments of an empire that has long perished, there are few at least in the northern countries, which do not impress irresistibly every beholder with the idea that they are the cities of other days and of another race of men, and which do not remind him of the poet's sentence "Debemur morti nos nostraque." Even where the ancient spirit continues to animate the people, the

intellectual glories of the ages of faith are found to be too mighty not to obscure all claims to present greatness. To one conversant with history, even the gay and brilliant and devout Florence seems but like a sepulchre and city of the dead; for on what can the stranger's thoughts remain fixed, excepting on the city of the Medicis? There he sees their wondrous gallery of incalculable treasures, the accumulation of years, and wealth, and pains unceasing; there he finds their rich stores of collected learning, their libraries and their cabinets. There he visits their once gay and palmy villas on Careggi's height, whose walls heard the Platonic mixed with Christian lore, and it was there Lorenzo died; there he may descend into the vaults of that gorgeous chapel, where every vein of marble which the earth produces pays a tribute; and there lie the bodies of that great majestic line whose memory makes Florence a city of the muses. There, too, is the house of Michael Angelo, in which every thing remains as if he had walked out but yesterday; and there you may gaze upon the seat of the awful Dante hard by the dome which he so dearly loved; but lo! in that cloister of the Holy Cross you see the tombs of all these wondrous men whose works surround you or the trophy that tells you they are dead. Pisa, too, with its vast deserted streets, speaks to you only of other days, when the Campo Santo was not a museum for the connoisseur, or a royal and exclusive cemetery, but a holy field for the faithful dead, and when men went not to criticise, or to admire, but to tremble and to pray. Bologna and Padua only remind you of the genius and the learning of ancient days. Ferrara, with her majestic castle, noble palaces, and solemn cloisters recalls the image of her princes and of the poets who gave them renown. Genoa of its Dorias. Urbino of its incomparable court, described by Castiglione. Rome alone seems invested with an interest which is present and eternal; and yet, amidst the astonishing concentration of present intellectual greatness there, who, standing upon that awful ground, can avoid thinking of the past, and yielding to its immortal recollections? The approach to Rome is precisely what it ought to be. Nothing can be imagined more sublime, more proper to inspire meditation, and to fill the soul with the profoundest emotions of wonder for the past and of pious astonishment and reverence for the everlasting Ruler, than a view of the vast and solemn plains of the Campagna, in which the history of the world seems written in ruins, where no object appears but here and there some isolated fragment of an arched aqueduct or of a sepulchre, some aged cork tree or some spreading pine, near which shepherds are seen sitting together round a fire by night, keeping watch over their flocks. The thronged and noisy suburbs of a modern capital would belong to an order of ideas to which you would there deny admittance, for they would indicate too much of worldly solicitude to be in accordance with what naturally fills the breast of the Christian pilgrim as he approaches Rome. It is as much as he can sustain to look upon the delicious retreats of Albano, when he remembers that it was through that villa of pleasure that the chosen vessel was led bound to Rome. Whether it was the result of care, exclusively employed on the adornment of cities, within which every interest induced men to dwell, or from motives of convenience and of security, which prompted the inhabitants to desire the immediate neighbourhood of forests and deserts, it is certain that the scenery which surrounded many cities of the middle ages, corresponded with the wildest and the highest tone. How solemn is that approach to Pisa, over the ground which was the scene of Ariosto's ghastly chace! where following a lonely track through a vast sandy plain, on which rise a few tall pines, you find them growing in a closer contact, till at length you are within an immense forest, through which you see at intervals wild cattle and buffaloes grazing over vast desert tracts which extend to the Mediterranean; and then on proceeding you behold rising over the forest the vast domes of the cathedral and baptistry, with the mysterious tower, which stands as others fall. Who has not heard of that sombre forest of pines which conceals Ravenna from the sea, like a funeral veil thrown by nature over the ruins of the fallen city; a forest celebrated in the annals of history; wonderful among the scenes of nature; dear to poets, since it was sung by Dante and by Dryden! I first beheld it on a summer's evening, when I had walked out by the Porta Nuova, and had reached the bridge about half a mile from the city, over the united streams of the Ronco and Montone, on whose banks fell the slaughtered French, when, under Gaston de Foix, they encountered the lance of Spain. The road

being raised very high, commands an extensive view of the plain, the vast solitary Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, the sole vestige of a Roman city, which was destroyed by Luitprand the Lombard king in the eighth century, forming the only object till the eye reaches the distant forest. I shall never forget the feeling with which I beheld it, and gazed upon its vast and solemn line, which was only broken at intervals by the broad top of some more elevated stem, which rose above the horizon. A pale moon had just risen over it in a blue heaven, but towards the west a deep range of clouds gave index of a storm. At the same moment a vast flight of cranes traversed the sky, coming from the Adriatic, and reminded me of a sublime passage, in which Dante describes their clamorous course, which I repeated with an additional degree of interest, as I returned to the ancient city.

In England, too, we have cities, the approach to which is in the highest degree calculated to inspire meditation, such as Ely and Lincoln, rising majestic over the watery wastes which surrounded them, and Salisbury, encompassed with that vast plain, to which Stonehenge gives so mysterious an interest. But having now taken a general view of the Christian cities, it will be necessary to go into more detail, and to examine the particular history of the most remarkable edifices with which faith adorned them; and the construction of churches will furnish abundant matter for our next inquiries, relative to the evidence of the fulfilment of that divine sentence, which affirmed that the meek will possess the earth.

CHAPTER II.

THE number of beautiful monuments, with which faith covered the soil of Europe, has been the delight and astonishment of men of genius in the latter ages, when the probability or consequence of their overthrow was contemplated. How richly adorned England was in this respect, is recorded by Strype, Leland, Dugdale, Tanner, and other historians, who speak of the destruction which attended the first establishment of heresy. In Ireland it has only left ruins, which appear thickly scattered over the country, so as to make it resemble the Campagna of Rome. In Spain there are more than seventy thousand great churches; there were no less than a thousand raised in the reign of King Don Jaïme I. of Arragon alone. A late French writer makes some interesting remarks, to show how France was formerly covered with beautiful monuments of an architecture which showed a free and boundless imagination. It is calculated that there were thirty thousand churches, fifteen hundred abbeys, eighteen thousand five hundred chapels, two thousand eight hundred priories, one million seven hundred thousand steeples, and as to every twelve steeples may be supposed one castle, there would be seven thousand fortified towns, giving a total of one million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six monuments, without reckoning the basilicas, monasteries, royal and episcopal palaces, and town halls, contained within cities. Certainly, adds Chateaubriand, this was a soil very differently ornamented from what it is at present. Remark, too, that the religious, civil, and military architecture of these ages rose aloft and struck the eyes, unlike the modern, which is flat and levelled, like the ranks of our social state. Will our age, he asks, leave such a testimony of its passage? We have no longer the faith which moved so many stones. We raise exchanges, bazaars, coffee houses, club houses. How will philosophy be able to compare accounts with religion? The moderns, who look to practical advantages, cannot conceive on what ground the multiplication of churches and chapels could have been required. Stamford and Gloucester, and the ancient city of London, are instances which seem perfectly inexplicable to them; but the reason is obvious to all who have knowledge of the ancient religion; for within cities there was a necessity arising out of its very principles for erecting churches at short distances from

each other, in which the divine mysteries might be celebrated, in order that the merchant, the tradesman, the labourer, and the servant, might be able to assist at them every morning without loss of time or interruption to their other duties; and also to give the same facility to infirm persons who could not have gone far from their houses: and it required that these monuments should be multiplied in the country to afford a similar assistance to persons engaged in agriculture, whose interests were not forgotten in the original laying out of the ecclesiastical divisions, as appears from consulting those of the dioceses of France, which had remained the same from the reigns of Honorius and Clovis till the revolution. The attention of religious men to the spiritual interests of poor shepherds, gave rise to chapels and oratories in the wildest and most romantic spots of uncultivated nature. On the high Alp of the Surinam Pass, I found a little chapel with a bell in which mass is occasionally said for the poor herdsmen who resort to those high regions in the summer months. In the ninth century, we read of oratories being constructed on the mountains for the monks of St. Benedict, who used to depute a certain number of their society to watch the flocks on the high pastures during the fine season;* and, in the most retired valleys of Savoy, under impending glaciers, you find some humble sanctuary, which like that at Argentiere, proclaims its object, by an inscription, to be the safety of the poor. But there was still another reason why the Church loved to multiply her chapels, oratories, crosses, and places of pilgrimage, and place them amidst the woods and mountains. It was to make men love the Author, while they admired the works of nature. She knew too well the propensity of wretched mortals to be occupied incessantly with creatures, and to depart from him who made them, and she sought by the erection of material monuments, symbols and memorials of religious truth, to make the whole life of man a continued hymn or act of praise to God. The recollections of every traveller who has visited a Catholic country will bear testimony to the wisdom of this discipline, and even history itself has been obliged in many instances to record its effects. During the dreadful storm which so dismayed the English army under King Edward, after leaving Rheims, it is said, that the troops and the King himself looked upon it as a mark of God's wrath, and that at the same moment the king, turning towards the church of Chartres, whose lofty tower rose in the distance, made a vow to consent to peace. The Archduke Leopold of Austria, on his journeys, used always to salute the patrons of the different churches that he passed, and in this manner the whole face of a country was like a book which recalled a thousand holy images to inspire devout meditation, and to confirm salutary thoughts. St. Gregory of Tours says, that on the banks of the river Garonne, and contiguous to the castle Blaviensis, there is the tomb of a holy Roman priest, and it is said, that when the sailors have been in danger of perishing, they have been saved by imploring his prayers, and they think no one can perish who contemplates his church from the midst of the waters. On one occasion, he adds, during our passage across, we believe that we experienced the benefit of his suffrage.* With respect to the origin of these edifices, it is certain that the first Christians had their churches, for the Apostle St. Paul distinguishes them from other houses; and St. Ignatius the martyr in the first century exhorts the Magnesians to assemble in a place which is named "the temple of God," and in his Epistle to the Philadelphians he says, "There is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in union of his blood, one altar, and one bishop, with the priest, and deacons, my fellow-servants," and Tertullian at the end of the second century, speaks of the Church to which Christians resort, and the house of God.† Peter the venerable abbot of Cluni, says, that when he was at Rome he saw in the ancient crypts, the oratories and altars which had been raised by the Christians in the time of the Apostles.‡ At the present day, these are the places visited with most awe and astonishment by the devout strangers. In the catacombs, we behold the first churches of the eternal city. In the year 1812, a chapel of the primitive Christians was discovered in the palace of Nero, when excavations were made among the ruins of the baths of Titus. The persecution of Diocletian commenced with the demolition of the churches which the

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæc. IV. Pars I. Vita S. Bened.

* De Gloria Confessorum, cap. 46.
† Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, sect. I. 6.
‡ Contra Petrobrusianos Hæret. Epist.

Christians had erected for the first time in public places under the Emperors Alexander and Gordien; and the final triumph of the cross when the empire became Christian under Constantine, was marked by the restoration and erection of churches. In that of the Lateran Palace, which had been an imperial residence, Rome for the first time beheld the image of the Saviour. The lowest of the two churches, at present subterraneous under the church of St. Martin, was built by Pope St. Silvester, in the time of Constantine. It is supported by vast square columns of brick, and it resembles exactly the Roman work in the Basilica of Constantine in the forum. The image of our Lady is represented in mosaique, without that of the Divine Infant, and the Pope is on his knees in the act of imploring her intercession. Chateaubriand made the remark at Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, where are seen churches of the age of Constantine, that these ancient churches had a character of gravity and grandeur which the pagan monuments of the same age did not possess.* In that age the Christians erected magnificent temples in their cities and in Nicomedia, but others had been preserved from earlier times. In Spain, the Church of our Lady, at Zaragosa, is said to have been erected in her life-time. The holy bishops delighted in consecrating to God that beauty and splendour which had been so long devoted to the service of demons. St. Gregory Nyssen is astonished at the superb temple of the martyr Theodore, which with golden arches and cerulean tablets impels the mind to the contemplation of eternal beauty.† St. Cyril praises the splendour of the temple which the emperors had built at Jerusalem; nor does St. Chrysostom overlook the arched temple of prodigious height, incrusted with marble, in which they used to assemble.‡ At the close of the third century, the blessed Patiens, Bishop of Lyons, built in that city a most splendid church of marble and gold, which Sodonius Apollinaris commends in verse to all posterity: there were precious stones and variegated marbles to adorn it.§ In the third and fourth centuries, the splendour of the Spanish churches was very considerable. It appears that the church of St. Eulalia, at Merida, was ornamented with

* Les Martyrs, Liv. V.
† Op. Tom. III. p. 578; Tom. II. p. 41.
‡ Tom. V. Serm. 16.
§ Sidon. Apol. Leg. II. Epist. 10.

magnificent columns, beautiful marbles, and lofty towers. The irruption, however, of the barbarians destroyed entirely that splendour. They inundated Spain in 409; but in other countries many churches survived their fury. After the overthrow of the empire, and the conversion of the barbarians, it was not at first possible to erect churches of similar magnificence. In the tenth century, the architects were unable to rebuild the church of the Theban legion which had been destroyed by fire, so as to equal its former beauty.* The church of St. Stephen the greater at Milan, having been burnt in the eleventh century and rebuilt, an inscription was placed on it which began by extolling the superior grandeur of the former church, and then proceeded,—

—— Collapsum surgit ab imo;
Sed primi cultum nequit æquiparare secundum:
Plebs spectando time: peccatum causa ruinæ,
Te prius ædifices, tunc materiale reformes,
Sit templum Domini, placet illi fabrica templi.

The church of St. Martin at Tours, before the tenth century, was incrusted with red, green, and white marbles, and even the exterior was adorned with gold and beautiful stones. Old men in the time of St. Odo, who had seen it before its destruction by fire, used to say, that when the building was seen against the sun it resembled a mountain of gold.† The first churches erected by the barbarian invaders were greatly inferior to those of the ancient empire. Among a rude people it would be in vain to expect beauty of architecture. It was related of St. Patrick, that he built a church of clay alone in a plain in Connactia, which resisted all the inclemency of wind, and snow, and rain. It is an error, however, to suppose, that the Anglo-Saxons had only churches of wood. In the year 626, King Edwin had ordered a church to be built of timber, which was hallowed in the name of St. Peter, but "there he afterwards ordered a larger church to be built of stone."‡ In the year 1020, King Knute ordered to be built at Assingdon, a minster of stone and lime, and the church of Peterborough was built of stone in 656. In the year 710, Naiton, King of the Picts, sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow monastery, requesting him to send architects into Scot-

* De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacensis, 158.
† Id. 146.
‡ The Saxon Chronicle by Ingram, p. 33.

land to build a church of stone there, after the manner of the Romans, which he wished to dedicate to the prince of the Apostles. Ceolfrid sent him in return a long letter of advice, and also architects for the above purpose, and a quantity of his glass to glaze the windows; for his predecessor holy Benedict had established glass works on the Tyne which continue to the present day. But the Christian Church could not long exert her influence without producing that civilization which developed itself in the arts as well as in learning and manners; and accordingly the rise of a new and most beautiful architecture followed soon after the re-establishment of society under the northern tribes. Even in Italy, in the eleventh century, the small but beautiful church of the holy Apostles at Florence, which was the model followed by Brunelleschi in raising the churches of St. Laurence, and of the Holy Ghost, proves that the good rules of architecture were not unknown in Tuscany in the tenth century. St. Bernard relates that when St. Malachy began to rebuild the abbey of Bangor, in Ireland, "he was of opinion that such a stone oratory ought to be built there, as he had seen in other countries; and when he began to work, the natives admiring it, because such structures had not till then been seen in that country, said, O good man, why have you thought fit to bring this new fashion into our country. We are Scots, not Frenchmen. What lightness is this? What need is there of such superfluous work and so magnificent? How will your poverty afford the expense of finishing, and who will live to see it finished?" The choir built was so beautiful, that the abbey was called in consequence Banchor, or the beautiful choir, for before it had been called the Vale of Angels. Among the most remarkable Gothic churches built between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, which remain, for many of the abbey churches destroyed both in England and France, were equal, if not superior, to our present cathedrals,* are the cathedrals of Winchester, Canterbury, and York, the churches of Westminster and Bristol, in England; that of Sante Croix, at Orleans; the cathedrals of Chartres, Paris, Rheims, and Amiens, in France; in Germany the church of Halberstadt, the Elisabethskirche at Marburg, the church of Ulm, and the cathedrals of Vienna and Cologne; and in Italy, the cathedrals of Pisa, Sienna, Milan, the Carthusian church at Pavia, and the church of St. Petronis at Bologna. When, in the prophetic language of the sacred scripture, God threatens to punish a people he declares that he will take away those that are wise in building and the prudent in mystic sentences.* This judgment had not overtaken the nations in the middle ages, when these stupendous and mystic piles were erected to the glory of the eternal God, of which almost every stone is a symbol full of saintly wisdom. What acute and skilful men were those who raised at Paris the church of St. Paul; at Arras, the church of St. Wast; at Albi, the cathedral of St. Cecilia; at Rouen, the church of St. Ouen and the palace of Justice; at Rheims, the church of the abbey of St. Nicaise, which was so celebrated for its trembling pillar, which used visibly to oscillate whenever a bell in that tower was tolled;† at Milan, that cathedral; at Amboise, that castle of Charles VIII. with its vast round towers, containing staircases by which men on horseback could mount and descend; at Westminster, that hall of state whose roof is still the astonishment of mechanicians! What boldness, and imagination, and skill, were here testified. Assuredly there was enough to fire with emulation Ictinus himself; and with justice was Ferracino the Venetian compared to Archimedes in the inscription on his tomb at Solagna. The history of their scaffolding attests an astonishing perfection of mechanical science. At the building of the cathedral of Pisa, by means of the machines invented by Buschetto, weights which a thousand oxen could hardly have moved, were raised by ten young maidens, as a tablet in the church still testifies. Could these be ages of intellectual stagnation and ignorance as they are styled by those moderns who are themselves proficients only in the architecture of fortune? The works themselves would prove a prodigious advance in science, and indicate a most delicate sense of the beautiful and sublime. But even the writings of these ages explain with what profound and accurate views they were constructed. Thus Vincent of Beauvais, who clearly had a knowledge of perspective, and of its application in the representation of objects,‡ coming to treat upon the parts of architecture, shows what attention is due to symmetry, and proportion, and harmony of members, to disposition, and collocation,

* Tanner, Notitia Monastica (Preface.)

* Isai. cap. iii.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III. 67.
‡ Speculum Doctrinale, Liv. XVIII. c. 43.

and elegance of composition, to invention, and tempering of parts with regard to the effect of the whole, that the edifice may have solidity, usefulness, and beauty, and he says that to an architect both nature, and learning, and practice, are essential.* In fact, when men ask for evidence of the intellectual cultivation of the middle ages, though one might refer to the imperishable writings of their true philosophers, yet it is sufficient to bid them look upon the monuments of their architecture. Behold the tranquil grandeur of a Gothic cathedral, a vast symphony as it were of stone, to use the language of Victor Hugo, colossal work of a man, and of a people, one and yet complex like the Iliads of which it is the sister, a kind of human creation, powerful and fruitful, seemed to have attained the double character of divine creation, variety and eternity. Behold within it those myriads of statues which peopled all the inter-columnization of the nave and choir, images on their knees, on foot, on horseback, men, women, children, bishops, kings, warriors, in stone, in marble, in gold, in silver, in brass, even in wax, now in France and England, brutally swept away by men of a false taste. Behold, how these walls harmonize with that Gothic altar, splendidly loaded with reliquaries and shrines, for which a cold simplicity or an unmeaning parade of allegory has been substituted. Gothic architecture has suffered three kinds of degradation; first, that caused by time; then that caused by political or religious revolutions, during which men have fallen on its different parts with savage fury; and lastly, that arising from modern taste, which has caused more ruin than even revolutions, cutting up and disorganizing the edifice, and killing it in form as in symbol, in its logic as in its beauty, and then restoring it with those contemptible and stupid decorations which are supposed to indicate a simple and pure taste." That the erection of these magnificent churches cannot be ascribed to any ordinary cause or mere natural principle will appear most evident on a reference to the history of their construction. How, it is usual to ask, were these prodigious edifices raised? It would defy the known resources of any nation at the present day, that has felt the influence of the modern philosophy, to erect one of them. Indeed, so sensible are their sophists of this fact, that they convert it into an argument which they suppose will prove the intellectual superiority of their own times; for they ridicule the desire which they ascribe to our ancestors of giving form and substance to the objects of thought, as being a sentiment belonging to dark ages, and a half cultivated people, grossly ignorant of the pure and primitive loveliness of truth. Such is the inference that one Scottish writer draws from the erection of so many monasteries and magnificent churches in the middle ages.

The history of their construction exposes three sources which supplied the means required—consisting in the devotion of the multitude, in the munificence of kings and religious orders and particular families, and in the substitution of such works instead of the ancient canonical penance. All these, it is obvious, must be referred to the faith of the people; and they will be found fully adequate to explain the phenomenon, without calling into our assistance the motive of heathen or modern times, which might lead men to build like the Syracusans, in order, as Thucydides says, *ὑπό τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπειτα πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι*;* though, as has been acknowledged, it will still remain a matter of wonder to know the economy with which churchmen divided these revenues, taking into consideration the prodigious expenses required for the support of such a multitude of churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, besides what was expended in the maintenance of the clergy and a great number of laymen, and what was required by the state. To witness the first cause in operation we need only open the first ecclesiastical chronicle which presents itself; and the passage I have selected is remarkable as showing that the building of churches was then begun with the same reliance upon Providence which has inspired so many venerable priests in these islands, of late years, to commence the erection of chapels. Fulcuin, in his History of the Abbots of Lobes, relates "that there was a great assembly of people on the spot where their new church was to be built; and such was their devotion, that no one can describe it. With the money then offered by the people, the church," he says, "is marked out and begun: 'quando vel à quo erit perficienda, in Dei est providentia.'"† To account

* Id. Lib. X. c. 14, 15.

* Lib. VII. 56.

† Fulcuinus de Gestis Abbatum Lobiensium apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VI. 579.

for the sufficiency of these oblations of the people, which were either diurnal or hebdomadal, it should be remembered that the laborious and simple tenor of their lives enabled them to have always some supply beyond what was required by their domestic wants. When the church of St. Jacques-du-haut-Pas, at Paris, was to be built, it was the piety of high and low which accomplished the undertaking. The duchesse of Longueville gave money; the owners of quarries supplied, free of expense, all the stone, and the workmen employed in building gave each one day every week.* To effect the incrustation of marble in the church of Loretto, which alone cost about 300,000 crowns, the carvers gave their work gratis. The chapter-house and the sacristy of the convent of the Carthusians at Paris, had been built at the expense of Pierre Loisel, a shoemaker in the fourteenth century, whose device, representing a boot, was carved there.† When Suger rebuilt the abbey of St. Denis, he assembled the most skilful workmen and artists from all parts of the kingdom. In procuring marble from Pontoise, the zeal of the people left him nothing to expend. Every one thought to receive a blessing from Heaven if he had part in the holy work. Suger was the chief architect. When the most intelligent persons had declared their opinions that there was no timber fit for the work within sixty leagues of St. Denis, the abbot went himself into the forest of Chevreuse, and sought so well, that he found a sufficient quantity, which he had cut in his presence. He discovered a method to enable them to work at it through the winter, so that the building was finished in three or four years. The king and all his court, with a number of bishops, had assisted at laying the first stone, and blessing the place. Each had laid a stone, while the monks chaunted the 86th Psalm, "Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis:" and when the choir came to the usual words of the ceremony, "Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui," the king took a ring of great value from his finger, and threw it upon the foundations, and all the nobles did the same; so that a magnificent church might have been built with the price of the jewels cast into the trenches.‡ In the year 1099, when the Ginsonense church in the bishopric of Urgel was consecrated, most of her parishioners offered voluntarily to pay the tenth of their fruits. In the year 1210, when the cathedral of Rheims was destroyed by fire, owing to the negligence of some plumbers, the canons had recourse to the usual method of gaining a supply. Certain of their number, bearing the relics of the church and apostolic bulls, set out, accompanied by all the clergy, who conducted them as far as the gates of the city, chaunting the Psalms. The people continued to follow them as far as the nearest town, where, in the first place, they deposited the sacred relics in the church, and then, from a tribune erected on the outside over the door, they harangued the assembled multitude, who came forward to relieve their necessities. Then they visited other places with the same form; and the collection was so considerable, that, in the year after the fire, the chapter of Rheims was able to undertake the rebuilding of the church on a more extensive scale than before. Robert de Conci of Rheims was the architect. It was finished after thirty years. The canons first sung the office in it in the year 1241.*

The Pisans erected their cathedral with the spoils which they had won from the Saracens. Men conceived that by these works they testified faith and piety to God. Hence, some are owing to sudden dangers, in which persons pledged themselves to come forward, with pious liberality, to found or restore churches; for in these ages many men deserved the character which is ascribed to Anspert, the illustrious archbishop of Milan, in the ninth century, on whose tomb we read—

Effector voti, propositique tenax.

Thus, in the eleventh century, when the little fleet of Norman knights was passing the dangerous gulf of Messina, in order to regain the coast of Calabria, a violent tempest came on. The church of St. Anthony at Reggio, had been lately overthrown by an earthquake. Roger and his soldiers promised to devote to its reconstruction all the booty which they were carrying, that had been won from the Saracens. On their arrival in that city, they faithfully discharged their vow. The foundation of the illustrious Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, at Ravenna, is due to a vow made by Galla Placidia, in the year 424,

* St. Victor, Tableau de Paris. Tom. III. 435.
† Id. Tom. IV. 336.
‡ Hist. de Suger, Lib. VI.

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. II. 351.

during a tempest, as she was returning from Constantinople with her two sons, Valentinian and Honorius; and this event is there represented in mosaique.

As you leave Ravenna by the Roman gate, the lofty tower of a solitary church rises above the barren plain, far in the distance towards the sea. You approach and find the interior walls painted by Giotto. This is St. Maria in Porto, built by Peter,—surnamed, through his humility, the Sinner,—of the noble family of the Onesti, in pursuance of a vow during a storm at sea, in the year 1096. The body of the founder lies there.

Many votive chapels on our own wild shores might be mentioned, which have no other origin than a similar engagement. Others have an heroic as well as a pious origin. In the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician, Don Muno Alfonso, made a vow to give to the church of St. Mary of Toledo, the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they did after gaining the battle.

There are in Spain some churches, which by reason of some especial vow, received taxes from certain towns, whose inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are those of the vows of St. Billan and St. James. When Don Ramiro I. obtained that glorious victory at Clavijo which was to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he made himself tributary to the church of St. James, through whose intercession he ascribed it, the army having begun the battle with the cry of St. James. And in the year 938, the king of Leon having conquered, in a famous battle, the great Abderamen, king of Cordova, with the Mahometan princes of Africa and an army of 200,000 men, and Count Fernan Gonzalez having completed their overthrow, the count and his people bound themselves by solemn vows to pay a tribute to the church of St. Billan.

The magnificent baptistery at Pisa, built in the twelfth century, was raised by the voluntary contributions of one florin from every family in Pisa. Parma heard of this, and her baptistery arose—a monument of that good contention of which the oldest Greek poet speaks in his works and days. When the cathedral of Como was building, besides the abundant alms of the people, all who belonged to certain fraternities of trades, and desired the right of citizenship, were required to pay a certain sum towards it.* The wonderful arcade which crosses hills and valleys, connecting the church of our Lady on the mountain, three miles from the gate of Bologna, with the city, was built in this manner; different families, religious associations, and trades, taking upon them to raise a certain number of arches, over which their names are generally inscribed. Thus some are stated to have been built by a certain number of soldiers, others by some fishermen, others by some strangers contributing to the work with one heart. All professions and trades are there mentioned. Tragedians, booksellers, scholars, boatmen, shoemakers, some pious coachmen of the city, a company of one hundred and twenty servants, the poor by alms. Some are raised by families, such as the Belloni, Dolfi; and others by single individuals, as Count Philip Bentivoglio, Count Charles Ranuzzi, and others. The canons of the cathedral, the master of music of the chapel in the Basilica of St. Petronio, and a number of religious associations, contributed, and all from the motive often formally expressed, namely, out of devotion. This work was performed in the last century: for ages make no difference in the spirit of the faithful.

In the year 1389, Nicolas Flamel, a scrivener, and his wife Pernelle, built one of the arcades of the charnel-house of the Holy Innocents at Paris: many other citizens contributed to this as to a work of religion, and their arms or initials were carved over the vaults. Nicolas Boulard was particularly distinguished as one of these pious citizens. The inscription upon one vault stated that it was built by Pierre Potier, furrier and citizen of Paris, in honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the blessed saints of paradise, "pour mettre les ossemens des trespasses. Priez Dieu pour lui et pour les trespasses." In addition, Flamel built at his expense the portal of the church of St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. The inscription stated that this portal was built in honour of God by one of the parishioners and his wife, in the year of grace, 1388. "Pray for the benefactors of this," it added, "and for all others who have business in it, if you please." This whole church was built with the alms of pious

* Storia della Cattedrale di Como, 59.

people. It was demolished in the Revolution, but the tower was saved by the artifice of an architect, who besought the mob to spare it, in imitation, as he said, of the enlightened English, who had pulled down their churches indeed, but had always converted the tower into a manufactory of shot. Mme. de Sevigne gives a description of the crowds that used to assemble in this church to hear the sermons of Bourdaleu, on the site of which are now the shops of Jews, who trade in worn garments. Besides the portal, Flamel is supposed to have built one of the columns of the nave; for it was usual that pious people should thus undertake to raise one or more pillars of a church. Flamel was also the chief contributor to building the portal of the church of St. Geneviève-la-Petite, in 1402, on which the inscription stated that it was built with the alms of many persons, though Flamel's figure alone was carved upon it. He also built at his expense the chapel of the hospital of St. Gervais, the walls of which were covered with images of saints and crosses; and Flamel himself was represented on his knees.*

After the destruction of the abbey church of St. Tron, when the abbot Rodulphus was almost in doubt of being able to rebuild it, from his desolation and poverty, God inspired a certain matron of our town, by name Ruzela, says the chronicler, who at her own expense began to build, and completed one pillar. A certain bailiff of the place followed her example, and finished another; and after them our townspeople, at their own expence, began four pillars, and left two of them imperfect. The abbot perceiving what was the will of God, girded himself to the work, and in a short time both walls of the nave were raised to the proper height.† The great church of St. Riquier, in the eleventh century, having been half destroyed, to the indescribable grief of the people, it was resolved, in order to procure assistance, that the venerable relics of St. Richarius, the patron of the monastery, should be carried to the neighbouring castles, that the devout people might be moved to make gifts for the foundation of a new church. The day arrived, and the Count Wido came with many nobles, attended with a vast multitude, to behold the spectacle. With cross and banners, and tapers burning, the body of the saint was borne along; but the devout people could not endure that it should be carried beyond the town of the abbey, thinking that it would be an eternal disgrace to suffer it. So that early the next morning the body was brought back with such joy and triumph, that no one can express it; and then, the people being all assembled, with a prompt mind gave many gifts to restore the church, which offerings are thus related:—

Vaccas atque boves et equos, et oves tribuerunt,
Cappas, mantellos, anulos, vittasque, tiaras;
Cingula, cultellos, manicas, caligasque dederunt,
Auribus appensum tribuuntque monile puellæ.
Sed nostri cives argenti pondera pensant,
Librarum solidos quam multos undique donant,
Rusticus hordea dat, multorum cœtus avenam,
Plures dant brasium, vinum plerique dederunt.
Ex his thesaurus fit mercibus amplior unus,
Quem numerare nequit, vel si quis compota novit.

"By God's assistance," continues the chronicler, "a new church is begun from the foundations; and by the daily gifts of good men, the fabric rises, the inhabitants more fervently urging one another, that no one should seem inferior to another in giving assistance. Thanks be to God, we now behold it raised on a stronger foundation, and to a loftier height than ever."*

In England, during the ages of faith, we see the same process in operation. After the dreadful fire, caused by the carelessness of a plumber, which destroyed the abbey of Crowland, in the time of Ingulphus, the charity of people far and near was excited towards the monks. The Bishop of Lincoln gave forty marcs of silver and forty days of indulgence to all who would do them service. Richard de Rulos, Lord of Brunne and Depyny, made liberal presents as an ancient friend, and proved, in time of calamity. The people gave money and provisions, fat hogs, and beans, and corn, and oxen. "Nor must we forget," says the Monk, "among so many benefactors, Juliana, a poor old woman of holy memory at Weston, who out of her poverty gave us all her living, namely, some yarn and spinning thread to make vestments for the brethren of our monastery. Multitudes gave the labour of their hands, taking it in turn to serve one day every month till all was finished."† Legacies are on record of various persons who left money towards rebuilding the tower of the abbey of St. Edmund's,

* Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa femme. p. 32—113.

† Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. X. p. 471, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VII.

* Chronic. Centulensis, sive S. Richarii, Lib. IV. cap. 36, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

† Hist. Ingulphi, p. 99.

at Bury. Thus on one beautiful tower of a Franciscan convent between Pisa and Florence, I saw inscribed "Pietas fidelium, 1826." In the year 1450 the convent of the Franciscans at Rheims was destroyed by fire, and in the following year it was rebuilt at the expense of a widow, whose name has remained unknown.* It is a tradition that the cloth-fullers were the founders of the church of St. Paul at Paris. In the tower there was a window on which they were represented at work in their trade.† The second source of supply for the erection of churches, has been stated to have been the munificence of kings, and religious orders, and noble families; and of this we have an early instance in the Saxon chronicle. "In the year 655, when Peada was king of the Mercians, came together himself and Oswy, brother of King Oswald, and said that they would rear a minster to the glory of Christ, and the honour of St. Peter. And they did so; and gave it the name of Medhamsted," (which is now Peterborongh.) "And they began the ground wall and wrought thereon; after which they committed the work to a monk, whose name was Saxulf. He was very mnch the friend of God, and him also loved all people: he was nobly born in the world and rich; he is now mnch richer with Christ. After the death of this king, his hrother Wulfhere, who succeeded, loved Medhamsted for the love of his hrother Peada, and for the love of Oswy, and for the love of Saxulf the abbot; and he said therefore that he would dignify and honour it. Then sent the king after the ahbot; that he should immediately come to him, and he did so. Then said the king to the abbot, 'Beloved Saxulf, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for what reason. My hrother Peada, and my beloved friend Oswy, began a minster for the love of Christ and St. Peter; hut my brother, as Christ willed, is departed from this life; I will therefore entreat thee, beloved friend, that they earnestly proceed on this work; and I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions.' Then went the ahbot home and began to work. So he sped as Christ permitted him, and in a few years was that minster ready. Then the king sent after all his thanes, after the archhishop and hishops, and after his earls, and after all those that loved God, that they should come to him; and he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster; and when they were hallowing it, there was the king Wulfhere and his hrother Ethelred, and his sister Kynehurga and Kyneswitha, and the archbishop and hishops, and all his thanes that were in his kingdom. Then stood up the king, and said with a loud voice, 'Thanks be to the high almighty God for this worship that is here done, and I will this day glorify Christ and St. Peter. I Wulfhere give to-day to St. Peter and the abbot Saxulf and the monks of the minster, these lands and these waters and meres and fens and wiers. This is my gift.'" Then followed the specifying of the gifts, which were immense. "Then quoth the king, 'It is little—this gift—bnt I will that they hold it so royally and so freely that there may be taken therefrom neither gild nor gahle, hut for the monks alone.' During these words the ahbot desired that he would grant him his reqnest. And the king granted it. 'I have here (said he) some good monks that would lead their life in retirement, if they wist where. Now, here is an island that is called Ankerig, and I will request that we may huild there a minster to the hononr of St. Mary, that they may dwell there who will lead their lives in peace and tranquillity.' Then answered the king and qnoth thus: 'Beloved Saxulf, not that only which thon desirest, bnt all things that I know thon desirest in onr Lord's behalf, so I approve and grant; and I pray all that come after me that our gift may stand. Whoso lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in the kingdom of heaven.' Then the witnesses suhscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and confirmed it with their tongues."

It would be endless to commemorate the pions munificence of Catholic kings in the erection of churches. In Spain previous to the invasion of the Sarassins, king Sisehut had huilt the church of St. Leocadia at Toledo; Chindasvint had erected the famous churches and monasteries of Complnto and St. Roman. Recesvint founded the church of St. John de Bano near Duenas; and even Atangild had evinced royal munificence in the erection of that of Agaliensis. When Don Alphonso, the Catholic, had expelled the Moors from Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, he re-

* Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III. 7.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. chap. 4.

built the churches which they had destroyed. The funds for the support of these churches were often the gift of devout kings, where, as in Spain, till after the eighth century, the payment of tithes was only voluntary and partial. Don Sancho the Great granted to the monastery of Leyre the tithes of various towns which he had wrested from the Moors. Don Ramiro of Arragon gave similar privileges to the church of Huesca. Count Petriccio made an equal donation to the apostolic church of St. James, and Don Alfonso I. of Arragon granted to the holy church of Saragossa the right of tithes from certain mills and baths of the city. Don Alfonso the VIIIth granted certain tithes to the church of Burgos, and the king St. Ferdinand similarly endowed the metropolitan church of Seville. When St. Angilbert was abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius in Gall, Charlemagne assisted him in rebuilding that church, and by his orders marble and columns were transported from Rome upon strong waggons, to be employed in its decoration.* Charles VIII. of France, at his coronation in the cathedral at Rheims, was moved to compassion at the sight of its ruinous state, in consequence of a late fire; he immediately granted a considerable sum for its restoration.† The beautiful church of St. Miniato al Monte, at Florence, was raised by Hildebrand Bishop of Florence, at the expence of the Emperor St. Henry and St. Cunegonde his wife. At Rome there are churches built by kings of Spain. The expence of the repairs of the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls was always borne by the kings of England. Sometimes it was the magistrates of cities who erected their principal church, of which they might almost have said with truth, "Hic amor, hæc patria est." This was the case at Freyburg in Switzerland, of which the chronicles relate that its magistrates, after having been detained at Freyburg in Brisgau by the severe Albert of Austria, brought away with them the plan of the cathedral tower, to serve as a model for that which they were to build in their own city.

The decree of the Florentine republic, in the thirteenth century, which orders the reconstruction of the cathedral is cited by admirers of classical eloquence as equal in grandeur to any senatus consultum of ancient Rome. But we must not forget the zeal of the religious orders of knighthood, of the Templars and of the Teutonic order, to which many noble churches in the west are due. In Prussia, wherever the dominion of the latter penetrated, churches and monasteries were immediately built, and divine service offered up. It was this order which built the beautiful church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, which is still the admiration of Germany.* Sometimes religious confraternities built churches. That of the holy Sepulchre at Parma was founded in 1262 by pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem. The noblest artists contributed their skill and labour, and sought no other recompense but the remembrance of having done so. On the tomb of Giotto, in the cathedral of Florence, is an inscription, which alludes to his having built the beautiful tower of variegated marble adjoining:

Miraris turrem egregiam sacro ære sonantem,
Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo.

A noble example, surpassed in our days by the great Canova, who, towards the end of his life, erected at his own expence in Possagno, the place of his birth, a little mountain village of difficult access, a marble church of exquisite beauty; and his resources being found insufficient, in order to complete it he recommenced his personal labours with the activity, to which indigence alone had before condemned him. Private families were often at the whole expence of erecting magnificent churches; for luxury was not in those ages personal, consisting in furniture, play, jewellery, dress, and theatres, but it was rather a grand and noble spirit, prompting works of public beneficence. Privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum, says Horace, speaking of the early Romans, and Bonald observes, that this was true also of the French till the fifteenth century—the church was more beautiful than the castle.† The sublime church of the Annunziata at Genoa was built at the sole expense of the Lomelini family: that of St. Matthew was built by the Doria family, in which is the tomb of Andrew Doria, the founder, whose descendants continue to support it. In the year 1831 Prince Doria, on visiting this church, perceiving that the gold was tarnished, gave 200,000 francs to have it

* Vita S. Angelberti, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. IV. 1.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. IV. 59.

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 294.

† Legislat. Primit. 11.

refreshed. In the same city, the beautiful church of Santa Maria in Carignano, was built in obedience to the will of Bendinelli Sauli, a noble Genoese; and several others were built there hy other families, such as the Pallavicinis, Balhis, and Ivreas. The church of the Annunziata at Padua was founded hy Henry Scrovigno, whose statue is there seen. The family of Ruccellai at Florence possess the oratory of the holy Sepulchre. John Ruccellai sent persons expressly to Jerusalem to take the model of the holy Sepulchre, and he confided the erection to Alberti. This was restored and embellished in 1809 by Joseph Horace Rnccellai. The magnificent front of the church of the holy Apostles at Rome will attest the mnnificence of the Torlonia family in the present age. The church of Taverny, one of the most beautiful Gothic fabrics in the diocese of Paris, of the thirteenth or fourteenth centnry, was raised at the expence of the family of Montmorenci. In the year 1237, Burchard de Montmorenci left money for the expence of the glass windows. The word aplanos, belonging to the Montmorencis, is read npon the sanctuary. Many of that family are huried there, nnder magnificent tombs of marble, and each inscription ends with "Priez pour l'ame de lui:" one to a boy of that honse, who died in 1369 ends thus: "gaudeat in Christo tempore perpetuo."* In the time of Francis I. was discovered under the ancient church of St. Merry at Paris, a stone tomh, containing the body of a warrior with hoots of gilt leather on his feet, with this inscription, "Hic jacet vir bonæ memoriæ Odo Falconarius fundator hnjus ecclesiæ." This was the famous Odo, the hero of Paris, who with the valiant Godefroi defended it against the Normans in the year 886, under the orders of Connt Eudes, who became king two years afterwards.†

But to the personal labours and munificence of hishops and abbots Christendom was still more indebted for the erection and restoration of these magnificent fabrics, though such works were not suffered to interfere with their other dnties, as the following instances will show. The first act of the episcopacy of Ebon at Rheims was to obtain leave from the Emperor to demolish what remained of the walls and gates of the city, in order to employ the materials in the reconstruction of the cathedral, which was falling to ruin. In this work he evinced great zeal for the arts, and Rnmaldus, serf of the Emperor, was placed at the head of the workmen as the architect. At the same time this hishop was employing learned and holy men to compose penitentiary canons, and such was his zeal that he went twice into Denmark to preach the Gospel.* When Yves de Bellême Bishop of Séez, in the eleventh century, was ohliged to rehnild his cathedral, which had been destroyed hy fire, he made a journey as far as Palestine to seek contrihntions from some of his rich relations, who were residing there. In the same age, when the Norman knights were at Civitade in Italy, there came to them Geoffrey de Monthray Bishop of Coutances, who was related to the sons of Tancred, and he received from them considerable treasures, to enahle him to finish his cathedral, with which he returned in safety. In the year 935 St. Conrad count of Altorf, having heen made Bishop of Constance, made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and during his episcopacy, huilt at his own expense three chnrches in Constance, in one of which, that of St. Manrice, he made a sepulchre resembling that which he had seen at Jerusalem. St. Hugo, the sixth abhot of Cluni, amidst all his other labours, was ahle to rebuild, on an extensive scale, the church of the monastery, and in a style which was admirahle for its beanty, employing twenty years on this work.† We have already seen how the celehrated abbot Suger exerted himself in huilding the church of St. Denis. The history of his life records a circumstance which was quite characteristic of these holy men who raised cathedrals, while they spent nothing upon themselves, from a sense of one of those great primitive principles expressed hy the ancients, as hy Aristotle, where he says, *ἐν ἑκάστοις τὸ πρέπον· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ ἁρμόζει Θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ τάφῳ.*‡ When he was made Regent of France, he was so little prepared for such dignity, that he had been that very time meditating a final retreat from court, to procure repose for the end of his life. With this view, he had built a little cell near the church, in which he could retire and meditate on divine things. This was the only apartment which he constructed for himself, and it was so modest and conformahle to poverty, heing only ten feet wide and fifteen long,

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 90.
† Ibid. Tom. I. c. 6.

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, I. 97.
† Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 458.
‡ Ethic. IV. 3.

that all who saw it were surprised at such an instance of detachment in so magnificent a person. When Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni, came one day, with many other abbots, to see Suger, after admiring tho grandeur of the church of St. Denis, and then coming to view this little cell, he heaved a deep sigh, and turned to those near him, saying, "Behold a man who condemns us all. If he goes to great expence in buildings, it is not for himself, like us, but only for the ornament of the house of God."*

In Rome we may see the magnificent churches built in these latter days by saints, by St. Philip Neri and by St. Charles Borromeo. Yet in restoring the ancient churches with greater magnificence, these holy men are sometimes seen fearing the very splendour of their own work, and passing a judgment upon themselves which assuredly they did not deserve. Thus speaking of Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester, William of Malmesbury says, "The fear of God was so constantly in his mind, that what others turned into pomp, he transferred into matter of compunction. When the church which he had begun from the foundations was so far completed that the monks were removing into it, orders were given that the old church, which had been built by the blessed Oswald, should be unroofed and demolished. At this spectacle Wlstan, standing by, could not refrain from tears. What feeling and tenderness belonged to the spirit of the middle ages! Upon which, being modestly reminded by his companions that he ought rather to rejoice on seeing the church so augmented, he replied, 'I think far otherwise, because we miserable men, destroy the works of the saints that we may procure praise for ourselves; that age of happy men knew not the construction of pompous houses, but it knew men who, under any roof whatever, were ready to immolate themselves to God, and to attract subjects by example.'"† Ah! what sayest thou, holy Wlstan? Were not these scruples against thine own wiser rule? The saintly Bernard too had fears, lest vain-glory should arise from his success in preaching; but art not thou one of those privileged few who may conclude, as he did, in addressing the insidious enemy, "nec propter te cœpi, nec propter te desinam?"‡

* Hist. de Suger, Liv. VI.
† De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, Lib. IV.
‡ In Vita Ipsius.

And besides, after all the pains which later architects have employed in making old buildings vain to be homogeneous with their own works, by forcing them to display themselves to every passing gaze, how little would their style lead us to suspect the men who raised them of being actuated by personal vanity. It might almost lead us to remember that fact related in the Gospel, that it was he whom all the Jews counted worthy, who loved their nation, and who had built them a synagogue, that cried to Jesus, Lord I am not worthy. Humility is, as it were, the kernel which lies within the beautiful exterior shell of all the creations of religion; as when you repair to Loretto, and find that poor cottage of Nazareth enshrined within a templo of marble, and surrounded by a palace, which art and riches have combined to adorn. An old writer says, while looking at the chapel of King Henry VII. in Westminster, "I have much admired the curious workmanship thereof; it added to the wonder, that it is so shadowed with mean houses, well-nigh on all sides, that one may almost touch it as soon as see it. This chapel may pass for an emblem of great worth, living in a private way. How is he pleased with his own obscurity, whilst others of less desert make greater show; and whilst proud people stretch out their plumes in ostentation, he useth their vanity for his shelter, more pleased to have worth than to have others take notice of it." Indeed it would not be easy to find any thing more expressive of humility than the buildings of the middle ages. With all their grandeur and beauty they are always modest, and never disposed to show themselves off to advantage. They disdain nothing useful for the sake of appearances; they have no false surface to conceal weakness and deformity; they are grand without an effort; and always willing to condescend to the wants and consolations of the poor. In the middle ages when an edifice was complete, there was almost as much under the ground as above it. Whether church or castle there was always a double foundation; either a subterraneous church, or a suite of apartments, or a labyrinth of vaults, spreading, like roots, far and wide on all sides.

From all this it is sufficiently evident that the construction of these monuments did not involve men in any ruinous expenditure: they were not raised or enriched, like the temples of Rome, when they were rebuilt and re-endowed at the

departure of the Gauls, by taxes imposed upon the citizens, with such little regard to their convenience, that they were compelled to borrow money for their own personal wants, until year after year augmenting their difficulties, they were consigned to slavery, and dragged to dungeons, and the whole commonalty sank under its misery into a state of gloomy submission. The offerings with which they were raised and supported had been always the voluntary contributions of the faithful; the Catholic bishops would have abhorred the idea of any one being compelled to present them. Nay, the funds were actually the fruit of holiness and austerity; for wherever decay of discipline occurred in monasteries, even buildings fell to ruin, but a reform was followed with an increase of wealth and magnificence. This was the case at St. Denis, when Suger had introduced the reform.* Dom Gervaise observes, that the abbey was never so rich as after it had embraced this reform, and he believes that it was in consequence of the blessing of God. This source of ecclesiastical wealth to support the erection of churches, had been remarked in an early age; witness what St. Ambrose says, "If he deserved to be commended to our Lord who had built a synagogue, how much more is he deserving who builds a church? What shall I say of our brethren, the holy men Vitalianus and Majanus? I know that they seek not glory from men but from God; yet if I were not to speak their praise, these works themselves would cry out; for they constructed this tabernacle, and at their own expense, and at what great expense, considering how moderate and slight are their worldly means! theirs was abundance of faith and the riches of simplicity, for to holy men poverty itself is always rich. Therefore I believe that these blessed men built the church no less with their prayers than with their money; they expended all their substance on it, and yet they wanted nothing, which shows how rich is poverty when all is expended."† How justly might we style each of these Christian churches a temple, σεμνὸν ἀγλάαισι μερίμναις,‡ venerable with noble thoughts. It is to be remembered that the clergy, and even holy laymen, gave not only their wealth but their personal labour, and the assistance of their own genius. St. Victrice, Archbishop of Rouen, in the fourth century, describes himself and his clergy as labouring with their own hands to build the church of God in that city. "You behold on one side a crowd of austere monks, on another a multitude of children, who make the air resound with their innocent voices; a little farther it is a chorus of holy virgins, who carry the standard of Jesus Christ, or a crowd of devout widows, who display none of the ornaments which are despised by those who wish to serve Christ. Every thing is divine—the riches of sacred canticles shine there, not a night or vigil, that is not enlightened by them. Let us then introduce the divine martyrs into the temple prepared for them; let us collect their relics, those seeds of the future resurrection. It is not in vain that I have so ardently desired to build this sanctuary. The arrival of the saints justified my anxiety. We have laid the foundations; we have raised the walls, and we behold this day for whom the work has been advanced; juvat manibus volvere, et grandia humeris saxa portare. Sudorem meum bibat terra; atque utinam sanguinem biberet pro nomine salvatoris!"* The Cardinal de Berulle, who founded the congregation of the Oratoire, was inflamed with such zeal, that when he had purchased ground for the church he used to work himself at the building, like an apostolic man, carrying the hods as if he had been a common labourer. This was so late as in the year 1616.† Peter, Abbot of Andrenes, had incurred the resentment of a certain wicked man, on account of his persisting in rebuilding a church which the other had resolved should not be rebuilt. The holy pastor went on, however, with the work, and laboured with his own hands. The son of the opponent, that he might please his father, lay in wait for the abbot at the gate of the monastery, and as the abbot was entering aimed a mortal blow at his head; but a youth, Henry de Fernes, his chaplain, bravely threw himself forwards and received the stroke: he was immediately carried into the infirmary, where after a few days he departed in holy hope.‡ The same men who were thus ready to exercise every kind of servile labour,

* Hist. de Suger, Lib. V.
† S. Ambrosii Serm. LXXXIX.
‡ Pind. Nem. III.

* De Laude Sanctorum, cap. 12. Theod. Liquet, Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu' à Rollon, p. 21.
† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. I. 812.
‡ Chronicon Andrensis Monasterii, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX. p. 445.

were also zealous in devoting their genius and skill to the same end. In the tenth century the monk of Gozze was a celebrated architect. The church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, which is so beautiful, that Michael Angelo used to call it his Spouse, was built in the thirteenth century by two Dominican friars. The façade of St. Mark's, in the same city, was designed by a Carmelite. In erecting the noble church of the Abbey of Einsiedelin, the architects were Kaspar Moosbrugger, a monk, and Thomas Maier, a lay brother. It was Father Grassi and Father Pozzi, Jesuits, who contributed chiefly to the erection and adornment of the magnificent church of St. Ignatius at Rome. Marius de Canepine, who was the architect to raise the front of the church of St. Charles at Rome, was a Capuchin. So also upon the interior decorations the clergy esteemed their personal labour well employed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was Dom Guillaume Lavieille, prior of the Abbey of Fontenelle, who beautifully painted the choir of that church with images of divers saints.* The perfecting of the art of making pictures in Scagliola is due to Father Henry Hugford, abbot of the order of Vallombrosa, who was of an English family; and the two organs in the cathedral of Como were made by the celebrated Jesuit Hermann, in the seventeenth century. St. Jerome mentions, in praise of the priest Nepotianus, that whatever was beautiful in the Basilicas and in the Courts of the Martyrs, was the work of his own hands, that he resembled in elegance and diversity of genius those Greek philosophers who used to boast† that whatever they used, even to their pallium and to the ring on their finger, had been made by their own hands.‡ Even great noblemen were sometimes excited by devotion to labour with their own hands at the erection of churches. Godfrey, the Bearded Duke of Lower Lorraine, in his war against the Emperor, Henry III., had burnt the greater church of St. Mary at Verdun, when that city fell a prey to his arms. Full of repentance for this sacrilege, he caused it to be rebuilt, and took for his penance the labour of frequently working at it with his own hands, carrying the mortar like the meanest workman; this was in the year 1046, as Lambertinus Schaffnaburgensis relates. This example naturally leads us to consider the last source, which consisted in the substitution of such works for the ancient canonical penance. In these ages of faith, when man was not made to consist in his organs, when as Bonald observes, there was in the world another God besides the god of riches, another worship besides that of pleasure, other business besides the intrigues of ambition, it was common to see men in power, who had been misled for a moment by the intoxication of rule, return to themselves, and exhibit profound sorrow for unjust actions, or even for a legitimate war, if they had exceeded the measure of evil which it permits to be inflicted upon enemies. They were then seen to found pious establishments with the profit of iniquity, and offer to the Eternal Justice institutions of a durable advantage to society, in expiation of the passing evils committed against some men, and leave public monuments of their faith in the Divinity, of their hope of a better life, of their charity to their fellow-creatures, monuments which attested their repentance, even after history had forgotten their faults.* We have already seen that by means of indulgences, and the contributions in consequence, a great number of these magnificent churches were built or repaired. The vast and beautiful church of that celebrated Carthusian monastery near Pavia, of which the Marquis Malaspina de Sannazaro has lately given a description, may be cited here. Great as may have been the crimes of Galeazzo Visconti, the founder, great also, it must be admitted, was this monument of his penitence, and desire to redeem his soul, a work worthy indeed of repentance, at once to be the consolation and support of a number of holy men in successive ages, who were to follow there the path of perfection, and a monument that was to adorn and benefit his country, being an object of astonishment and rapture for the men of devout and cultivated minds in all future times. The first stone was laid in September, 1396, and in the year 1399 twenty-five monks were there established. Gelasius II. granted the Archbishop of Saragossa, the power of remitting canonical penances to any one who would give alms for rebuilding his church, which the Moors had destroyed. The Count Don Pedro and his countess gave the town and monastery of Corispindo to the church of St. James, as an atonement for the sin of wounding Don Alfonso

* Langlois, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Fontenelle.
† Plato, Hippias. ‡ Epist. XXXV.

* Legislation Primit. Tom. I. 240.

before the gate of the altar of the apostle. "In truth," says the author of the work lately published in Spain, on the origin and progress of the income of that church, "corporal mortifications are better than alms for cleansing the soul of its infirmities, because, though the latter are efficacious means of exciting Divine mercy, they stand opposed only to covetousness; and it is easier to a rich man to relinquish part of his superfluities, than to abandon his luxuries and criminal pursuits. Therefore, even when these commutations were flourishing most, there were added to alms, prayers and abstinence from certain dainties." With respect to the principle of the commutation in relation to history, it is certain that, even in the first ages, penitents were sometimes required or induced to contribute to great works of public utility; but the formal substitution of these for the ancient canonical penances, was introduced towards the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Every change implies some disorder, and abuse attaches itself of necessity to every possible arrangement of discipline; but it was argued that the evil to which this may have opened a door, was certainly not to the extent that some learned ecclesiastical writers, in their zeal for primitive usages, were found to maintain, for the foundations of truth are never set aside. Pierre le Chantre, a celebrated theologian, who lived in the twelfth century, complained of the abandonment of the ancient canonical penance by this relaxation. The blessed Stephen d'Obasine, who died about the middle of the same century, expressed himself in the same sense, and would not consent to introduce the compensations. The scholastic divines, on the contrary, that is, the wisest and most learned men, argued in defence of this mode of compensation; and while the popes, as Chardon says, seemed always attached to the ancient discipline, they sanctioned the sense of the schools, in recognizing the wisdom and expediency of the change which had been gradually effected. Holy theologians, indeed, of the twelfth century, when found complaining of this alteration, have a claim to the highest respect of those who have continued faithful; but assuredly the men of our times, and of the modern creeds, cannot with any consistency avail themselves of their arguments or opposition.

How can men of the modern learning lament the abolition of that discipline which required years of weeping, prostration and kneeling without the church in sackcloth and ashes, excluded from communion for seven or ten or twenty years, or even for the whole course of men's lives? On the other hand, the wisest and most zealous adherents of the ancient discipline acknowledged that after all, these penances did not always necessarily produce conversion of heart, or facilitate the return of men to God, without which the punishment of sins was of no avail: those who advocated the system of compensation, observed that while reason herself could not but approve of that discipline, which directed the internal horror of sin and dread of its penalty to the erection of prodigious works, that would benefit the race of men in future generations, to the ear of faith the arguments of the schoolmen must seem solid and satisfactory, for they rested on the principle of Hugues and Richard of St. Victor, that perfect contrition alone had the power of remitting sins and their penalty, as also on the explanation given by Alexander de Hales, that the punishment due to sin, though not suffered in this life, may yet, by the indulgence of the Church, which is only an application of the merits of Jesus Christ, granted to contrite sinners, be considered punished by God in the person of Jesus Christ; so that there would remain nothing to be suffered by the contrite penitent, who had not fulfilled the canonical penance, but who had worthily received the indulgence of the Church, granted from her treasure, which consisted of the superabundant merits of the whole mystical body of Jesus Christ. They observed that the greatest admirers of the canonical penance were obliged to admit, that in the first ages the bishops had the power of dispensing with the whole or a part of the penalty, which was an admission that sin might be wholly remitted, without suffering its penalty either in this life or in the next; and they denied that any other prerogative was exercised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when, to persons truly contrite, works of charity and of pious utility were substituted for the solitary exercises imposed by the canons, which would not have prodnced any fruits beyond the breasts of the individnal, and which could not have been always of absolute necessity, since they had been sometimes remitted.

But to return to the churches. We have now seen from what sources the funds for their erection were generally drawn; so

that the phenomenon seems to be explained, with respect to the difficulty of accomplishing works of such prodigious magnitude: for they are monuments of faith, and they testify the zeal with which men of former ages followed and worshipped Christ. It is not that undue importance was attached to material fabrics, or that Christians in faithful ages needed the light of modern philosophy to entertain spiritual notions of what is pleasing to the majesty of God. It does not follow that they were unable to make the proper distinctions, because we do not find them imitating Xerxes, when he burnt all the temples in Greece, the Magi having persuaded him that it was impious and detestable to include the deity within walls. "God himself takes care," said St. Zeno of Verona, "to warn us that all this worldly and terrestrial pomp, without true adorers, is neither necessary nor sufficient to honour him worthily. 'What house worthy of me can you build to me,' saith he in the words of Isaiah; and does he not show us all the vanity of the Temple of Solomon, when he says, 'Of this temple there shall not rest stone upon stone.' Ah! without doubt, he shows us in these words that a similar edifice, however great or magnificent, cannot please him by itself alone. He desires above all to be surrounded by true adorers, and he finds in their hearts a temple, which is far more agreeable to him than all those which the hands of men can build to his honour."* In the middle ages we find these sentiments in the ordinances of holy kings, who were the most distinguished for their magnificent foundations of churches. "Although it is good," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, "that there should be public edifices for the church, nevertheless, the ornament and elevation of good morals must be preferred to all other kinds of building: because, as far as we can discern, the construction of basilicas belongs to a certain custom of the old law, but the emendation of manners appertains properly to the New Testament and to the Christian discipline." This was published at the time when the monks of Fulda expostulated with him, beseeching him that the immense and superfluous buildings and other useless works of their secular rulers might be omitted by which the brethren were harassed. "Sed omnia," they added, "juxta mensuram et discretionem fiant."† In the exhortations which

* Tract. Liv. I.
† Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 6.

he addressed to the new abbot St. Eigilus, the emperor quoted the observation of St. Chrysostom, that no churches are raised to the glory of God, in the building of which the interests of the poor are compromised, and that the martyrs are not honoured, when their basilicas are enriched with the spoils of the living.* But, as illustrating the creative spirit of the Catholic society, the number of these beautiful and sublime fabrics may be a subject for lasting admiration and pious gratitude.

"The Catholic religion," says Chateaubriand, "has covered the world with its monuments. Protestantism has now lasted three centuries; it is powerful in England, in Germany, in America. What has it raised? It will show you the ruins which it has made, amidst which it has planted some gardens, or established some manufactories.† The debasement, indeed, of our ecclesiastical architecture, which as a modern writer says, "immediately ensued upon the Reformation, is only less disgraceful than the destruction to which so many venerable edifices were condemned by the brutal rapacity of their lay possessors. That glorious and elevating art had attained its highest perfection; and no degradation was ever more rapid or more complete. But the Reformation," adds this writer, with amusing simplicity or shallowness, "was not in any degree the cause of this: it was produced by the spirit, or rather the taste of the age."‡ The Catholic religion is essentially a creative power, to edify and not to destroy, because it is under the immediate influence of that Holy Spirit which the Church invokes as the Creative Spirit—"Creator Spiritus." The Protestant, or modern philosophical, is a principle of destruction, of perpetual decomposition, and disunion. Under the dominion of the English Protestant power, for four hundred years, Ireland presents, as a great prelate of our time observes, the appearance of a new country, in the same manner as France under the sophists of the Revolution, is rapidly becoming as naked and void of ancient memorials as the wilds of America. That the Catholic spirit in this respect continues to be exactly what it was of old in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, may be witnessed in the works which are still pursued in Italy and Spain, or in any

* In Vita S. Eigilii, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. IV. p. 1.
† Discourse, Hist. Pref.
‡ Quarterly Review, No. LXVIII.

of the Catholic states of Europe, however poor or insignificant, as in some of the smaller cantons of Switzerland. Florence, for instance, during the last fifteen years, has beheld the prodigious work continued of finishing the chapel of the Medicis in the chnrch of St. Lorenzo, at the private personal expense of its pious and munificent dukes. This famous chapel is incrusted with jasper, agates, chalcedons, lapis lazuli, and marble of every colour, and adorned with tombs of Egyptian granite and statues of bronze. At Rome too, is seen, at the present day, the same spirit for constructing churches as in the middle ages. Witness the vast labour of its devont people in rebnilding the Basilica of St. Paul; on entering which solemn and majestic sanctuary, it is difficult to refrain from tears; caused, not merely from beholding such stupendous ruins, but also by an impression, which comes suddenly over the mind, of astonishment and affection for the present generation of men, who employ such pains to repair it: and in fact it is with an indiscribable emotion that one stands by and beholds these prodigious columns of granite arrive at their final destination, having been drawn along from the distant regions of the Alps; and one cannot avoid for the moment feeling, as it were, a greater love for men who are capable of conceiving and of nndertaking such enterprises through the love of Christ and of his saints. Alas! with how much nobler an order of monuments than that which the present race of men erects, would England be now adorned, if her rich and powerful nobles, and her laborious population, had continned Catholic! What splendid chnrches, monasteries, hospitals, colleges, and halls would have risen every where! With such means, and with the activity inherent in the national character, what might not have been done if all had been animated with the generous and self-devoted spirit of the Catholic religion! And here I cannot refrain from hazarding a remark which was often suggested to me by what I observed of Italy: for after all that can be advanced in praise of its climate, subject to such extreme vicissitudes, and of its scenery, where clear rivers and beautiful verdure, and even if we except its maritime and Alpine horders, abrupt and striking mountains are so rarely seen, it seems to me as if one cannot avoid coming at last to the conclusion, that the classic land of artists and poets owes its principal charms, even those which strike the eye, not to any extraordinary liberality of nature, hnt to the works which have been inspired by the Catholic religion. The palaces of Genoa and of Venice, withont their churches, would not compensate for their scorched and formal hills and unhealthy marshes. The monotonous plain of Milan would be no delightful recollection without the thonght of its cathedral; the formal hills which border the pale and turhid Po at Turin, would inspire no interest if they were not crowned with that votive church of the Snperga; the low sandy hanks of the Arno would not arrest the pilgrims at Pisa if there were not the soil of Calvary in the Campo Santo, the cathedral, the baptistery and the Campanile. The vale and hills of Florence, with their famed bnt disappointing stream, are unquestionably surpassed in natural beauty by the English valleys of the Severn or the Wye: but art, inspired hy the Catholic religion, has raised that dome and tower in the Tuscan plain, and crowned the hills which encircle it with those beautiful convents which Michael Angelo used to regard with rapture. How hideous would be the range of the adjoining Apennines if it were not for Camaldoli and Alvernia! Who would be attached to Sienna if it were not for its cathedral and its Gothic towers? And what pilgrim from the North wonld be attracted to Ancona by the scenery of that level shore of the Adriatic, if it were not for the hope of arriving at the house of our blessed Lady?

I would suggest another observation, less hazardous, which must have been made hy most travellers; that the unity of the Catholic religion is not more admirable than the variety of her monuments. In both we can trace the influence of the same creative spirit which presided over the formation of the earth and the waters, in which, as ancient philosophy observed,* one living universal principle is simnltaneously developed in a countless mnltiplicity of beauteous forms, designed for a heneficent end. To have a personal experience of the unity of the Church, we should traverse the whole world, to witness, nnder every indifference of nature and climate, one family likeness among her children, one faith, one hope, one baptism, one spirit of charity, one sacrifice of atonement, one pervading type, and one idea determining all institutions, manners, and even intellectual conceptions;—but to behold its variety, which is prodnced by this unity, we need only observe what

* Arist. Metaphysic. Lib. I. c. 4.

is established in any one city. See the noble cathedral rising from the centre, as the parent of all the lesser fabrics! though it is not always the principal church; for at Verona, Padua, Bologna, and Ravenna, the churches of St. Zeno, St. Anthony, St. Petronio, and St. Apollinare, are in a rank before it, and to the latter the archbishop and clergy repair every year, processionally to honour the tomb of the apostle of Emilia. Observe on one side is the vast monastery of the Benedictines for the learned, with its spacious and beautiful cloisters under noble libraries and solemn halls; on the other rises the immense college of the Jesuits, for the reception of studious and saintly youth. Here you see the magnificent hospital for those who love to minister to the sick; and there is the hospice for him who desires to entertain the stranger. Nor do you overlook the charitable school for the pious lay brother who devotes himself to the instruction of the children of the poor. Without the walls, in some sequestered vale, stands the Carthusian monastery and Cistercian abbey, for those who served God in penitence and retirement; and crowning the beautiful heights which encircle the city, appear the humble but picturesque convents of the Capuchins and Franciscans, for the active brothers of the poor. Among the groves adjoining you discern numerous religious houses, under various rules, for holy virgins. Rising on the highest rock, above them all is the votive temple of our Lady, for the devout pilgrims; and deep in the recesses of the neighbouring forest you will discover the mossy cell and simple oratory, for him who loves to dwell in prayer amidst the silence and solitude of nature. What a multitude of magnificent and useful creations have thus arisen from one faith! What variety, and yet what harmonious concord!

But let us proceed to the building of the churches, for the ability to construct which we have been attempting to account. This may seem to propose a dry study; but as Quintilian says of his own subject, "Plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit." In these days, when men have so forgotten the ancient practices and traditions of the Christian society, it might be supposed that formerly men were directed in the selection of sites for the erection of churches, either by the facility of procuring ground, or by some circumstances connected with caprice or accident; but it was not with such views that churches were erected in primitive times, or during the ages of faith. In the second council of Braga, the bishops were prohibited consecrating any church built for the sake of any temporal utility. Catholics built not temples to saints as heretics affirm, nor to great men, as the sophists of France, but to the omnipotent God alone. They place them, indeed, under the invocation of saints; but their altars are consecrated to the God of martyrs. Not, however, without regard to the memory and the prayers of saints was the site of their temples chosen. The spot which had received the blood of a martyr, or witnessed his confession, or heard the preaching of a holy man, or that on which his house had stood, or on which any remarkable event had occurred connected with religion, was always the first selected for the purpose, so that almost all the ancient churches in every country thus placed, convey a substantially faithful remembrance of great men and of great events, disproving the justice of that observation made by Cicero, that the memory of the wicked is sometimes stronger than that of the good, and really extending to the friends of the true God, that earthly honour of which the ancient poet so beautifully sung—

> Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix,
> Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.*

Of churches thus situated, uttering as it were the solemn voice of ancient tradition, none are more illustrious than those three at the Salvian waters, beyond the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, on the spot where that apostle was beheaded, that of St. Peter, in Montorio, on the Janiculum, in the cloisters of which is a small chapel, on the spot where the Prince of the apostles suffered on the cross; that of St. Agnes, without the walls, which was built by Constantine, at the request of his daughter Constance, on the spot where the body of that holy virgin was found; and the Basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, which was erected over the grotto near the Circus, where the body of St. Peter was placed by Marcellus. Pope S. Anaclet erected an oratory on the spot, which Constantine the Great raised into a Basilica, over which the present dome was erected in later ages. This ancient oratory is the present confession of St. Peter, under the

* Æn. Lib. VII.

altar of which reposes part of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, before which, in the upper church, one hundred and twelve lamps are burning for ever, day and night. Endless are the memorials of profound interest attached to the different churches of the holy city: on almost each of them a folio history has been written. One vast work of erudition by Cancellarii, is merely upon the sacristy of St. Peter. The church of St. Marcellus was built on the spot where stood the house of St. Lucina, a Roman lady, at the beginning of the fourth century. An ancient tradition relates, that where stands the church of St. Maria in Via Lata, St. Paul resided with the centurion, who by order of Festus conducted him to Rome. The original oratory is now below the ground. The church of St. Clement stands on the site of the house of St. Clement, where his body and that of St. Ignatius of Antioch now repose under the great altar. The church of St. Maria in Dominica was built over the house of St. Cyriaque. The origin of the church of St. John and St. Paul, dates from the fourth century, when the monk Pammachias changed into a church the house of St. John and St. Paul, martyrs. The church of St. Pudentienne occupies the site of the house of St. Pudentius, the Roman senator who lodged the apostle St. Peter, and was his first convert to the faith, with his sons Novatus and Timothy, and his daughters Pudentienne and Praxeda. Pope St. Pius I. changed this house into a church. Here is the altar on which St. Peter celebrated the divine mysteries; and in the well which is railed round in the nave was preserved the blood of more than three thousand martyrs, who are interred under the church. The Basilica of St. Sebastian was built on the cemetery of St. Calixtus, where many Popes and one hundred and seventy thousand Christians were buried, where the body of St. Sebastian was transported by St. Lucina, and where the bodies of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul were concealed for some time. The church of St. Prisca was built on the site of her house, in which she was baptized by St. Peter, with many other converted pagans. The church of St. Cecilia was built on the site of her house, and was consecrated by Pope St. Urban, about the year 230. The house of Pope St. Gregory the Great, who was descended from the ancient and noble Anician family, was changed by him into a monastery, where he continued to reside. After his death, the church which he built there in honour of St. Andrew, was placed under his own invocation. Here you see the chapel where St. Gregory recited his Homilies, and the marble table on which he used to feed, every morning, twelve poor pilgrims. The church of the Holy Cross was built by Constantine on the spot where he rested after escaping from the persecution at Rome.

Turning to other cities, we find the same associations of sanctity with the site of their churches. Thus at Genoa the cathedral of St. Lawrence stands on the site of the hospice in which that holy martyr had lodged as he came from Spain to go to Rome, where he suffered three years afterwards under Valerian. It was immediately changed into a church, which at the end of the eleventh century rose into the present majestic structure. The church of our Lady of Graces in the same city, was built on the spot where St. Nazarus disembarked to be the third apostle of Genoa. The house of St. Catherine of Sienna was converted into two oratories, which form the church and the oratory of the confraternity of St. Catherine della Notte, so called because they accompany the blessed sacrament in the night to the sick. The church of St. Theodore in Ravenna is on the site of a house in which the primitive Christians assembled to celebrate the divine mysteries; for whom also the grottoes under the church of St. Nazair and St. Celsus at Verona served as a retreat. The church of St. Alexander in Zebedia at Milan was built on the ruins of a prison called Zebedia, in which an ancient tradition states, that an ensign of the Theban legion, named Alexander, was confined, who was afterwards martyred at Bergamo. The little church of St. Protasius ad Monachos in Milan, was built on the site of the house where lodged the holy martyrs, Gervase and Protasius, who suffered under Nero in the year 77. At Arona the church incloses the very room in which St. Charles Borromeo was born. At Loretto the magnificent Basilica is raised over the blessed house of Nazareth, as tradition testifies, as history, with astonishment, concedes; and as it is acknowledged by those of the Dalmatian shore, who lost it to their shame. At Einsiedelin it incloses the hut of a poor hermit, who came into those mountains in the ninth century. Meinrad, (for that was the hermit's name,) who was of the illustrious family of the counts of Hohenzollern, in Suabia, retired into a

forest on the mountains of Schweitz, near a fountain, where Hildegarde, daughter of Louis, king of Germany, and abbess of the convent of St. Felix and St. Regulus at Zurich, built him a cell and chapel, and gave him an image of our Lady. There he lived from the year 837, till his death, which was in 863: and on the spot was subsequently erected the vast abbey of our Lady of the hermits, and over his cell arose the church: but as the declivity of the mountain did not admit of extending the nave to the fountain, it was found impossible to place the cupola, according to the original plan, immediately over the cell, which was on much higher ground; therefore we find it standing enclosed within a marble chapel, near the western entrance. That cell has been moistened with the blood of the murdered saint; and the very image which beheld the horrid deed, is still upon the altar. His fountain, which is in front of the church, is covered with a beautiful dome, supported upon arches, and the pilgrims drink from it.* At Lyons the church of St. Irenæus was built over the tomb of St. Epipoy and St. Alexander, who were martyred under Marcus Aurelius. It was at first subterraneous; but in the fifth century St. Patiens erected the present church. Here were collected the bones of the martyrs under Severus in the year 202. St. Patiens placed on it an inscription inviting the faithful to prayer, and stating the number of martyrs whose bones were there collected, including those of women and children, to have been one thousand and nineteen. In the year 1562, the Calvinists took Lyons, demolished the altars, and mixed the bones of beasts with those of the martyrs. In the cathedral of Rheims is St. Peter's chapel, now under the invocation of St. Nicholas, to which the clergy, on the first day of Lent, used to go in procession, chanting the anthem of St. Peter. It was on that spot that St. Remi instructed Clovis for baptism.† Pope Urban IV. having been a native of Troyes, caused the house of his father to be dedicated to God, and on the spot built a beautiful church, which bore his name.‡ In this city, the procession on Sundays, before high mass, used to make a station at the chapel of St. Saviour in the church of St. Peter, because this chapel is on the spot where the first church was built in Troyes by St. Potentian, in the first century, who dedicated it to the Saviour.*

The site of many churches recalls events of the utmost interest, which would furnish episodes that could not be surpassed in beauty by any to be met with in the history of the world. This is the case with that of a church near Troyes, of which the origin is thus related. In the year 451, St. Loup being bishop of Troyes, Attila and his Huns came like a devastation over the plains of Champagne, and having destroyed the city of Rheims, passed on to Troyes. The holy bishop, warned by a vision, deputed his deacon Memier, and seven of the most holy children of the choir, to go out to meet the barbarian, clad in albs, to signify their innocence, and bearing the cross and the holy gospels. When intelligence came that Attila was arrived within six leagues of Troyes, St. Loup, evincing the obedience of the patriarch Abraham, presenting his children in sacrifice, sent his chosen band of innocent and holy youths to receive the crown of martyrdom. So these innocents departed from the city, and arrived in presence of the general of Attila, who was seated on a fiery horse, surrounded with sanguinary soldiers, who all hastened to meet this troop of lambs. The innocent children, according to the directions of their bishop, bowed down in reverence before the barbarians, who seemed seized with admiration; but suddenly a gust of wind raised the dust in clouds, and the albs and sacred vestments of St. Memier and his companions were agitated, so that the horse of the general taking fright, reared up, and became ungovernable, and threw his rider, who was killed on the spot. The soldiers, seeing what had happened, cried out that this was a troop of magicians, provided with charms, whose acts of apparent homage were mortal enchantments; and with these words they fell upon them with swords, and massacred them. Then they tore off the gold and precious stones from the binding of the books of the gospel, and seized the cross and the other sacred ornaments which the little saints had carried with them. After this event, the advanced guard moved on to the city, and the holy bishop, clad in his pontifical vestments, with a great company of his clergy and people, came out to meet it. "Who art thou that comest to subject all things to thy empire?" said the holy bishop to the

* Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, I. 43.
‡ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 362.

* Id. p. 2.

tyrant; who replied, "I am Attila, king of the Huns, the scourge of God:" to which words the bishop made answer, "What man is there then that can resist the scourge of God? Pass on then, O scourge of my God, and accomplish what shall be permitted to thee." At these words the barbarian was mollified, or rather struck with fear by the hand of God, so that the whole army passed through the midst of Troyes without doing any injury. Attila is said to have shown great reverence to the holy bishop, and to have begged him to follow his army. St. Loup, in hopes of converting the cruel tyrant, complied with this invitation, and accompanied him as far as the Rhine, whence he returned safe to Troyes, where he died in 479, on the 29th day of July, which is observed as a great festival through the diocese. The deacon, St. Memier, and the holy children, were massacred on the spot, which was called Brolium, and which now bears the name of St. Memier. It is on the banks of the Seine, about four leagues from Troyes, where a priory and a church were built, and where the relics of the martyrs were preserved in a golden shrine.*

In the ninth century, St. Liudger built, in Friesland, a church on the spot where the great St. Boniface and his companions had been martyred by the barbarians; and these verses, composed by Alcuin, were inscribed upon it:

Hic Pater egregius meritis Bonifacius almis
Cum sociis pariter fundebat sanguinis undam,
Inclyta martyrii sumentes stemmata sacri.
Terra beata nimis, sanctorum sanguine dives.
Transvolat hinc victor miles ad præmia cœli,
Ultima cæspitibus istis vestigia linquens.
Suadeo quapropter curvato poplite supplex,
Tu quicumque legis, terris his oscula fige †

After the Saxons had laid waste the country about Daventre, and had destroyed the church in which was the sepulchre of the holy priest Liafwin, St. Liudger repaired thither and sought for the body of the saint, but without success. Nevertheless, that the place might not remain desolate, he began to build the church upon the space within which he thought it must be contained. After the foundation had been laid, instructed by a vision, he found the body under the wall which he had built next the south; therefore he extended its base, so as to comprise the sepulchre within the church, which was preserved afterwards from all the fury of the Gentiles.* On the spot where St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia had been martyred in the tenth century, which was in a wood near the sea shore, a chapel under his invocation was erected and founded for four priests and two scholars, where the office of Our Lady was to be daily sung, and mass said every morning, at four o'clock. To this wild but holy place devout pilgrims repaired from distant lands, attracted by the renown of his sanctity and by the indulgences attached to it by Pope Eugene IV. Of St. Adalbert's chapel, there remain at present but a few mouldering walls, which the instructed traveller beholds with sorrowful reverence. Abandoned, in consequence of the change of religion, it had been overthrown in the year 1069 by a furious storm.† This had been erected by the knights of the Teutonic order, who made it a custom to commemorate great events in the history of the country by building similar chapels. Thus we find another to the memory of the knights that were slain on the field of Tannenberg. The origin of the foundation of the church of St. George at Rouen, was represented in stained glass upon the windows. It was founded by an English gentleman, at the time when his countrymen had possession of Rouen. This nobleman, being very ill, sent to ask for the blessed sacrament. The priest coming to the hotel, stumbled in the street, and the blessed host fell to the ground. Having heard of what had occurred, this nobleman, a true Christian and good Catholic, being filled with sorrow, vowed to God that he would build a church on the spot, under the invocation of St. George the Martyr, which he did on his recovery, and he placed canons in that church, which he richly endowed.‡ When St. Ouen, bishop of Rouen, died at Clichy in the year 683, his body was to be conveyed to his episcopal city. For this purpose, the king Thierry, the queen, the mayor of the palace, and all the court, accompanied it as far as Pontoise, where it was delivered to the clergy of the province of Rouen, accompanied by the nobility. On the spot on the river's side where his body was laid down during this

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 86.

† Vita ejus, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.

* Vita ejus, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.

† Voigt, Geschichte Preussens I. 4. and Biel. III.

‡ Taillepied, Recueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de Rouen, 257.

exchange, a chapel was erected in his honour, and finally the church of St. Ouen, which is now the parish of the village.* St. Ouen having died in the royal house at Clichy, his memory was in such benediction that though his body was immediately removed to Rouen, the palace was ever after called St. Ouen, or the cell of St. Ouen, and this was the origin of the parish church of St. Ouen-sur-Seine. A multitude of chapels and oratories were similarly erected, in commemoration of events in the history of holy men; and if any one should object and be troubled on account of the fact, that in many places he sees memorials of the same personages, he might be referred to the observations of Dionysius, in answer to those who advanced a like objection with respect to the many sepulchres of Æneas that existed; for, he says, they should consider that this difficulty attaches itself to many, and especially to those men who were rendered illustrious by fortune, but yet who led a wandering and uncertain life; for though only one place received their bodies, their monuments were erected in many places through gratitude for the benefits which they had conferred upon certain men: as when some city had been founded by them; or, as when some of their race still survived; or, if they had inhabited that foreign place for a certain time, and had conversed humanely with the natives. And all such things are related of Æneas in ancient legends. For in one place it was commemorated that he had saved Troy from perishing utterly; and in Phrygia he left a son, king Ascanius; and at Pallenene he founded a city bearing his name; and in Arcadia he left his married daughter; and in Sicily he left a part of his army, and since he lived benevolently with men in many other places, he conciliated their favours, and on that account when he had ceased to live with mortals, a sepulchre and monument is raised to him in various places.†

St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile residing for some time at Rheims, the little oratory which he used in the abbey of St. Nicaise became afterwards a celebrated chapel, bearing his name.‡ At Segovia again is still to be seen a little oratory by the river side, which was built expressly to preserve the memory of the holy father St. Dominick having preached in that spot. St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, after one of his journeys into England, is known to have passed through Orleans on his return to his diocese, by observing the oratories erected on his way; for such was the veneration of the people for his sanctity, that whenever he stopped to deliver an instruction the people used to erect a cross in memory of the fact, and after his death oratories were erected over these crosses. Such were those at Châtres, at Estampes, at Sarlas, and at other places.* On the north side of the city of Troyes there was a well, called the well of St. Julia, where tradition taught that this holy virgin had been martyred in the time of Aurelian. The well was arched over in form of a chapel, and an image of the saint was at the front, and a chapel was built at the side.

The mind, which rendered men so attached to these recollections is expressed by the good Jaulnay, canon of St. Rieule, at Senlis, where he says in his history of that city, "As Dean and Canon of the church, I am now inhabiting the spot where the saint resided; and what is a greater consolation, I drink of the water of which he used to drink, for the fountain is in my court. May I obtain from God the same sanctity!" Any indication of a spot having been once hallowed, was enough to endear it to the imagination of saintly men, as appears from the following circumstances, related in a very ancient chronicle. During the reign of the emperor Otho, at the time when the illustrious Gauzelin occupied the episcopal see of Toul, his brother Hardrad was devoted to arms, a brave knight, and greatly beloved on account of his goodness. They were of a noble race of Francs. It happened once that the soldier was out hunting, on the banks of the river Murt, when his dogs followed a ferocious boar, which endeavoured to escape from their devouring jaws, running for a long time through various alleys, till at length it took to the mountain above the town of Buxer, and having penetrated for some distance, it placed itself under a thorny tree till the pack of hounds came up with open mouths: the beast stood intrepid under the tree, and the dogs for a long time remained stupid, and not daring to advance near the thicket, till at length the said knight, following on horseback, came to the spot and wondered at such an unprecedented circumstance. Leaping from his horse, he entered the thicket, and there he beheld an altar half demolished amidst

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 177.
† Antiquit. Rom. Liv 1. cap. 54.
‡ Hist. de Rheims, Liv. II. 309.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. X. p. 237.

other ruins: venerating the spot as holy, and suffering the beast to depart in safety, he returned home and related what he had seen to his brother the Pontiff, who, sending messengers to the place, and interrogating some of the oldest men in the neighbourhood, found that formerly there had been a church there, under the invocation of the blessed Mary, and that through age and neglect it had fallen to decay: they said, moreover, that lights were often observed over the spot during the night. The Bishop meditated upon constructing a church there, which was accordingly done, and on the stump of that withered tree an altar was raised; and after some time a convent was added for nuns of the order of St. Benedict, and the first abbess was Rothilda.*

But the Catholic religion enjoyed a divine privilege, by means of which all things were made to serve it as its own; and accordingly the site of the ancient heathen temples, and even, as in the case of the Pantheon at Rome, the very temples themselves of the heathens, were consecrated to the worship of the true God. The temple of Vesta, where the fire called sacred was preserved, is now the church of St. Theodore. The hall of the baths of Diocletian is the church of St. Mary of the angels. In the Flavian amphitheatre, where so many holy Christians were worried to death, you follow the via crucis to the fourteen altars which faith has erected there. The Temple of Bacchus was converted in the middle ages into the church which is now that of St. Urban. How soon the Christians converted works of pagan genius to the purposes of true religion, not disdaining even to use their sepulchres, may be seen at Pisa also, and in other cities. At Marseilles the church of des Accoules is built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. At Ancona the Norman cathedral of St. Cyriaque upon the rock, occupies the site of the ancient temple of Venus. The Carmelites of the Street of St. James at Paris, occupied the site of the Temple of Mercury; the abbey of St. Germain des Près that of the Temple of Isis. The wild or lovely spots of nature, too, which cruel and blind superstition had profaned, were now seized upon and sanctified by religion. The Isle of Sayne of the druidesses is become the Island of Saints, on the coast of Bretagne, at the extremity of the diocese of Quimper; the convent of the Holy Passionists now stands upon that alban mount where was once the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, to which the victorious legions used to be led in triumph; and that famous monastery of great St. Benedict, on the summit of Mount Cassino, was built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. No foul delusion or dire heresy of disobedient mortals, could infect material walls, if men brought within them hearts pure and humble. The mosque in the Alhambra was consecrated to the Catholic faith when it passed under the dominion of the Castilian sovereigns. The cathedral of the Arian bishops at Ravenna, built by king Theodoric, their baptistery, and the mausoleum of their misbelieving king, became, in the sixth century, by the consecrating hands of Archbishop Agnello, churches of the faithful fold, under the invocation of the mother of God. Here we may remark how the spirit of the Catholic religion was favourable to the opinion of those philosophers who attach some degree of spiritual importance to locality; and how it cherished and refined that taste in the arts, which dictates the necessity for combining natural with artificial beauty. How grandly stands the Gothic cathedral of Auxerre, crowning the hill under which that noble river winds its majestic way! And in the heart of cities, what stillness and repose and variety of beauteous form around those vast minsters, which seem to impart somewhat of their aspect to the dwellings accommodated to ordinary wants adjoining them. These churches had not theatres at their side, as we now mark at Como; nor prisons, as at Pavia; nor arsenals, as at Paris; nor barracks, as at Milan. Our ancestors would have been shocked at such monstrous approximations of things most opposite; but silence and sanctity announced the vicinity of the house of prayer. King Robert of France used to build many churches in the midst of great forests.* See that little chapel on the steep mountain of the holy Saviour at Lugano, which seems to have been let down from heaven, to which it belongs more than to earth. Devout people contrived to fix it there to commemorate their love for the mother of God. See again that ancient chapel, on the brow of the wild and dangerous coast, where scarcely a blade of grass is found to grow. Beaten with the winds, the rain, and the waves, it stands solitary between the sea, the earth, and heaven. Its origin is unknown. Monument of the piety of ages of faith, it attests some secret of providence, or some mystery of grace.

* Acta Tullensium Episcoporum apud Marten Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, VII. 211.

Even amidst the waves of their blue lakes, upon the stones which rose out of the water, like miniature rocks of the ocean, men built little oratories resembling chapels, where the boatman in his course, or the youth who sported in his little bark might love to stop and offer up a secret prayer to sanctify his labour or his play. Many such are seen on the lake of Lucerne. That beautiful marble cathedral in miniature on the banks of the Tagus near Lisbon, which is so chaste, so completely in harmony with the loveliness of nature, that without any great effort of fancy one might suppose it to have been deposited there by the hands of angels, was erected by the husband of queen Mary, as a grateful memorial of his escape from an attempt at assassination.*

At the same time the position of churches was in some instances determined originally without any regard to ancient associations, or afterwards changed by circumstances of mere spiritual utility. Thus the church of St. Mary of Peace at Rome, was erected by Pope Pius Sixtus IV. in gratitude for the peace which was obtained between Christian princes, without regard to its locality. The splendid churches of the Redeemer and of St. Roch at Venice, were similarly erected to commemorate the cessation of the plague, as was also the noble Gothic church of Or-san-Michele at Florence, of which Giotto was one of the architects, on the cessation of the pestilence described by Boccacio; and with the same intention was that of St. Maria delle Grazie on the lake near Mantua, built by Francis Gonzaga and the Mantuans in the year 1399. In the time of the episcopacy of Herbert Poore, the cathedral of Salisbury was removed from the heights of Old Sarum to a different site, for the motives thus expressed in the Pope's bull: "That forasmuch as your church is built within the compass of the fortifications of Sarum, it is subject to so many inconveniences and oppressions, that you cannot reside in the same without great corporal peril; for being situated on a lofty place, it is, as it were, continually shaken by the collision of the winds, so that whilst you are celebrating the divine offices you cannot hear one another the place itself is so noisy; and the roof of the church is constantly torn by tempestuous winds. Being within the fortifications, there is no access to it without the licence of the Castellan, so that it happens on solemn days, the faithful being willing to visit it, entrance is denied them by the keepers of the castle, saying that thereby the fortress is endangered." Pope Honorius, therefore, authorised the clergy to remove the cathedral to a more convenient place, where it now stands. At Ravenna, on the contrary, in the ninth century, it was found necessary by Archbishop John IX. to transfer to a church within the fortifications of the city the relics of St. Apollinaire, under whose invocation it was afterwards placed, as the basilica which had before contained them, being without the walls, was exposed to the attacks of the Sarassins.

* Letters to Osorius on Portugal.

Proceeding to speak of the building of the churches, it will be well to allude to the ceremonies observed at the first commencement as also at the final accomplishment of the work, for these will give us an idea of the importance ascribed to it. Here again we behold the operation of faith; for the church provided a solemn prayer to be offered up before the commencement of building, to beseech God in behalf of the architect, that his mind might be purified by the infusion of heavenly grace, that he might commence it by the divine inspiration, perfect it by divine assistance, and receive the reward of his labour in the land of the living.* San Micheli, the celebrated architect of Verona, never undertook any work without having mass solemnly sung to invoke the divine assistance. In the year 1700, when the monks of Jumièges were about to enlarge their convent, by building a new dormitory, the first stone was blessed by the prior, and laid by the poorest man in the parish, who was newly clad for the occasion; and the general alms for the week were increased by one half, in order to draw down the blessing of Heaven upon the work of the labourers.† When the first stones of the new church of Crowland were laid, in the time of Abbot Joffridus, the Abbot gave a grand dinner to the assembled nobles and people, all in common, men and women, rich and poor. The refectory held four hundred, and counts and barons dined in the abbot's hall, and others dined in the cloisters, and others in the open air in the court, and there were more than five thousand men and women who dined there that day; and the Lord gave his benediction, and all were glad and rejoiced in the Lord; and the day was fine, and the whole passed in the utmost peace and good humour, and not a dispute or murmur was heard; and the monks served with their own hands.‡

* Ordo Roman. de officiis divinis.

† Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 156.

‡ Petri Blesensis continuat. ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rerum Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I. 120.

A minute description remains of the building of Salisbury cathedral on the present site. "The primate, the young king Henry III., and all the other chief persons of the realm were invited to attend when the foundation should be laid. Mass was performed by the bishop in a temporary wooden chapel, after which he went to the ground barefoot, in procession with the clergy, singing the Litany. Thereafter, consecrating the ground, he addressed the people, and then laid the first stone in the name of the Pope, the second in that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the third for himself; the fourth was laid by William Longspear, Earl of Sarum; the fifth by Ela de Vitri his wife. Then the nobles who were present laid each a stone, and after them the dean, the chapter, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the archdeacon and canons of the church of Sarum, in their turn, the people weeping for joy and contributing thereto their alms with a ready mind, according to the ability which God had given them. Several nobles, on their return from Wales (where the king was then concluding a treaty with Llewellyn ap Jorweth), repaired to Sarum to partake in the merit of the work which was going on, and laying each a stone, bound themselves in some special contribution for seven years. In the course of five the building was so far advanced that all the canons were cited to be present at the first celebration of mass. On the eve preceding, the bishop consecrated an altar in the east to the Trinity and All Saints, and made offerings for the priests who should for ever officiate there, and for the lamps which should be kept ever burning. He consecrated an altar in the north part of the church to St. Peter, and one in the south to St. Stephen and all martyrs. On the morrow, being Michaelmas Day, Archbishop Langton preached in the new church to a great assemblage of persons, and sung the first mass, Otto the Nuncio being present, as also the Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Chichester, Rochester, and Evreux in Normandy. In the course of the week, the young king arrived with the Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh; and Henry, after hearing mass, offered ten marks of silver and a piece of silk, and Hubert made a vow that be would give a gold text for the service of the altar, with certain precious stones, and more precious relicks of diverse saints, in honour of the blessed Virgin. Tho young king then offered a ruby ring, that both the gold of the ring and the stone might be employed to adorn the covers of the text; at the same time he gave a gold cup weighing ten marks. The said text was presented first by proxy for Hubert, and afterwards offered by himself in person on the altar with great devotion." In the cathedral of Florence, there is an inscription which commemorates the dedication of that church in 1436, by Pope Eugene IV., and it adds, that such was the multitude of people assembled, that the Pope could not well have passed from his lodging at Santa Maria Novella, if there had not been a beautiful wooden bridge erected along the entire way. So again, when Pope Pascal II., being in France, came to La Charité on the Loire, for the purpose of consecrating a church there, the festival was most splendid. Besides the court of the Pope, a number of the bishops and nobles of France, assisted with an immense multitude of people, who came there from all parts. On the dedication of the abbey church of Ely, when rebuilt by the abbot Brithnod, after it had been destroyed by the Danes, there was a solemn feast for seven days, celebrated with great joy; "and from that time forward," says the chronicle, "the immaculate sacrifice was daily offered to the Lord in the odour of sweetness."* When the magnificent church of St. Denis had been rebuilt by Suger, the ceremony of the consecration was of the most solemn and pompous description. The historian of Suger gives a minute account of the whole. The king and a multitude of bishops were present. Thibaud, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated the high altar; and at the same moment the other twenty altars of the church were severally consecrated by bishops of France; and such was the beautiful order observed in the august ceremony, that there was not the least confusion amidst such an extraordinary multiplication of offices, so that nothing could be more edifying or majestic.† Even amidst these magnificent ceremonies, the holy men of ancient times found opportunity to practise their favourite virtue. Such was the humility of St. Swithin, bishop of Winchester, who always paid diligent attention to restoring the decayed churches of his diocese, that whenever he had to consecrate a new church, however distant the place might be, he would never go on horseback or in a carriage, but always on foot; and that this might not be a subject of ridicule to ignorant people, or of

* Hist. Eliensis, Gale, Hist. Brit. Liv. II. cap. I. Tom. III.

† Hist. de Suger, Liv. VI.

boasting to the proud, he used to avoid the observation of men, and would make the journey at night, going the whole way a nocturnal traveller,—Solitariæ sanctitatis amator. At his death he ordered that his body should be buried without the church, where the people might tread upon his grave, and where the rain and the water-spouts might fall upon it.*

The office of the dedication is of the most solemn description, and the longest that occurs in the whole order. At each place the anniversary of the dedication of which the interior walls bore a perpetual memorial, was observed as a festival for ever, and that of the dedication of St. John Lateran, the metropolitan of the whole world, was a festival of the universal church. Each church, besides its primal dedication to God, in honour of the holy cross, was placed under the especial invocation of some particular saint whose name it afterwards bore. The minor churches were generally in this manner commemorative of some local interest of piety, bearing the names of saints whose memory was in benediction within that particular diocese; but all the churches of the Cistercian order were consecrated under the invocation of the blessed Virgin.† That these magnificent ceremonies were conducted with the most profound sense of the spiritual nature of religion, might be learned from every allusion which occurs to them in old writings. "We read of the ancient saints," says a preacher in the thirteenth century, "that they adorned the front of the temple with golden crowns, and dedicated an altar to the Lord, and that there was great joy among the people. If they were zealous and devout in the material temple, should not we be much more devout in respect to the dedication of the immaterial temple in which God dwells with all his saints? Seek ye the spiritual sense in the letter, the hidden honey in the wax, and let your souls delight in the living God, and in every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God; for then by the ladder of holy words your souls will ascend to the height of heaven, being filled with the thoughts of spirit and of God alone. Brethren there is the great festival of the dedication of a church where is the purity of an innocent life, the liberty of a good conscience, and the sweetness of spiritual joy: there is the true beauty of the temple, and the adornment of the church with branches and odoriferous flowers where is true contrition of heart, humble confession of mouth, and worthy satisfaction for sins committed: there is the joyful dedication of a new altar, where is new fervour of devotion with thanksgiving from the heart's core. He it is that truly adorns the front of the temple with golden crowns, who reads, writes, and preaches the illustrious acts of the saints: he it is that suspends golden shields in the church, who describes to others the bright deeds of the fathers of the Old and New Testament, the contests of the martyrs, the labours of the confessors, the trophies of virgins and widows. He paints beautiful images who edifies his neighbour by his life and manners. Lo! there are as many golden shields in the church as there are names of saints, as many festivals as there are good examples. O what a festival is the dedication of the church triumphant, where all enemies being subdued, the saints and the angels together rejoice, clothed in white robes and crowned with golden crowns that will never perish!"* Let us now attend to some of the most peculiar characteristics in the structure of the churches. It was not on account of the temples of the ancients having been so built, that those who prayed within them had their faces to the east, that a similar custom became prevalent with the Christians. Cardinal Bona supposes that the first reason was, that as exiles and pilgrims we might turn towards the land whence we were ejected, to the terrestrial paradise which God planted in Eden in the east. St. Basil says, that few are aware of this reason, though the Church has it in view to direct us to our ancient country.† The most ancient Basilicas were built always in the direction of the equinoctial east, for the sun was then supposed to rise over the seat of Paradise; another reason was suggested by the fact, that it was in the east that the spiritual sun of justice, Christ our God appeared upon the earth. St. Justin Martyr assigns another cause, that it is the duty of men to devote whatever is best to God, and that part of the world was considered the most excellent and noble;‡ to which opinion Dante alludes where, speaking of the east, he says, "that region where the world is liveliest."§ It was another reason that Christ was the true light and the true east, and therefore St. Chrysostom says, "turning from the west, we look towards the east, expecting the omnipotent

* Wilhel. Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, Liv. II. Harpsefield, Hist. Eccles. Sæcul. Nono.

† Card. Bona de Divina Psal. 256.

* Thomas de Kempis. Sermonom. Pars III. 10.

† De Spirit. Sanc. c. 27

‡ Justin. qu. 118.

§ Parad. V.

God;"* and St. Athanasius also shows that we look towards the east, not supposing that God is circumscribed by any limits, but because God is the true light, and therefore turning to the created light, we adore the Creator of that light; and St. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks to the same effect."†

Elpidius who lived for twenty-five years in a cave on the top of a mountain, had such a regard for this symbolical practice, that he was said to have always looked towards the east: and John Moschus, in his Spiritual Meadow, relates of a young man, who was falsely accused by soldiers, that he entreated them to suspend him with his face towards the east, that he might die regarding it: but the chief reason for this observance is mentioned by Damascenus and Cassiodorus, that our Lord upon the cross had his face directed to the west, and therefore we pray turned to the east, that we may behold the face of Christ. Hence, perhaps, in many languages of Europe, we say to find the east, when we express our wish to determine our relative situation to the heavens. The Church of God adhered to this custom with more strictness, as it was usual with all who separated from her communion to disregard it. The early heretics sometimes chose to turn to the west, or to the south, or to the north. The Sarassins turned to the south, the Manichæans to the north, but the Jews prayed towards the west.‡ At the present day, it may be observed at Rome, that the old churches are turned to the east, such as those of St. Paul, that of the three fountains, St. Lorenzo, the Holy Cross, St. Agnes, and others, but that some others have the altar at the west end, as at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Mary in Trastevere, St, Cecilia, and St. Sebastian. Perhaps this may arise from the ritual in the Basilicas, in which the priest turns to the people, so that here he would regard the east. Walafried Strabo, in the ninth century observes, that some churches and altars were turned from the east, although in general it was the rule to build them in such a direction, that men might pray looking to the east. The church of St. Benedict in Paris, having its high altar to the west in the thirteenth century bore the name of St. Benedictus male versus, but being rebuilt in the reign of Francis I. with its altar to the east, it was afterwards called St. Benoit le bétourné benè versus.§ The conclusion of Walafried Strabo, the Abbot of Fulda, shows the judgment of the middle ages on this question. "Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet. Propè est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate, et longè a peccatoribus salus: quia neque ab oriente, nec ab occidente patet locus fugiendi, quoniam Deus judex est, hunc humiliat, et hunc exaltat."* When religion made to pass under the yoke of the cross the charms and the genius of Greece, her architecture, like the wisdom of the ancients, was symbolical, and fraught with typic and mysterious lore. These buildings are living, the city of God is intelligence itself. Nothing is matter in the abodes of spirit. Nothing is dead in the places of eternal existence. "The Church in which the people assemble to praise God signifies," says Walafried Strabo, "the holy Catholic Church, which is constructed in heaven of living stones. This house of the Lord is firmly built, the corner stone of its foundation being Christ, upon which, and not beside it, is the foundation of the Apostles and prophets; while the upper stones are Jews and Gentiles from the four parts of the world coming unto Christ. All the stones are polished and square, that is, holy, pure, and firm, disposed by the hand of the great Architect so as to remain for ever. Of these some are borne and do not bear, answering to the simpler members of the Church; others are borne and do bear, answering to those of the middle class; others only bear and are not borne, excepting by the foundation, which is Christ; for in this edifice by how much any one excels more eminently, by so much the more does he humbly sustain others; but one charity cements all together in one body. The cock on the summit denotes the vigilance, and eloquence, and prudence of the preacher, who excites himself with his own wings before he calls others. It turns against the wind to show that he argues against the evil customs of the world, and applies himself to resist the wolves. It is seated on an iron rod, which denotes the straight-forward and just doctrine of the preacher; and this rod is placed upon a cross, surmounting a globe, to represent the triumph of the faith over the world. The Church is adorned splendidly within and not without, to imply that all its glory is internal." "Licet enim sit exterius despicabilis, in anima tamen, quæ sedes Dei est, radiat." Thus speaks Hughes of St. Victor, in his Mirror of the Church.† A modern

* 101 Hom. in Zach. cap. 6. † Strom. Liv. VII.
‡ Bona de Divina Psalmodia, 165.
§ De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. ii. 350.

* De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 4.
† Hugo de Sanct. Victor, Speculum de Mysteriis Eccles. cap. 1.

German writer, in treating of the Christian chnrches of Germany, and the public edifices of the middle ages, explains the necessity for considering them in this mysterious symbolical point of view. Each of these Gothic cathedrals, saith he, was only a symbol of that magnificent invisible Church which, pervading the whole state, had spread its roots to the lowest depths of life, and raised its branches, its flowers, and foliage to the sublimest height: he shows in theology, philosophy, science, policy, and in the ecclesiastical constitution of the middle age, the principle of that social order and harmony which distinguish this remarkable epoch, and which are symbolically represented in these temples; for society was then constructed on the plan of the cross; Rome was placed as an altar at the point of intersection,—mystical altar, containing as in a tabernacle the source by which faith is communicated. Around it was gathered the devout multitude, united in one faith and one hope. The light of the divine snn, too brilliant for the eyes of mortals, descended softened and coloured by the fathers and doctors of the Old and New Testament. At the extremity were placed the emperors and kings who guard the church and defend the door, as we see at Exeter, and at the church of St. Zeno, at Verona, at the entrance of which stand Roland and Oliver with drawn swords. Durandal is one of them, guarding the gate, over which are the three qneens who contributed to found the church, Bertrade the mother of Charlemagne, his wife, and his daughter Ermengarde, wife of Didier. The towers were placed at the west, for the royal power in relation to the Superior Power is as something that passes away and dies. Horned demons attached themselves to the walls of the edifice, and grinned horribly blaspheming against God, and this too even in the interior. All the arts and sciences paid homage there to the divinity, and all learning bowed down to him. Aristotle was placed near St. Peter, and Virgil near Isaiah. It is impossible to separate these monuments from the faith of the middle ages, becanse they are intimately united as soul and body.* According to the mystical interpretation, the corbels carved grotesque and grim, are no longer a difficulty. Besides, it should be remembered that these men's mirth was innocent, and their sportive fancy all life and cheerfulness. They had a playful imagination which did not seem to them in the least inconsistent with gravity and holiness, their gravity being sincere, not affected; and their holiness the result of faith, not of a wavering shadowy opinion. They feared nothing, and therefore not the conceptions of their mirthful mood; they evidently songht contrasts. Witness the books of hours of Rome, Paris, and Rouen, which were printed in the fifteenth century, in which facetions miniatures were placed in the borders of large funeral engravings of the vespers of the dead. In the same book, as on the same walls, we find paintings or images of the passion which can draw tears, so full are they of angelic tenderness and awful sanctity, by the side of these grotesqne figures and monsters to conceive which Leonardi de Vinci had recourse to that extraordinary expedient of filling his chamber with scorpions and toads, and even the genius of Michael Angelo disdained not sometimes to employ itself. Possibly, indeed, these carved corbels may have been designed to convey a secret, profound instruction, and to awaken minds that would have been to any other prospect of the trials of the human course terror-proof; for their ghastly grin is caused by the absurdity implied in every defeat in the spiritual combat, and thus shame and guilt are shown inseparable. True the temptations that assail spirits of human kind in their course from youth to age, the wiles of the demon to delude them, the snares laid to make them captive as the prelude to the horrid agony of hell, are the last subjects, if we regard their origin and their consequences, that could be associated with any but solemn or melancholy thoughts; and yet on the other hand, if we attend to the detail and form of their development, which these figures are designed to indicate, and for a moment forget the woe in store, the very gravest philosopher, Heraclitus, himself, will be compelled to relax into a smile, albeit provoking bitter moans. Here, for instance, is a man born in heresy, moved to renounce it, and yet who declares that he is afraid to unloose the clasps of a book of Catholic devotion, adding, that he feels assured it would lead to his entering upon the surer way: here is another, who has been received into the fold of safety, and who shortly after being seized with melancholy, accuses the gentle guide, who had admitted him within the promised land, saying, that he has caused him to embrace a life

* Grund und Aufriz der Christlich Germanischen Kirchen undi Staats-Gebaüder im Mittelalter, by Adolph Marcus. Bonn. 1828.

which will deprive him of pleasure. Thus men seem like children, frightened with grotesque masks, or left blindfolded in order that their successive falls may furnish matter for the laughter of those who look on. Some of these corbels were probably intended to show the contrast between the moral and even physical deformity belonging to the spirit of the world and to heresy, and the angelic grace of faithful souls: they bear that expression of vulgar mockery and suppressed buffoonery marked upon the countenance of Arius, in the painting of the Council of Nice, at the Vatican, a look which is always characteristic of those opposed dogmatically to the Catholic religion. The illustrious Hammer attempted to find corroboration for his accusation of the Templars, in these figures of animals, some of them imaginative and grotesque, carved upon their churches which he conceived symbolical of the Gnostic heresy, though he might have remarked that they occur also on other churches, which never belonged to that order, as on that of St. Michael, at Pavia, which was built in the sixth century, on the marble pulpit in the cathedral of Ravenna, which is a work of the same age, on the Baptistery of Parma, which was built in the thirteenth, and on the columns of St. Germain-des-Près at Paris, of which the capitals are but another development of the same imagination which is admired by artists, in those of the Basilica of St. Lorenzo at Rome. It is not surprising that such ideal forms and combinations should have given rise to sundry interpretations by German writers, when we remember that even the devout images and devices which Flamel carved on the churches, and hospitals, and charnel houses at Paris, to which he was a benefactor, seemed to the French antiquarians of the last century so many symbols of alchemy, though to ordinary eyes nothing could be more simple or devout.* The custom of representing upon churches the various tribes of animals which the earth, and water, and air produce, may have originated in that verse which calls upon them to praise the Lord: though some of the Italians go too far in affirming with Ciampine,† that the Christians merely borrowed this usage from the Greeks, without any reference to an allegorical meaning. St. Michael's church, at Pavia, and the Baptistery at Parma, will never admit of such

* Hist. Crit. de Flamel, 26, 200, 392.
† Vet. Monum. T. I. cap. iv. p. 35.

a conclusion. I would rather say, that many of these devices, carved in that old and simple age, humble, but profound, intended to represent the lofty mysteries of our divine faith, might remind one of the reply which is given in an ancient book to a philosopher, who enquired the meaning of a symbol which he saw represented in a temple: "The explanation will be attended with danger to yourself, since if you understand what is delivered here, you will become wise and happy; but if you do not, you will afterwards have an evil, a foolish, and a wretched end; for this is like the enigma of the Sphinx, which kills those who do not understand it. So likewise this symbol, if you do not profit by it, will kill you, not at once, indeed, as if you were devoured by the Sphinx, but gradually it will consume and destroy you, like those delivered to a slow punishment, and it will rise up in judgment hereafter to condemn you; but if any one should understand it, then, on the contrary, madness and ignorance will perish, but the man will escape safe, and lead ever afterwards a happy and a blessed life."* The exterior walls, too, as at Melrose, presented in characters legible at once to all, the scrolls that teach thee to live and die. Over a door of the Baptistery at St. John Lateran, there is written, "Diligite alterutrum." The word "Humilitas," the motto of the Borromean family meets your eye in vast letters on every part of the cathedral of Milan. Over the ancient gate of the church of St. George, in that city, was an invitation to the faithful in Leonine verses.

Janua sum vitæ, precor omnes, introvenite;
Per me transibunt, qui coeli gaudia quærunt,
Virgine qui natus, nullo de patre creatus,
Intrantes salvet, redeuntes ipsa gubernet.

In a lower arch is an inscription in Græco-barbaric letters which Duc Holstenius and Leon Allatius interpret to be

Vitæ da Porta Deus quærentibus istam.

In the porch of a little lonely chapel on the way side, between the Basilicas of St. Paul and St. Sebastian, without the walls of Rome, I read this epigram, which contains a summary of Catholic manners.

Fide Deo. dic sæpe preces. peccare caveto.
Sis humilis. pacem dilige. magna fuge.

* Cebetis Tabula

Multa audi. dic pauca. tace secreta. minori
Parcite. majori cedite. ferto parem.
Propria fac. non differ opus. sis æquus egeno.
Pacta tuere. pati disce. memento mori.

On entering the cathedral of Sienna, one's eyes are arrested with these words in vast letters of hlack marhle on the pavement. "Castissimum virginis templum caste memento ingredi," and on the exterior steps, one sees the figures of the puhlican and the Pharisee going to the temple.

With respect to the external character of chnrches, it may be sufficient to make hrief mention of that which served to distinguish them at a distance, alluding to the toll of those vast bells, sometimes of forty thousand ponnds' weight, whose sonnd used occasionally to split the thickest walls and to overthrow hnge towers, of the invention of which Nola and Campania may be justly proud. The bell, which may be said to be the expression as well as the invention of the middle ages, in the same manner as the drum of the Turks from whom it was adopted, may be considered the symbol of a noisy, unreflecting and unspiritual society, is the suhject of an immortal channt hy one of the greatest poets of later ages, hut in point of suhlime and impressive imagery, that admirable song, does not surpass the language of the Church respecting it, as, when in the office of its consecration, the hishop prays that as the voice of Christ appeased the trouhled sea, God would be pleased to endue that sound with such virtne, that it may intimidate the enemy and enconrage the faithful people; and that as the Holy Ghost formerly descended upon David when he struck the chords of the harp, and the thnnder of the air repelled adversaries when Samuel offered np the lamh, in like manner, at the sonnd of that vase, passing through the clonds, flights of angels may surround the assembly of the Church, and save the minds and bodies of the believers with an everlasting protection. Well might one conclude that the arch-heretics had read this prayer with tremhling, when with such a determined will they refused permission to the Catholics under their snbjection to make nse of bells. Indeed, for their zeal in removing them from the churches which they seized one may otherwise account. "When I was a child," says Sir Thomas Spelman, "I heard much talk of the pulling down of bells in every part of my county of Norfolk, then fresh in memory. And the sum of the speech usually was, that in sending them over sea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn, Wells, or Yarmouth. The truth of it was lately discovered hy God himself, for he sending snch a dead neap as no man living ever saw the like, the sea fell so far hack from the land at Hunstanton, that the people going much farther than ever before to gather oysters, they there found a bell with the mouth npwards, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news to Sir Hamon Lestrange, lord of the town, and of wreck and sea rights there, who shortly after songht to have raised np and gained the bell, hut the sea never since going so far back, they could never find the place again. The bells from Edinhnrgh being pulled down and shipped to be carried into the low countries were all drowned in Leigh haven. Sir Hngh Paulett pulled down the bells of the churches of Jersey, and sending them to St. Malo's in Britain, fourteen of them were drowned at the entrance of that harbour. Whereupon it is a hy-word at this day in those parts, when any strong east wind hloweth there, to say, 'The bells of Jersey now ring.'"*

With the solemn magnificence of the Gothic cathedral, most of the northern nations are familiar, hnt religion knew how to adapt her architecture to the locality and the climate. There is sanctity, and faith, and the deep thoughts of a revering spirit, in the mysterious piles of York and Canterhury, but there is something of the beauty of paradise at those eastern steps of St. John Lateran, when the morning snn gilds the hlue distant hills of Tusculum. To form an adequate idea of that perfect loveliness which is derived from the union of nohle edifices with the delightful aspect of nature, one must see the dome and church of the Vatican, rising in the midst of gardens with monntains beyond, from the groves of the villa Doria Pamphili, or from the howers of St. Onufrio's holy cloister, or one should see St. John Lateran and the Basilica of the holy cross from the vineyards which are among the baths of Titus, or of Caracalla, or the tower and domes of St. Mary Major, from the gardens near the gate of St. John. But we should never finish if we pursued this path. Let us at length approach and enter the chnrches; for here is matter that will banish the recollection of all trivial things. "Hail! sacred tahernacles, where thou, O

* The History of Sacrilege, p. 284.

Lord, dost descend at the voice of a mortal! Hail, mysterious altar, where faith comes to receive its immortal food. When the last hour of the day has groaned in thy solemn towers, when its last beam fades and dies away in the dome, when the widow holding her child by the hand has wept on the pavement, and retraced her steps like a silent ghost, when the sigh of the distant organ seems lulled to rest with the day to awaken again with the morning, when the nave is deserted, and the Levite attentive to the lamps of the holy place with a slow step hardly crosses it again—then is the hour when I come to glide under thy obscure vault, and to seek, while nature sleeps, him who aye watches! Ye columns, who veil the sacred asylums where my eyes dare not penetrate, at the feet of thy immoveable trunks I come to sigh. Cast over me your deep shades, render the darkness more obscure, and the silence more profound! Forests of porphyry and marble, the air which the soul breathes under thy arches is full of mystery and of peace! Let love and anxious cares seek shade, and solitude under the green shelter of groves, to sooth their secret wounds! O darkness of the sanctuary, the eye of religion prefers thee to the wood which the breeze disturbs. Nothing changes thy foliage, thy still shade is the image of motionless eternity! Eternal pillars, where are the hands that formed thee? Quarries, answer, where are they? Dust, the sport of winds, our hands which carved the stone, turn to dust before it, and man is not jealous! He dies, but his holy thought animates the cold stone, and rises to heaven with thee. Forums, palaces, crumble to ashes, time casts them away with scorn; the foot of the traveller who tramples upon them lays bare their ruins; but as soon as the block of stone leaves the side of the quarry, and is carved for thy temple, O Lord, it is thine: thy shadow imprints upon our works the sublime seal of thine own immortality! Lord, I used to love to pour out my soul upon the summit of mountains, in the night of deserts, beneath rocks where roared the voice of mighty seas, in presence of heaven, and of the globes of flame whose pale fires sprinkle the fields of air: methought that my soul oppressed before immensity, enlarged itself within me, and on the winds and floods, or on the scattered fire, from thought to thought, would spring to lose itself in thee! I sought to mount but thou vouchsafest to descend! Thou art near to hear us. Now I love the obscurity of thy temple; it is an island of peace in the ocean of the world, a beacon of immortality! Inhabited alone by thee and by death, one hears from afar the flood of time which roars upon this border of eternity! it seems as if our voice, which only is lost in the air, concentrated in these walls by this narrow space, resounds better to our soul, and that the holy echo of thy sonorous vault, bears along with it the sigh which seeks thee in its ascent to heaven, more fervent before it can evaporate! How can it signify in what words the soul exhales itself before its author? Is there a tongue equal to the ecstacy of the heart? Whatever my lips may articulate, this pressed blood which circulates, this bosom which breathes in thee, this heart which beats and expands, these bathed eyes, this silence, all speak, all pray in me. So swell the waves at the rising of the king of day, so revolve the stars, mute with reverence and love, and thou comprehendest their silent hymn. Ah, Lord, in like manner comprehend me: hear what I pronounce not; silence is the highest voice of a heart that is overpowered with thy glory." It is Lamartine who thus speaks, but every one who enters here perceives within his mind the gift of genius high, though it may not be given him to develope it in words. Some men affect to doubt the importance of the grandeur of churches; but why then, as Fleury asks, can they not pray in a tavern resounding with tumult, in a guard-house or in a busy street? Why avoid such places, unless they find it necessary to assist the weakness of their senses? It is not God who has need of temples and oratories, but it is we who need them.* This was well understood in the ages of faith. Of the treaty concluded between the Prussians and the Teutonic order, in presence of the Pope's legate, one of the articles stipulated that the churches should be built in so beautiful and stately a manner, that the devotion of the people might be more assisted in the churches than in the woods where they had been accustomed to offer up their impure worship.† The soul being acted upon by the passions of the body, and as Vincent of Beauvais says, being led out of itself by sensible forms, forgets what it was, and remembers nothing of itself but what it sees. Learning, the study of

* Mœurs des Chrestiens, 241.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 630.

wisdom or philosophy, repairs this, and reminds us of our nature;* but by availing herself of the forms of material order, religion in many instances removed the necessity for their assistance, or rather converted the very senses themselves into teachers of wisdom and made them the handmaids of philosophy; and thus the space within the walls of a Catholic church became completely another world, for those who have need of higher and nobler emotions than are inspired by the dull phantoms of a sensual life, and the very pleasures which elsewhere endangered and misled men, were here employed in guiding them to truth. "There is no soul so harsh as not to feel itself moved with some reverence on considering this solemn vastness of our churches, the diversity of ornaments, and the order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout sound of our organs, and the religious harmony of our voices. Even those who enter them with disdain feel a certain shuddering in their heart, and a kind of awe which makes them distrust their own opinion." This is what Montaigne says. But let us proceed and examine the various parts of the interior. Dante borrows a noble simile from the amaze of one who enters:

And as a pilgrim when he rests
Within the temple of his vow looks round
In breathless awe, and hopes some time to tell
Of all its goodly state; e'en so mine eyes
Cours'd up and down.†

But who can describe these wondrous sanctuaries which have survived the desolation of wars, the fall of empires, the rage of heresies, the confusion of earthquakes and plagues, which like St. Theodore's at Ravenna, have been served at different periods by the two great monastic families of the east and west,—these piles, on which art and wisdom seem to have lavished all their stores, the form of beauty, the secret mystery, the only remaining memorial of strange histories of ancient times, the emblematical lesson of the wise and holy! Here is one still retaining somewhat of its grandeur, although since its erection, dynasties have passed away, seas have receded, atmospheres changed. It still retains its pillars of ancient oriental marble and porphyry, its altars covered with lapis lazuli and alabaster. Solitary in the midst of a vast plain, the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe, stands the sole vestige of a once flourishing city, now deserted, and visited only by some devout friar, who leaves Ravenna under a scorching sun to say mass at the tomb of its martyr and apostle. An inscription over the entrance relates its history. Erected in the year 534, it beheld the overthrow of the city which gave it birth; laid waste by the Sarassins, profaned by the barbarians, and pillaged by invading enemies, it was finally abandoned in consequence of the pestilential air to which the plain became subject. Here is another, the Basilica of San Vitale, which, in the time of the Goths, was considered the masterpiece of art; on which are Mosaics representing the offerings of Justinian and the Empress Theodora. On the walls of another, the Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, you see carved the events of past imperial story. On those of St. Apollinare within the city, you have a representation in Mosaic of Ravenna, as it existed in the sixth century when that church was built; and there is shown also the city of Classe which then existed, of which now not a trace remains. These churches, with their historic imagery, their emblematical lore, their long series of saintly figures, bring the mind back to the first ages of Christianity, and to the earliest traditions of the human race. No one but some learned priest can explain who were many of these meek men of God, and these humble bearers of the martyr's palm. Who, for instance, are these twenty-two holy virgins with crowns in their hands, and these white robed fathers in long procession which are represented in Mosaic, on each side of the nave of St. Apollinare at Ravenna? No one but some eastern scholar can explain the secret allegory. What mean these figures with such art and care inlaid? Crosses upon sleeping wolves, crosses enclosing doves, crosses surrounded with mystic characters, clusters of vines and corn, palms on which doves are seated, anchors from which fish hang suspended, anchors within the spiral folds of dolphins, men who angle by a brook, and others who carry a lamb, stags that run to the mountain stream, and lambs which bear upon their heads the sign which gave empire to Constantine, serpents twined round a tau, and a hand within a wreath letting loose the thunder? All these are seen along the nave of St. Apollinare in Classe. What mean these fruit trees on which youths are mounted, at the roots of which horrible dragons are vomiting flames, while

* Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. c. 23.
† Paradise XXXI.

under them dogs are contending for the fruit which falls to the ground? What mean these representations of the sun and moon in chariots with accompanying circles, in which are awful phantoms sounding trumpets, all which we see carved over the portals of the Baptistery at Parma? What are these allusions in arabesques, these profound moralities of the middle age, which are upon the church of St. Zeno at Verona, or these supposed prophetic emblems which are upon the pavement of St. Mark? No one again but some learned and profound philosopher can trace the vast plan to embody and pourtray here the proofs of the universality of the Christian religion; for these it is evident the very pavement of the Gothic cathedral of Sienna shows. There one sees, beautifully pourtrayed in black and white marble, by means of an art which is now forgotten, the figures of Hermes Trismegistus, who received his learning from Zoroastres, and who lived in Egypt a contemporary of Moses, presenting to a Gentile and to a Christian a book, in which is written sentences from the Pemandro, as "That God who made all things, the Creator of the earth and of the stars, has greatly loved his Son, and called him the Holy Word." There too stands Socrates, with a book, receiving a palm from a woman sitting, who represents virtue, who with the other hand offers a book to Crates, who is represented emptying a cask of jewels, in order to receive it. This profound view is taken also in that ancient painting of St. Thomas, by Traini, pupil of Andrea Orcagna, which is in the Church of St. Catharine at Pisa, where the angel of the school is represented sitting, surrounded by his disciples, with Plato and Aristotle on each side, looking up to him, and presenting him with their works, while those of many other philosophers, with those of heretics, are seen torn in pieces.

Hence, even without reference to the ordinary impressions of devotion, to enter some of these churches at Rome, or Florence, or Pisa, or Ravenna, is like hearing for the first time some grand poetry. One feels a sudden cold chill run through one's veins, the heart is pierced with dread, and if one did not practise some of those little familiar artifices, which the sublimity of the Catholic ritual obliges men to learn for themselves, one's tears would break forth in abundance. In the Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna, are inscribed broken sentences, awful and pathetic, which come upon us as if it were the voice of the martyrs: such words as these occur, "Consider our victory;" and again, "Filiæ Jerusalem, venite et videte martires cum coronis quibus Deus coronavit eos in die solemnitatis et lætitiæ;" and again, "Doctrinæ sublimitatem attende." Indeed, unless he be evidently one of the dry-eyed race, genus siccoculum, as old Plautus calls it, it is no cause for wonder if a stranger should be seen even to weep on entering St. John Lateran, that mother church of Rome and of the world, or St. Peter's or the vast and solemn Basilica of the Santa Croce at Florence, where are the tombs of Michael Angelo, Alfieri, Leonard Bruni, Cavalcanti, Aretin, and the sublime monument erected, after three attempts frustrated, to Dante.

Independent of what meets the eye, who can remain unmoved when he is told, as under the domes of Parma painted by Corregio, that these walls around him were consecrated by Pope Paschal II., in presence of St. Bernard and of the Countess Matilda? or as in the church of Einsiedlin, that they witnessed an angelic dedication, which dispensed with mortal lips, as was revealed to the holy Conrad, when he had repaired thither from Constance to dedicate them; or as in the Cathedral of Florence, that they beheld the council, under Eugene IV., when the Greeks were reunited with the Latin church? Who can behold unmoved in the Church of Dole that pulpit, from which preached St. Francis of Sales, that well-spring from which such copious floods of living truth have issued? or in the Church of St. Theodore at Ravenna, that from which the first pastors who succeeded St. Apollinare preached to the people? or at the entrance of the Church of St. Eustorgio at Milan, that from which St. Peter Martyr refuted the proud Manichæans? Does he only desire to examine the wonders of art? who can sufficiently admire the brazen gates of the Baptistery of Florence, or of the Cathedral of Pisa, or the sepulchral lore of the Campo Santo? It would require many weeks to go round that Baptistery, the work of Diotisalvi in the twelfth century, and mark all its wondrously wrought stones, representing holy, wise emblems, and stories from sacred history. From the portals of that at Parma one may learn the genealogies of Christ and of his blessed mother, which are there carved with analogous inscriptions in semi-gothic characters. Nor can I omit again to mention thee, thou beauteous Temple of Sienna, which the

humble men of former days, in times too of their calamity, erected to the glory of the Eternal, and through the love of Mary. With a mystic joy and wondrous eagerness did I go about thy sacred walls, and trace out the emblematic lore engraven upon them. With what glad surprise did I recognize beneath my feet the verses of the great Mantuan, who from the archives of the Palatine mount, which Augustus permitted him to examine, published the prophecy of the Cumanean Sybil, that already the last age of her song was come, that a great order of ages was again born, that a virgin hath returned, and Saturnian kingdoms, and a new offspring had descended from the high heavens; fruitful lines, which were a light to Stacius when first he opened his eyes to God. There too, as in the chapel of Loretto, and as in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, were represented the whole mysterious sisterhood, whose prophecies to the Gentiles respecting an universal king, made Rome tremble, though both Varro and Fenestella affirm that they had been gathered by the Romans from all parts of the world where they could be heard of, and laid up in the capitol, where no one might see them but only the fifteen magistrates to whose care they were confided. There I marked the Erythræan Sybil, whom Varro and Apollodorus mention, whose acrostics Cicero translated, as Constantine bore witness, and who is saying "De excelso cœlorum habitaculo prospexit Dominus humiles suos. Et nascetur in diebus novissimis de virgine Hebræa in cunabulis terræ." There also was Sibylla Cumæa, whom Piso names in his Annals. Her prophecy is this: "Et mortis fatum finiet, trium dierum somno suscepto. Tunc a mortuis regressus in lucem veniet primum resurrectionis initium ostendens." There was Sibylla Delphica, of whom Chrysippus speaks, and she says, "Ipsum tuum cognosce Deum qui Dei filius est." Sibylla Lybica was there, whom Euripides mentions, and she says, "Immanus iniquas veniet, dabunt Deo alapas manibus incestis, miserabilis et ignominiosus miserabilibus spem præbebit." There too was Sibylla Hellespontica, born in the Trojan field, of whom Heraclides says that she lived in the time of Cyrus: she predicts the inhospitable cruelty and the darkness of three hours; and at her side I beheld Sibylla Phrygia, saying, "Tuba de cœlo vocem luctuosam emittet, tartareum chaos ostendet dehiscens terra, venient ad tribunal Dei reges omnes; Deus ipse judicans pios simul et impios. Tunc demum impios in ignem et tenebras mittet, qui autem pietatem tenent iterum vivent." The next was Sibylla Samia, of whom Eratosthenes speaks; and she says, "Tu enim stulta Judæa Deum tuum non cognovisti lucentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronasti horridumque fel miscuisti." Lastly there was Sibylla Albunea Tiburtina, so called by those who worshipped her as God upon the Tibur; and she says, "Nascitur Christus in Bethleem. Annunciabitur in Nazareth regnante Tauro Pacifico fundatore quietis. O felix mater cujus ubera illum lactabunt." But here a question occurs which the learned only are competent to answer. Mabillon asks, what is to be thought respecting the Sibylline oracles?* are these the sentences of the Hebrew Sibyls, whose existence is unquestionable? or are they to be treated as wholly spurious, according to the opinion of Blondell† and Vossius,‡ who waste a vast deal of learning on the supposed foundation of some Catholic doctrine, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of the learned theologians of Paris,§ of Persons and others who were quite as well versed as they could be in classical researches? That some of the Sibylline books have perished, the learned are generally agreed, but whether all perished with them is quite a different question. "Unless we despise all antiquity," says Maio, "we cannot laugh at the authority of the Sibylline poems."‖ The writings of the Fathers everywhere prove that the Christians used often to refer to themselves the celebrated verses of the Sibyls. St. Augustin had read them in Greek and Latin.¶ Procopius says, that they were appealed to in Rome in the sixth century; and in the seventh Isidore witnesses that they were everywhere spread.** In the tenth century Liutprandus Ticinensis affirms that they then existed with the Greeks and Saracens, conformable to the testimony of St. Justin Martyr that they were dispersed throughout the whole world.†† Their greatest destruction occurred under Honorius, when Stilicus burnt them, as is lamented by Rutilius in his Itinerary.‡‡ But to resume our study of the pavement: here too were memorials of tragical events of olden time, such as a representation of the famous battle of

* De Studiis Monast. P. II. 272. † De Sibyllis.
‡ De Sibyllinis Orac.
§ Who published Castigationes ad Opuscul. Vossii de Sibyll. Orac. ‖ Sibyllæ, Lib. XXIV. Præf. 6.
¶ De Civit. Dei, XVIII. 23. ** Etym. VIII. 8.
†† Cohort. ad Græc. CXXXVIII. ‡‡ Lib. II. 51.

Monte Aperto, in the year 1260, mentioned by Dante, in the tenth canto of the Inferno, as the slaughter and great havoc

> That colour'd Arbia's flood with crimson stain;

and on the high altar stands the very crucifix which the Siennese carried into the field, on that disastrous day, which gave occasion for the world to understand what dark and barbarous thoughts the savage minds of Ghibellines could conceive, when by consent of all, Florence had to the ground been razed. Other memorials were wrought here, which time had rendered doubtful. How was I pressed with keen desire to read and explain the faint inscription, and discover what the four philosophers were predicating who are represented in the centre, standing by an emblematic wheel, on which were many men attempting to mount; but it was in vain I gazed upon it, and there was no one to instruct me. Here too were lessons of evangelic wisdom in symbolic figures: in one place is represented the parable of him who saw the mote within his neighbour's eye, and knew not the beam within his own; in another, is a man who gives alms to a woman with a child enfolded in her arms; on the left is another, with two blind men and a littlo boy, with a label, on which is written "notate," to teach men to beware of taking themselves for guides.

Here too was ritual-historic lore, for those who love that mystic knowledge, for on the western steps are the figures of two vessels, containing milk and honey, which in the primitive church used to be given to the newly baptized, to indicate the entrance into the true land of promise, which is the Church. In almost every ancient church the pavement itself furnished thus matter for a study. That of St. Paul's Basilica at Rome was full of remarkable inscriptions; that of the Cathedral of Durham has its tender traditions, which are transmitted from age to age by three monks of the holy Benedictine order; that of the Church of St. Anthony at Padua contains letters and mysterious signs, which defy the skill of antiquarians, such as the great L, which some supposed did indicate the spot where the tongue of the saint was found; that of the Cathedral of Canterbury shows the spot which receives in our days the devout kiss of the faithful stranger, though his faith has to sustain the astonished gaze of more than pagan irreverence; that of the monastic Church of St. Richarius, in the ninth century, was composed of the most beautiful marble in different compartments, and the following verses were read upon it before the altar of St. Richarius:

> Hoc pavimentum humilis abbas componere feci
> Angilbertus ego, ductus amore Dei.
> Ut mihi post obitum sanctam donare quietem
> Dignetur Christus, vita, salusque mea.*

There was nothing in Catholic churches to conceal this beauty and learning of the pavement, unless, indeed, as around the holy house of our blessed Lady, where the marble is worn into furrows by the knees of the pilgrims, for there were no closed immoveable seats occupying the nave, where all ranks were equal, and where the duke and the beggar might be seen side by side, praying to that all-good and almighty Being, who knows no exception of persons. The moderns wish to be isolated even in their churches; but catholicism, even though St. James had not been so explicit, would have abhorred the feeling from principle. Her piety was not torpor nor pampering of the flesh; and it required that the body should be free to exercise its external homage, and to assist the devotion of the heart, by bending the knee, kissing the ground, as at the chaunting of the Passion, and remaining in a posture of gravity and reverence during the tremendous mysteries; therefore there was nothing to disfigure or degrade her temples. Underneath the shrine of St. Cuthbert, in the church at Durham, there were, indeed, four seats or places, convenient for pilgrims or lame men, sitting on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God;† and Lebeuf observes that straw used to be spread in winter; but these were no obstruction or deformity. Not but that the ingenious tenderness of religion had made provision for the retiring piety of the penitent, and for the hours of despondency which all must experience. In the old churches there were always some dark recesses and corners, shaded by those granite pillars so emblematic of stability, which were well known and dear to those who, in moments of dereliction, sought retirement in their devotions, even in the church. John Le Blond, enumerating the various parts of the interior of a church, speaks of "Les lieux contemplatifs."‡ After

* Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, Liv. II. c. 7.

† The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 6.

‡ Gouget, Bibliotheq. Français, Tom. XI. 108.

a long absence, the joy of returning to one's house was not equal to that sentiment, combining a crowd of holy thoughts and beautiful meditations, with which one entered the church of his youth, and knelt down behind the particular pillar or sepulchre where he had, in days of yore, offered up the prayers and holy rapture of his youthful heart, and sought privacy in the temple. Besides these, to which any one might have access, there were crypts, subterraneous caves, or little cells inhabited by recluses, women, and sometimes even hermits of great sanctity, which had grated apertures or windows looking into the church.* This was the case at the abbey of St. Geneviève, and at other churches of Paris, as those of St. Severen, St. Paul, St. Merri, the Holy Innocents, and at the abbey of St. Victor. When one of these pious women died, there was always another anxious to succeed her. The ancient necrology of St. Geneviève states, on the fourteenth of October "obiit piæ memoriæ Hildeardis reclusa hujus ecclesiæ."† The blessed Etheldrita, the daughter of Offa, King of the Mercians, was a recluse in the monastery of Crowland; and St. Finden was a hermit out of Ireland, who lived a recluse in a cell towards the north part of the church of the monastery Rhinaugiensis, in Suabia.‡ So also at Durham, at the east end of the north alley of the quire, betwixt two pillars, opposite one to the other, was the goodly fair porch which was called the Anchoridge, having in it a marvellous fair rood, with an altar, for a monk to say daily mass, being in ancient times inhabited by an anchorite.

Sometimes, too, in the vast towers of churches, there were little cells which some holy man would inhabit, for the sake of solitude and contemplation, with the whole city under his feet. Thus we find, from St. Gregory of Tours, that Cantinus, Bishop of Arverna, while in the rank of deacon, attached to the church of the village Iciodorens, used to sleep every night in a little cell which was within the upper part of the wall of the church; for it is said, that one night he heard many voices, as if of persons who chaunted psalms below, and rising from his bed, he opened the window which looked into the church, and there he beheld the vision of white-robed angels."* History relates the names of many of the holy men and women recluses, who resided in these cells of churches and monasteries. Such were Dungall from Ireland, at the abbey of St. Denis; St. Wiborade at St. Gall, in the eleventh century; and the mother of the abbot Gnibert, and the venerable matron Hildeburg, and many others.† In the subterraneous church of St. Irenæus at Lyons, where the bones of the martyrs had been placed, I saw the grave-stone of Marguerite de Barge, who died in the year 1692, having spent the last nine years of her life, which extended to forty-five, in that church, having never left it day or night; and so she was buried there, hoping to rejoin the martyrs in heaven. In the old monastery of Jumièges, St. Filibert, the founder, had his room placed by the side of the church, with a window pierced, through which he could see the altar without leaving his room. This custom became so general, that it gave rise to one of the many features which rendered the small but solemn churches of the religious houses very impressive. These walls of the sanctuary, pierced with windows, through the grates of which the holy members of that devout family would assist at the divine offices, raised before the imagination, the images of saintly men or women, who passed their lives under that roof in peace and holiness. Like the pictures of saints, they refreshed the eyes of those that were weary with the vanities of a wretched world. That union of domestic privacy with the solemn order of public worship, was a delightful and soothing combination. At nones or complin you thought of those early beams of the succeeding day which would gild the opposite walls, that were now in darkness. How many a saint will then regard these images and paintings on which I now gaze! Every spot within this sanctuary is familiar to the eye of persons that are dear to God! How solemn I have felt it in the vast church of the Annunciata at Genoa, when, in the obscurity of evening, a solitary Franciscan is seen to move along through the upper passages which encircle the roof of the sanctuary, and to retire under a vista of arches into the interior of the monastery, to which that church is attacted! Raising our eyes from the pavement, no one need be reminded, that the

* Durandi Rationalis, I. 1.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II.
‡ Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæcul. IV. Pars 1.

* De Gloria Confessorum, 30.
† Mabillon, Præfat. in VI. Sæcul. Benedict. 12.

point in which was concentrated all the riches and splendour of the sanctuary, being in fact the object for which the whole was originally conceived and undertaken, was the altar, which was nothing, as Optatus says, but the seat of the body and blood of Christ.* The Christian writers of the primitive ages, describing the heathen persecutions under Diocletian, say, "We beheld our temples destroyed, our altars overthrown."† Fleury, indeed, shows how impossible it was for the pagans, with their notions, to recognise the existence of an altar with the Christians, or to trace any resemblance between the Christian Basilicas and their own temples.‡ But we see at Rome, at the present day, in the cabinets of the Vatican, with what beauty and magnificence the sacred tabernacle, which contains the adorable victim for the Christian altar, was constructed even during the times of persecution. At the end of the fourth century, the altars were always of stone. "This holy altar at which we stand," says St. Gregory Nyssen,§ "is a common stone by nature, differing in no respect from any other slab of stone with which our walls and pavements are adorned; but since it is dedicated and consecrated to the worship of God, and hath received a benediction, it is a holy table, an immaculate altar, which no longer is to be touched by all, but by the priests alone, and those venerating."

To the law of Nature may be traced the consecration of altars, as when Jacob anointed the stone.‖ Julian was offended at the magnificence of the chalices of the Christian altars, and used to say, "En ejusmodi vasis Filio Mariæ ministratur."¶ But the holy Fathers had remarked, without his assistance, that although "that table was not then of silver, nor that cup of gold, from which Christ gave his own blood to his disciples, yet all these things were precious and tremendous, since they were full of spirit."** It was truly meet and worthy that all the grace of art and all the splendour of wealth should be consecrated to the adornment of that spot which was to receive the desired of all nations, from which the house was to be filled with glory, and God to give his peace. Accordingly, the altars of churches were, in the ages of faith, a mine of incalculable riches. It is a fact well ascertained by mineralogists, that the most precious gems known to be in existence, are still belonging to the sanctuaries of churches. The high altar of the Carthusian monastery near Pavia, is enriched with an immense number of precious stones, lapis lazuli, agates, cornelians, and others. The church of St. Mark at Venice received the spoils of Constantinople. The riches in the church of Loretto exceeded all calculation. Topazes, emeralds, sapphires, rubies, diamonds, agates, and lapis lazuli, lost their value there, being accumulated in such abundance; for Catholic princes and private persons from all quarters send their richest jewels there, as tokens of devotion to the mother of God. Immense too were the treasures at the three principal shrines in England, of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, as were also those at Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, and Winchester. St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Childebert, king of Paris, having invaded Spain, carried back with him twenty gospel cases, which, though richly ornamented with pure gold and precious stones, were more valuable still on account of their workmanship than on account of the materials.

The piety of the faithful of successive generations was constantly employed in enriching altars with costly presents. Nicholas Flamel, the scrivener of Paris, left by his testament nineteen chalices of silver, gilt, to as many churches. The duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. dying in 1407, besides leaving twenty thousand livres to the poor and to monasteries, bequeathed a silver chalice to every church in the cities of Paris and Orleans. Historians, observing that it would be impossible to calculate the prodigious quantity of gold and silver which existed in the middle ages, remark that the opulence of the churches and the incredible abundance of alms and offerings, prove it to have been immense. Thus we read of Durham, "that many were the goodly rich jewels and reliquaries appertaining to the church, some of which would have ransomed a prince. King Richard gave his parliament robe of blue velvet, wrought with great lions of pure gold, a marvellous rich cope. There was another by another prince, such love had the godly minds of kings and queens, and other great estates, to God and holy St. Cuthbert, in that church." In the year 1443, Robert Norwych, Squire, gave

* Lib. VI. Cont. Parmenian.
† Euseb. Cæsar. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. 1.
‡ Mœurs des Chrestiens, 235.
§ Orat. de S. Christi Baptismate, 801.
‖ Gen. xxviii.
¶ Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 8.
** Hom. LX. ad Popul. Antioch.

to the cathedral of Norwich his silver collar, which had been presented to him by the emperor; and in 1499, Lady Margaret Shelton offered a gold chain, adorned with jewels to the same. St. Wilfred, bishop of York, in the ninth century, shortly before his death, invited certain abbots, for the purpose of showing to them the precious stones and gold and silver which were in the treasury of his church.* William of Malmesbury says that in his time they showed, in the church of Sherburn, several precious gems which Sighelm, the bishop of that see, had brought from India, having been sent there to carry the alms of King Alfred, and to visit the shrine of St. Thomas.† At Winchester was preserved the crown of Canute the Dane, which he had placed on the crucifix over the high altar, after the memorable rebuke which he made to his courtiers at the sea-shore near Southampton. In the cathedral of Genoa I saw the emerald hexagonal dish found at Cæsarea, when that town was captured by Guglielmo Embriaco, in 1101, and chosen by the Genoese in preference to all other spoils. It is supposed to have belonged to the temple of Solomon. It is known all over Christendom by the name of the Sacro Catino; and if the tradition concerning it be credited, it is only for another Sir Perceval to look upon it.

The religious care with which the sacred ornaments and relics of churches were preserved, will account for their prodigious antiquity. On the entrance of the Moors into Spain, which was signalized by the pillaging of cities and churches, those who could not withstand their impetuosity, but retired into the recesses of mountains, carried with them the relics and sacred ornaments, which were more esteemed by them than their own treasures, which they abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors. In the revolutionary wars of France, the sacred treasury of the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, was taken up to the high Alps, and concealed there by the shepherds. This had been enriched by Charlemagne and St. Louis; but the offerings of the people were often employed in the adornment of the sanctuary, and these were immense. When Pope Leo IX. consecrated the new church at Rheims, the offerings of the people, who flocked from all parts, are described as incalculable. During the mass, the crowd pressed round the tomb of St. Remi, to present their offerings. Those who despaired of reaching it, threw their offerings from afar.* The liberality of the Saxons to the church of New Corby was so great, that St. Adalhard, the abbot, was obliged to moderate it. When he found the church sufficiently adorned, he placed limits to the reception of offerings. "It is not for us to be enriched by that which renders others poor, nor to be glad at what causes them sorrow. Let us be content with a sufficiency."† At that time no offerings were received from any that were not at peace with the church. St. Liudger rejected a vessel of honey, which had been presented at Billurbek by a certain woman who had contracted an unlawful marriage.‡ At Durham, "there did lye on the high altar an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors to St. Cuthbert's church, from the first original foundation thereof, the very letters being all gilt. The laying that book on the high altar did show how high they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the dayly remembrance they had of them in the time of mass and divine service." From the year 666, it was ordained by the Council of Merida, that all priests should mention the names of the founders and benefactors of their churches on Sundays. Anastasius, the librarian, in his Lives of the Roman Pontiffs, describes the magnificent presents which are offered in the church of St. Peter from the King of France, the Emperor of the East, and the King of Italy. Pope Victor II. gives a similar account at a later period. St. Jerome, through his affection for the poverty of the desert, which, as he said, loves the naked, condemns the use of gold in churches, though he praised those who adorned them.§ But the Lord of armies had himself declared, that gold was his, and that silver was his.‖ It was not a love of profane pomp which made the bishops so earnest to procure means for raising and adoring the churches. Their motive was well expressed by a council in the year 1368: "Since the present visible church militant is justly compared to the

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.
† De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, Lib. II.

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. II. 231.
† Vita ejus, Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. IV. p. 1.
‡ Vita S. Liudgeri, Episcop. Acta S. Ord. Ben. IV. 1.
§ Epist. XXXIV. ‖ Agg. c. II. 7.

celestial and triumphant city of Jerusalem, and since it is the place where the most sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ is made and preserved, and where the instruments of our reconciliation with the Lord, namely, the ecclesiastical sacraments are administered for the offences and sins of the people, it ought to be strengthened and completed with firm foundations, that it may be grateful to God, and venerable to those who enter and behold it."* So we read of Olbertus abbot of Gembon, in the tenth century, after a beautiful description of his piety and charity to the poor, "nor is it to be passed over in silence how zealous he was in adorning the Church; for although it is said 'in sancto quid facit aurum?' yet he had not in external things whence he might show the desire of his soul towards God, excepting inasmuch as they tended to the worship of God; and these things, no doubt, avail somewhat, because they show forth more the advantage of the Church, and because men of brutish minds, who esteem all things more according to their own mind than to their truth, think that nothing is worthy of reverence unless what they see adorned with the things which they temporally love."†

Fleury shows the magnificence of the Christian churches, how they were adorned with columns of solid silver, and with images of solid gold, and had their walls wholly incrusted with marble and mosaic, and covered with pictures, representing the histories of the Old and New Testaments, while in each church the history of the martyr, whose relics were there preserved, occupied the chief place. But before we go into any detail on this subject, it will be necessary to pause awhile to notice one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the magnificence, and, indeed, with the very origin of many churches. I allude to the veneration entertained for the bodies or other relics of the saints, and to the circumstance of their being preserved in every place where the divine mysteries were celebrated. Cardan says that it is a general rule of great importance, not merely for physicians like himself, but for all persons, that whenever we approach to accost any one, or to discuss any subject, we should sit down, for many precipitate things by standing.‡ The Protestants thus lost themselves on the subject of Catholic relics, as on other matters, by noticing them standing. If they had sat down to inquire dispassionately and with deliberation, they would not have been impelled afterwards to sally forth like wild barbarians, destroying the beautiful and glorious monuments of ancient piety, with which faith had filled our churches, committing to the flames, as they did in England, the venerable bones of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, or, as in France, those of St. Irenæus at Lyons, of St. Hilary at Poitiers, and of St. Martin, at Tours. They would have found that in fact nothing is more ancient in the history of the Christian religion than the custom of collecting the limbs or blood or vestments of the holy martyrs, and of preserving them with religious reverence, enshrined as they found them in the Catholic churches.* This is part of the primitive discipline of the church, which dates from the apostolic age, as appears from the acts of St. Ignatius, and the encyclical letter of the church of Smyrna respecting the relics of St. Polycarp. The care of the pagans to prevent the Christians from gaining possession of the bodies of the martyrs is well known, as also the zeal with which the faithful cherished their relics. The work of Boldetti, on the ancient cemeteries of the martyrs, furnishes interesting details. In the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, the basilicas of the Christians are called sepulchres,† and the council at Rome, under Pope St. Sylvester, in enumerating the list of orders which had nine degrees, names, instead of chaunters, custodes martyrum.‡ In fact, till the third century at least, no church was ever built expecting over the tombs of saints. Seven women were put to death for having collected the drops of the blood of St. Blaise, during his torments; and the blood of St. Cyprien was received on cloths spread by the Christians for that purpose. In a work of Julian, which has come down to us, the homage rendered to the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul is attested. Rufinus describes the solemn translation of a martyr's body with hymns and psalms, while Julian beheld the spectacle with indignation.§ The holy bishops of the two first ages used to carry the relics of the martyrs inclosed in cases of gold. St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of

* Concil Lavaurensis, Can. 91.
† Libellus de Gestis Abbatum Gemblacensium, 528, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VI.
‡ Prudentia civilis, cap. XCII.

* Baron. Ann. 261.
† Lib. XXII. cap. 11.
‡ Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, Tom. V. 1.
§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 35.

the reverence with which Christians regarded the relics of saints' bodies.* St. Augustin describes the multitudes who came to venerate the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which were discovered by Lucianus in the reign of the emperor Honorius, and the miracles which were wrought by their means.† The bodies of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas were in the great church of Carthage in the fifth age, as St. Victor informs us. St. Augustin says that their festival drew yearly more to honour their memory in their church than curiosity had drawn to their martyrdom. St. Ambrose gives a description of his finding the relics of Saints Gervaise and Protasius in the Ambrosian basilica, and of the devotion of the people, and of the miracles which attested the holiness of that pious solemnity.‡ "Are the lighted wax tapers burning before the tombs of the martyrs signs of idolatry?" asks St. Jerome.§ "Is it idolatry," he asks again, "to kiss the vase which contains their ashes?"‖ Suppose some one does light a taper in honour of the martyr? He has a reward according to his faith, for the Apostle says, "Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet." St. Basil even says, "Whoever touches the bones of a martyr, on account of the eminent grace of the body, will become a partaker of the sanctification;" and St. Chrysostom says, speaking of St. Ignatius, "not the bodies alone, but the very tombs of the saints are filled with spiritual grace." "Does Vigilantius grieve," asks St. Jerome, "because we wrap the sacred relics of martyrs in precious cloth, and because we do not cast them on a dung-hill? Are we sacrilegious when we enter the basilicas of the apostles? Was Constantine sacrilegious when he translated the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople? Is the present emperor Arcadius to be called sacrilegious for translating the bones of the blessed Samuel from Judæa into Thrace? Are all the bishops sacrilegious and fools for carrying ashes in silk and vessels of gold? Are all the faithful people fools for running to the holy relics and receiving them with such joy, as if they beheld the living prophet?"¶ That the bodies of saints are precious, may be inferred also from visions, such as that of the holy Pontiff St. Paschalis I., related by himself, relative to the body of St. Cecilia. There are many instances, in a very early age, of the elevation and translation of the bodies of saints, both in the East and in the West. Not to speak of the relics of the first martyrs in the Apostolic age, and of those translated by Constantine and Arcadius, as St. Jerome testifies, we find it recorded that Pulcheria translated the relics of the forty martyrs, and that after the consulship of Basil, the body of St. Anthony the hermit was carried, with great honour, to Alexandria, and placed in the basilica of St. John the Baptist. St. Ambrose moved the relics of St. Gervaise and St. Protasius to another place. Pepetuus Turonicus translated those of St. Martin; Gregorius Lingonicus, those of St. Benign; Palladias Sautonicus, those of St. Entropius; Germain, Bishop of Paris, those of St. Ursinus; but after the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, these translations became less frequent, insomuch, that the bodies of St. Germain, St. Remy, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Alban the Martyr, were not translated from the place of their first burial till the eighth century. In fact, the danger of abuses, alluded to by St. Augustin, had induced the clergy to abrogate the ancient custom. In the seventh century, however, it began again to prevail, but, as Mabillon shows, it was deemed religion not to dismember their bodies. The exhumation of any bodies for convenience, which is now practised, or their mutilation through sacrilegious levity, which has been lately witnessed within the ancient cathedral of Durham, on occasion of the supposed discovery of St. Cuthbert's grave, could at no epoch have occurred during ages of faith; but the dismemberment and translation of bodies were frequently practised, though from a motive of the utmost reverence, and with ceremonies of the most solemn description, of which it will be well to give an instance, for the devotion of Catholics in times past will furnish a more worthy spectacle than the curiosity of the moderns, whom I gladly leave, while employed, as in the church of Durham, in picking up the holy vestments and vessels, fingering and analyzing the decayed members, and speculating on the supposed errors of monks in days of yore. We read then, in an ancient chronicle, how it was commanded that the body of the venerable Gerard, bishop and confessor in the time of Otho the Great, should be removed to a place of greater honour in the church, and how the devout Pope Leo, having a desire to be present when his remains should be

* Catechet. VIII. † De Civitate Dei, XXII. c. 8.
‡ Epist. LXXXV. § Epist. XXXVII.
‖ Epist. XXXVIII. ¶ Epist XXXVIII.

raised from the tomb, departed from Rome expressly for the purpose, and after traversing a great part of Belgic Gaul, arrived in the midst of the clergy and people assembled, to their great joy. The fame of this approaching event had drawn an immense multitude, of all ages and of both sexes, to the town, and a devont number of holy pontiffs had already met there from distant countries. With the venerable Archbishop of Lyons, there was Hngo, Archbishop of Chrysopolis, George, Archbishop from Hungary, Frotmundus, Bishop of Trecassinus, Herbert, Bishop of Autun, and Lnpus, an English bishop. These holy men accordingly appointed a certain day for the translation; but the influx of people had so increased, that our Lord the Pope, fearing lest the venerable relics might be exposed to injury amidst such a crowd, decreed that the translation should take place during the night, with no other witnesses but clerks and monks; therefore on the Sunday, the twelfth calend of November, when the shades of evening had come on, holy vigils, are instituted and continued through that long night by the clerks and monks, and then lauds of jnbilation are sung; then our Lord the Pope, with the assembly of pontiffs, preceded by burning tapers and the fragrance of incense, proceeded to the spot, removed the stone which covered the sepnlchre of the saint, and beheld within it the venerable body, more precious than any treasure. There yon would have seen his reverent countenance defiled with no stain, as if sleeping with closed eyes, his white hairs flowing down at great length on both sides of his neck, his body clothed in his pontifical vestments, which were not in the least decayed or injured by moisture. Before their eyes he lay with such composed beauty that they beheld, as it were, a certain image of the resurrection, for he did not seem dead but sleeping, and about to open his eyes at the voice of the summoning angel. Then these blessed members were raised up most reverently and involved in linen, and throughout the whole of the next day were presented to the veneration of the people, and on the following day there was a plenary solemnity, and the body was placed at the right hand of the altar of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, where an altar was consecrated with apostolical benediction.* This is but an instance of the respect with which the moving of a holy body was universally conducted. Thus in the year 974, at Troyes, on the translation of the relics of St. Mastie, by Bishop Milon, the people from all parts assembled in crowds, and remained in the church of St. Peter from the first vespers till the mass of the next day, passing the night in fasting and prayer.* The bodies and relics of saints originally were deposited in a kind of crypt, which was nnder the altar, into which were small apertures, through which they might be regarded or tonched by cloth or palls let down npon them. Such is the description given of the altar in the basilica of St. Peter by St. Gregory of Tonrs.† Henricus Valescus says that the Christians at the tombs of the martyrs were accustomed to let down veils, which might touch the relics of the saints, qua pro magna benedictione accipiebant.‡ St. Ambrose placed the relics under the altar,§ and Mabillon gives other examples: but the relics of St. Walpurg are stated by St. Odo to have been placed upon the altar. In the ninth century it became general to place them upon the altar. In the eighth century, when the body of St. Emmerammus was translated, the books of the Gospels were placed in the coffin with the body; and in the chronicle of Fontenelle there is mention of a copy of the Holy Scriptures placed with the body, which was dressed in the habit it had worn. Until the ninth century, the bodies of saints, for the most part, were deposited in subterraneons places, with altars or merely shrines built over them. The chests which contained the pignora sanctorum, contained probably nothing but linen and other substances which had touched the relics, and this explains the mnltitude of relics associated with the name of the same saint, which were preserved in different places. The faithful also made copies or images of relics, which, after being touched to the real, were afterwards venerated as partaking of their grace, and this was the case with the thorns of the crown, the wood of the cross, and the heads and vestments of saints.‖ When relics were removed, it was rather by pious violence than by the result of prayers. For the clergy continued adverse to any

* Acta Tullens. cum Episcoporum apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 21.
† In Lib. I. de Mirac. Martyr. cap. 28.
‡ In Sozomen. Lib. IX. cap. 2.
§ Epist. LXXXV. ad Marcellinam.
‖ Sardagna, Theolog. Dogmat. Tom III. 467.

removal or dismemberment as before, and such acts of violence gave occasion to the most solemn professions of penitence.* In the seventh century, when Antioch was taken by the Sarassins, and the cities of Alexandria and Jerusalem were possessed by the Persians or Arabians, a vast number of holy relics of the bodies of saints were brought into the West, for multitudes of the Christians of those countries removed with all their treasures to escape the fury of the Mahometans. Some churches were built expressly to receive precious relics: that of St. Peter, in Vincoli, was erected in the year 442, by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valentinian III., to preserve the chain with which Herod bound St. Peter, in the prison of Jerusalem. Every one knows what a feature in the churches of the middle ages were the crystal-girded shrines and reliquaries of the saints, meekly reverenced at a holy distance, before which were suspended vast lamps of silver: those of St. Denis, of solid silver, were so old that they looked like lead. "Our happy and holy mother, the church," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "for the great comfort and decorum of the house of God, has many bodies of saints in custody, at the sight of which many persons are excited often to the love of God, and to weeping, and to the desire of eternal joys. For where is there a church or chapel so poor and little as not to have some sacred relics for the ornament of his oratory, through devotion, to the souls of the saints reigning with Christ in glory."† Many of these bodies were in a state of extraordinary preservation. Such were those of the holy Anslem, Cuthbert, Claude, Edmund, Remi, Catharine of Bologna, Clare of Montefaucon, Agnes of Politian, Rosa of Viterbo, Charles Borromeo, Ferdidand, Isidore, Theresa, Elizabeth of Portugal, Edward of England, Francis Xavier, and Magdalen de Pazzi. Plato might have supposed that "their shape regarmented with glorious weeds of saintly flesh, would, being thus entire, show yet more glorious." It was with awe and trembling that I beheld, in the church at Saxeln, the body of the blessed hermit Nicholas of the Rock, erect, appearing suddenly like an apparition over the altar, and by his side the habit which he wore, to be devoutly kissed; but it was hard to refrain from tears, when admitted into the small chapel within the convent at Bologna, I saw that body of St. Catharine, there wonderfully seated during four hundred years, uncorrupted, unsupported, unmutilated, on a throne surrounded with burning tapers, so humbly amidst so much grandeur, one of the tender affecting spectacles which the church shows in secret to her children.

Sometimes the bodies of saints were placed within crystal shrines, so as to be constantly visible. This is the case in the great Benedictine abbeys of St. Urban and Einsiedelin, in the latter of which we see the skeleton of St. Gregory, the son of one of our Saxon kings, who made there a blessed end. In the churches of the martyrs at Rome, as at the confession of St. Peter, the basilica of St. Paul, of St. Sebastian, of St. Cecilia, and others, we find at the rails of the altar which contains their relics a tablet, on which is written the reponses, antiphons, and prayer of the church relative to that martyr. In the ancient monastery of Larrivour, in the diocese of Troyes, there were relics of saints' bodies, of whom no record remained, excepting that they were of persons who had died in odour of sanctity: yet the custom had never been laid aside of tolling the bells on the first of May, to commemorate the day of their being deposited in that church.* This was according to a general custom. When a certain holy relic was sent as a present to the church of Argenteuil by Charlemagne, it arrived there at one o'clock, and to commemorate that arrival a bell was tolled ever after at that hour.† "The relics of the saints are to be venerated," say the canons of Theodore of Canterbury. "If it can be, let there be a taper lighted during the whole of every night, but if the poverty of the place do not permit it, it is no injury to them: but there must be lights on the nativities of the saints, because like lilies they gave an odour of sweetness and refreshed the church of God, as when the church is sprinkled with incense near the altar."‡ In the chapel of the great Hospital de Pammatone at Genoa, founded in 1420, we see the body of St. Catharine of Genoa, well preserved in a shrine of silver, on the spot where she died in 1510. At Milan, early in the morning of St. Charles's Day, before light, vast multitudes, composed, not of the citizens only, but of the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who hasten into Milan from a great distance, descend into the confession of St. Charles, which is illuminated, and there the descendants of the well-tended flock pay their honour to his

* Mabillon, Præfat. in II. Saint Ben. § 5.
† Thom. de Kempis, Sermon Pars III. 10.

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 355.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 10.
‡ Theodori Cantuar. Archiep. Capit. 29.

venerable relics, while several great pictures, representing the principal events in his life, are suspended along each side of the nave. Cities as well as churches derived an importance from these treasures. To whom was not Tholouse interesting on account of its containing in the subterraneous chapel of St. Saturninus that venerable body of the Angel of the School? What a treasure does Milan possess in the body of St. Ambrose, which reposes in a vault under the high altar in the Ambrosian basilica? How precious was that incorruptible tongue of St. John Nepocumenus to Prague, and that blood of St. Januarius to Naples? With what a rich treasure did Luitprand, the Lombard king, endow his capital, when, in the year 723, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, he ransomed the bones of St. Augustin from the Sarassins, and transferred them to it, going himself as far as Genoa to meet them?* I was at Pavia when these precious remains were moved, and placed in the Gothic shrine adorned with three hundred statues, which had been made for them in the fourteenth century, and which was now transferred from the church of St. Augustin, which had been desecrated by the French, to the cathedral. It was a festival of public rejoicing for three days, and the whole city was illuminated. When the Archduke Boleslaus of Poland received tidings of the martyrdom of his holy friend St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia, he ransomed the body from that heathen people by the gift of its weight in silver, and had it transported with the greatest honours to the metropolitan church of Gnesen, where it was enshrined and visited by devout pilgrims from Bohemia, Germany, and Italy, among whom the emperor Otho III., with an immense attendance of knights, repaired to beseech God at the grave of the martyr, the friend and instructor of his youth.†

An instructed reader finds nothing but an adherence to the spirit and practice of the primitive times in these acts of the middle ages, which are such an offence to ignorant scorners, as when queen Radegund sent servants to Jerusalem and through all the East to procure the relics of holy bodies,‡ or as when St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre, passing into England with St. Loup, of Troyes, in the year 429, to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, being deputed to that end by a council of Gaul, made a visit to the shrine of St. Alban, and took up some of the earth on which the martyr's blood had fallen, and carried it back with him to France as a holy treasure:* or, as when in 780, at a great assembly of bishops and princes at Aix-la-Chapelle, a number of precious relics were publicly shown, which had been sent to that church as a rich present by the emperor of the East, or, as when at Senlis the chasuble of St. Frambault, who died in the sixth century, used to be kissed by the people instead of the paten at the offertory, in the high mass on his festival,† or as when the kings of France, with their own hands, used to show the relics of the holy chapel to the people on certain days. Charles V. showed them on Good Friday, and in 1423, this custom was observed by the Duke of Bedford, acting in the name of the king of England, and by order of the Parliament.‡ In all these instances it was a practice conformable to the spirit of the first ages, which impressed the minds of men with a salutary reverence. Petrarch was at Padua on the day of the translation of the body of St. Anthony, and he says that he was one of an immense multitude, who were admirers of that solemn and admirable ceremony. Every one has heard of the immense multitudes that used to visit Canterbury and the shrine of its holy martyr. Petrus Cellensis, who was his contemporary, says in a letter to the Bishop of Exeter, "Who will give me wings like a dove, that I may fly to visit the tomb of the precious martyr St. Thomas."§ "Not undeservedly do the people hasten thither from all sides, to venerate that tomb and to bless that nation and people, amongst whom has arisen such a witness of Christ:"|| and, again, writing to John of Salisbury, he expresses the same desire, adding, "that I may adore God in his saint before I die."¶ These feelings, though true to nature and to faith, are an astonishment to those who have been perverted by the modern philosophy, whose blindness would not have ascribed hypocrisy but superstition to the Pharisees, who built the sepulchres of the prophets.** They talk of visiting the tombs of poets, warriors, and kings, but it never occurs to them to add of saints, as if human sympathy and all associations of reverence were to be excluded alone when the memorials related to persons who have been dear to God. When they

* Sigon. de Regno Ital. Lib. III.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, I. 4.
‡ Greg. Turon Miracul. Lib. I. 5.

* Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 52.
† Hist. des Evesques de Senlis, 252.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. XI.
§ Liv. V. Epist, XVI. || Liv. VI. Epist. IV.
¶ Liv. VI. Epist. XII. ** Matt. c. xxiii.29.

have not indulged a satiric vein in speaking of the Catholic practice, they have expressed themselves like Jews in their abhorrence of dead bodies.* Yet assuredly, even independent of the Christian tradition, there can be nothing more venerable, or in the best sense of the term more natural, than such a devotion? When Moses departed from Egypt,† he took with him the bones of Joseph, which the Patriarch himself had commended to his brethren,‡ and it is said, Ossa ipsius visitata sunt et post mortem prophetaverunt.§ There is again the same sanction in the fact relative to the bones of Elisha,|| and in the apostolic history, which records the use made of the handkerchiefs and aprons. But without reference to these supernatural motives, what practice can be more conformable to the deepest sentiments of the human heart? Every where has mankind, without assigning its reasons, regarded as sacred the remains of virtuous men. We read in Homer that the faithful Eumæus wept when he saw the bow of his ancient master.

Κλαῖε δὲ βουκόλος ἄλλοθ', ἐπεὶ ἴδε τόξον ἄνακτος.¶

And can it be thought that there was no spiritual advantage to be derived from exhibiting the crosier of a sainted pastor, or the staff which had supported a martyr to his death? St. Gregory of Tours says, "there lives in the suburbs of the city of Lyons a woman, who is said to have picked up the shoe of the blessed martyr Epipodius, which fell from his foot as they were leading him to martyrdom."** Where is the discernment of the philosopher who would set no value on such a relic? I would not contend with him if he dissents. The voice of nature will consent whether the voice of man do so or not. Would you learn the impressions experienced by a French scholar, on witnessing the late translation of the body of St. Vincent de Paul to the chapel of the Lazarists in Paris? "O how noble, how pure to the eye of faith and of Catholic charity is that body, sanctified by the passage of a holy soul, which has been in the service of that soul during eighty years of earthly life, fatigued, tormented by it for the sake of the poor, for the salvation of prisoners, of the sick, of orphans, of all the unhappy! Those arms, which used to pick up the little infants from the snow to bear them to the hospital, those limbs which continued infirm ever after they had borne the weight of the chains, voluntarily assumed to redeem others, that countenance, which has consoled so many miserable, revived so many hopes, filled so many hearts with charity, that tongue, which had a sound so sweet, and so powerful to announce the word of God, that whole body, so often offered to the Almighty in penitence and mortification, that body now passes before our eyes, borne through the streets of Paris. Behold it, still clad in its ancient vestments, the cassoc, the surplice, and the stole! Cold immoveable, to rise no more till, at the sound of the trumpet of the angel, which will summon it to glory! See around it what a multitude of men, great and small, princes and people. Sophists who pass by, do you comprehend this movement of the people towards the man, whose hand conferred so many benefits upon their fathers, and whose prayers can still cause the divine goodness to descend upon them? Do you discern this mysterious chain which unites earth and heaven? And in this body, which they bear along thus magnificently enshrined, is there nothing that moves you? Is there nothing in this astonishing and sublime symbol of charity."

St. Augustin replying to the pagans, explains the homage paid to the saints and to their relics, as a Catholic writer might now address the Protestants. "We do not erect temples to the martyrs, but we honour their sepulchres as having rendered testimony to the truth. Who ever heard a priest officiating at the altar of God over the ashes of a martyr pronounce these words: Peter, Paul, or Cyprien, I offer to you this sacrifice?* The Holy Ghost reposes invisibly in the relics of those who are dead in the grace of God, until he appear visibly in them at the resurrection; and it is this which renders the relics of saints so worthy of veneration. For God never abandons his own, not even in the sepulchre, where their bodies, although dead to the eyes of men, are more alive before God, on account of sin being no longer in them, the roots of which at least must have been there during their lives." These are the words of Paschal.† "Would you know the precise date of the worship of the relics of martyrs?" asks Fénélon. "It is as ancient as martyrdom itself. These bones are already out of the tomb, because they have strengthened

* S. Hieron. Epist. XXXVII.
† Exod. 13. ‡ Genes. 49. § Eccles 49.
|| IV. Reg. 13. Eccles 48. ¶ Od. XXI 83.
** De Gloria Confessorum, 4.

* De Civitate Dei.
† Pensées, II. Partie, art. 17.

Jacob and redeemed themselves by virtue of faith. When Agleus sent his servant Boniface from Rome to visit Asia in search of the bodies of martyrs, he said, 'Know, O Boniface, that the bodies of the faithful who go to collect those of martyrs, ought to be pure and without a spot.' It is superstition to honour the martyrs without desiring to imitate them. These bones have no virtue for such men. This is a place into which faith alone should enter."*

But let us turn now to mark the decoration of the churches, and the memorials of antiquity which they presented. One who has only seen the desecrated cathedrals of England, or even the churches of France since the revolution, can hardly form an idea of the number of interesting objects for observation, furnished by the interior walls of an ancient Christian church, in consequence of the Catholic principle of divine appropriation by the original bond of all things to God, or by their special application to his glory. Of these to speak at full were a vain attempt; but a few instances, promiscuously taken, may serve to lead persons upon this inquiry. Thus, omitting for the present to mention the imagery and inscriptions upon sepulchres, of which I shall speak in a future place, there were so many memorials of every description, preserved from different ages, that to the examination of a church it was as necessary to bring learning and attention, as to the study of some book of ancient or of mystic lore. On the windows of the Gothic church of the convent of the Celestines at Marcoucies was painted the word Ilpadelt, which no one could explain until a Turk, who had received baptism, and was in the suite of Francis I., came to Marcoucies in the year 1523, and decided that it was Syriac, and that it meant, "God is my hope," which explanation was then registered in the library of the abbey. These words had been the device of John de Montaigu, the great founder who had built the abbey and enriched it with many precious relics, pursuant to a vow which he made during the sickness of Charles VI. The capitals of the columns in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, contains monograms, of which the learned cannot give an interpretation. Every thing that could interest the scholar the poet, the philosopher, and the Christian was to be found in the ancient churches. On the west front of the cathedral of Como, raised in the fourteenth century, are two statues of the elder and younger Pliny, who were natives of that place, and an affecting inscription invites the passenger to fix his eyes upon them, adding

Lætus eris sed mox
Non sine lachrymulis.

In the artists who placed these figures at the sacred portal, we can recognise the same mind as guided Dante, when he represented the four mighty spirits separate from all the rest, for one might infer that they stand there as if to signify that the renown of their great names, that echoes through our world, acquires favour in heaven, which holds them thus advanced.* In the sixteenth century, a visitor of the diocese required their removal as profane, but the calmer and deeper wisdom of the sacred college, to which the citizens of Como appealed, sanctioned their preservation. The cathedral of Parma bears monumental tablets to the memory of ancient Roman families, which are celebrated in the classic annals.

Some arts and languages have perished since these churches were constructed. If it were not an interminable office to enter upon such details, a pilgrim who had visited Italy might attract around him many a circle of intelligent listeners, by merely telling them of the memorials of antiquity which he has found in churches; he might describe that ancient Pascal cycle fixed in the wall of the cathedral of Ravenna, or that pastoral chair of ivory which reminds him of classic story, or that stationary cross of St. Aguello, which has stood for thirteen hundred years in the same; he might describe the bas-relievos on churches which have survived heresies, and which represent the forgotten error, as those on St. Michael's church at Pavia, where an annunciation is represented conformable to the Arian opinions, or the ancient images of the cross of our divine Lord, like that awful figure in the church of St. Dominic at Ravenna, which is in a form unlike what we now ascribe to it. He might relate of the calamities to which mortal men are subject, in connection with which he saw, in the cathedral of Milan, the crucifix which was borne processionally by St. Charles, during the plague in 1576; and in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, where, in the year 1636, the waters had risen fourteen feet above the pavement, an inscription which invited the traveller to pray that their rivers might softly glide:

Molliter ut jaceant flumina nostra roga.

* Fénélon pour la Fête d'un Martyr.

* Hell, IV.

How in the church of St. Praxides at Rome, where two thonsand three hnndred martyrs were hurled, he saw in the nave a well railed round, in which that saint nsed to deposit the blood of the martyrs which she could collect, and in the nave of the chnrch of the Passionists, on the Celian hill, the spot railed ronnd on which St. John and St. Panl were martyred, and in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, on the pavement a slah representing a man beheaded, over which were these words: "Hic Ursicinus capite ohtruncato martyrii palmam adeptus est." Why think yon, he might ask, is the bronze statne of that aged pontiff of the Farnese race without the triple crown, which all his fellows bear, in that basilica of St. Peter? Why does he stoop his head with such marks of grief and hnmiliation? It is because England was lost under his pontificate; and when this Paul III. was on his death-bed laid, he told them to represent him thus upon his tomh, but that when England revived again they might restore his emhlematic crown. He might tell you of a silent but impressive lesson furnished hy that tomh of Christine, qneen of Sweden, in the same church, which bears for its sole embellishment a crown laid upon a tablet! That crown, you are told, was renounced for the sake of embracing the true faith of Christ. What a strange reversion is here of the spiritual order to behold the mighty exalted and the poor left prostrate, to see princes resigning their crowns rather than resist the Catholic chnrch, and men of humble state, for the sake of vile profit, or some worthless distinction, for which beggars might contend, remaining obstinately deaf to her gracious call! He might relate how he read, with tremhling, those short words, inscribed over the high altar in the church of the convent of St. Mary Magdalen di Pazzi at Florence: "Una de numero prudentium." Alas! of what number are the giddy race who flock hither to gaze at paintings and the antiquated works of Tuscan art! Of what number was the wanderer himself who took such note of altars? He might describe that marhle tahlet in the cathedral of Milan, called Chrysmon St. Amhrosii, of which Landulph, its old historian, says, that it served as a tahle for the initiation of catechumens in the mysteries of our faith, and over which these verses are Inscribed:

Circulus hic snmmi continet nomina regis
Quem sine principio et sine fine vides
Principium cum fine tibi designant A et Ω

He might describe that mosaic in the choir of the Amhrosian basilica at Milan, representing St. Amhrose, who seems to fall asleep in celehrating mass, under which the word Mediolannm is written, while by the side is shown the funeral of St. Martin, celebrated at Tours with the word Turonica, indicating that his death was revealed to St Amhrose, or, in the same basilica, that granite column snpporting a serpent of hrass, which has employed the pens of so many learned antiquarians, who have left it as they found it, an uncertain memorial of the highest antiquity, or, in the church of St. Stephen at Milan, which stands npon the field of battle, where the Arians fought against the Catholics, that aperture in the nave, covered with a grating of iron, in which is worked the crosier of St. Amhrose, on which fell, as some suppose, the hlood of Diodorus and three other martyrs under Valentinian, or that stone, which is inserted there in a column, snpposed to relate to the suffering of some martyr. He might repeat what he has read on the walls of the basilica of St. Sebastian at Rome, and give you the words of St. Jerome, descrihing his emotions on descending to the catacombs beneath; or he might, from the inscriptions on other churches, give you an account of the most memorahle events connected with them, as from that in the basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, which states how the emperor of Germany, Otho III., on acconnt of his crimes, and in ohedience to the austere discipline of St. Romuald, after walking barefoot from Rome to Mount Gargano, remained in this basilica and cloister during forty days, a penitent, lamenting his sins in sackcloth, and giving an august example of humility. He might relate how at Poissy in the ancient chnrch, he saw the font in which St. Lewis was haptized, and then, going on to speak of votive gifts, how in the ancient chnrch of the Carthusians near Bologna, he saw the great iron chains that had been worn by poor Christian captives in the dnngeons of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, who suspended them in this church on their return, and how at Pisa, in the chnrch of St. Stephen, belonging to the knights of St. Stephen, he saw the banners surmounted by the crescent, and the immense hrazen lanterns taken from the Turkish galleys hy these knights of old, whose service consisted in protecting the Christian vessels on the Mediterranean from their corsairs.

An acquaintance with history may have

prepared some of his hearers for such details. They may have read how Prince Boëmond having been caught by the Sarassins, and thrown into a dungeon, loaded with chains, made a vow to God, that if by help of his grace, and the intercession of St. Leonard, he should recover his liberty, he would go to the church of that saint at Limoges, and would attach to its altar a chain of silver of the same weight as that with which he was then bound in prison; which vow he accomplished with a fervour worthy of the most zealous Christian, and then shortly after the assembly at Poitiers, took the cross and set out for Jerusalem. Celebrated also was the gift of the Prince of Condé, who having been long confined as a state prisoner in Vincennes, made an offering to the church of our Lady at Loretto, of a model of that castle in solid silver. The ex voto figures frequently represented the illustrious pilgrims who had visited the church: Popes, emperors, and steel-clad warriors, are there along with peasants. The lapse of ages had sometimes involved their history in obscurity. In the church of our Lady at Fournes, in Flanders, were suspended in one chapel several huge heavy rings of iron. Certain paintings also there, of vast antiquity, represented persons from whose hands and feet these rings and fetters were dropping off. Time had obliterated all trace of the names and events, but the substance of the story was sufficiently clear.* These votive offerings, eyed by the moderns in disdainful mood, towards which they sharpen their sight as keen as an old tailor at his needle's eye, may nevertheless be traced as a Christian usage from the primitive ages of the Church. Theodoret† says, that those who ask with faith obtain their requests, "as appears from the donaries which testify their cures; for some hang up the resemblance of eyes, some of feet, others of hands made of gold or brass, to indicate the infirmities from which they were delivered, and to be a memorial of the power of the true God." The walls of the vast temple of our Lady of the oak near Viterbo, have not space enough to contain the votive offerings of successive generations of men, to express the eternal gratitude of those who had received signal gifts from heaven. A memorial connected with the simplicity of the middle ages, consists in those horse shoes which used to be nailed on the gate of churches, out of devotion to St. Martin, whom painters always represent on horseback, and all persons who travelled in that manner, invoked as their patron, under whose guidance they could hardly fail to practise blessed charity on their way. On their return, these horse shoes were nailed up as a sign of acknowledgment.* With respect to the decoration of churches, we have already seen how magnificently they were adorned in the third century. Pope Gregory II. writing to the Emperor Leo, the Iconoclast, explains the advantage derived from the paintings and images in the churches. In the very first age, there is mention of golden candlesticks given to churches, and of perfumed tapers. The Roman Church had lands in Syria and other provinces of the east, for the supply of perfumes; and at the close of the third century, Optatus Milevitanus, is a witness that there were many ornaments in the church of gold and silver. From the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the ninth, the richest presents were continually made to the churches of Rome by popes, emperors, and private persons. Images of our Saviour and of the Apostles of solid gold and silver, with crowns of jewels, were given to the Lateran Basilica by Constantine. Fleury gives the prodigious value of the different objects presented, such as golden chalices, lamps, censers, and images of saints, besides houses, and lands, and money. In the tenth century, the ravages of the Normans and other wars, and the opinion that the end of the world was near, occasioned the destruction and neglect of most of the churches of the west. When they were rebuilt, the ancient form was preserved, but as we have seen it was found impossible to imitate their magnificence, or to adorn them with equal splendour, for the riches of the church which remained were passing in another direction. It was much if they could be built with cut stone, and adorned with bronze; and it was even necessary to prohibit the use of clay or wooden chalices. Still there were many vestiges of ancient splendour. In the year 1034, the Bohemians pillaged the church of Genesne, in Poland, and carried off a crucifix of gold of nine hundred pounds, and three golden tables of an altar enriched with precious

* Hist. des Saints de la Province de Lille et Douay, p. 572.

† Orat. VIII. Contra Gentiles.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. c. 4, and Tom. IV. 126.

stones. The interior decoration of the churches in the middle ages was of an astonishiog magnificence. We have a minute description of the church of the monastery of St. Richarins, in the time of Charlemagne: over every altar there was a picture which was set in precious stones; in the middle of the church the sacred passion was represented figured in gypsnm and inlaid with gold and other precious colours. On the south side was the Ascension, on the north the Resurrection, and in the porch the Holy Nativity, all similarly represented. Three of the altars were furnished with pure gold.* Suger placed in the church of St. Denis a golden crucifix weighing eighty marks, and besides the value of the gold and enamel, there were in it pearls and precious stones: two years were required to finish it, though seven of the most skilful artists, who had come expressly from foreign countries, were occupied on it day and night. It was so brilliant that the eyes could not rest upon it without being dazzled. This was solemnly consecrated by Pope Eugene, who came to the ahbey with the king for the pnrpose.† We read also that in the monastery of Luxueil, there was a cross wondrously fabricated of gold, and covered with precions gems, which had been given by St. Ansegisis, Ahbot of Fontanelle. The roof of the abbey of Crowland was golden, as appears from the epitaph on the Ahbot John, in the reign of Edward IV.

Mente Maria vacans, sed membris Martha ministrans,
Quæque Dei laudem sapiunt, super omnia fovit,
Sed reputat fraudem, quicquid proprium sibi novit,
Quam sibi dilecta fuerant Domini sacra templa
Laudis in exempla demonstrant aurea tecta.‡

No labour or expense were spared in adorning the interior of chnrches. Bede relates of his abbot Biscop, that he brought from Rome and placed in his church pictnres of sacred images of the hlessed Mary, and the twelve apostles, and images of the evangelical history, and of the visions of St. John the Evangelist: all who entered the church, though ignorant of letters might, to whatever side they turned, have contemplated either the gracious and loving countenance of Christ, and of his apostles, having them as if before their eyes, or they might be led to meditate with amaze upon the mystery of onr Lord's incarnation; or else the danger of the final jndgment which was presented before them might have moved them to examine themselves more strictly.* Most of the artists employed upon the cathedral of Pisa in the eleventh century were Greeks.† The paintings on its walls and roof, executed in the fourteenth century, are suhlime in the highest degree. The figure of onr Saviour on a colossal scale in the apsis with the inscription, "Ego sum lux mundi," strikes one with dread on entering. The admirahle sculpture in the Baptistery, was the work of Niccolo Pisano. The fresco paintings of the fourteenth century round the walls of the Campo Santo represent the lives and death of saints, the history of Job and others from the Old Testament, the adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the Triumph of Death, the General Jndgment, in which Solomon's fate is represented douhtful, the Inferno of Dante, and other subjects which are executed with a genius that is the admiration of every intelligent beholder. What mind, what spirituality appears in that sublime form which we see there of the Saviour pronoNncing the divine malediction in the Last Jndgment! It surpasses the corresponding work of Michael Angelo, in the Sextine chapel. What awe is excited hy that painting of the Last Jndgment by Giotto, after the inspiration of his friend Dante, which is in the Annunziata at Padua! What a solemn impression steals upon the mind on beholding that assemhly of venerahle sages in the cathedral of Sienna, surrounding the entire church in continned series, and yet composed alone of the holy pontiffs who have sat in Peter's chair! or that in the Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, comprising the one hundred and twenty-six archhishops of Ravenna, who have succeeded in an uninterrupted order from St. Apollinare, the disciple of St. Peter! Who wonld have thonght that death so many had despoiled! for what must be the multitnde of the faithful when their chief pastors form such a crowd! Many of the paintings and decorations in the churches were designed with so deep and suhtle an idea, that none but the initiated could trace the grand mystery. Such is that surprising painting on the ceiling of the Gesn at Rome, by Baciccio, which is to express that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus. In

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Vita S. Angelberti, IV. t.
† Hist. de Suger, Lib. VI. ‡ Ingulph. Hist.

* Bed. in Lib. I de Vita Biscop.
† Morrona Pisa Illustrata.

like manner, in the masterpiece of Raphael, there is the same principle of unity to the eye of those who are accustomed to the thoughts of faith. These vast solemn frescoes, which are found in so many churches, in which there is discovered something new every time one regards them, something not there because men have read of it, but as if they have read of it because it is there, make every beholder imagine himself actually present at the awful scene, and are sufficient to soften the most obdurate. Those mosaic apses of the sixth century, like that in the Basilica of St. Vitale, at Ravenna, seem to give us an insight into the very thoughts of the early Christians; and who does not stand rivetted with devout attention to that great altar in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, containing so many symbolical figures which teach heavenly lore: such as the propagation of the church throughout the world, the abundance of her spiritual gifts, the prudence requisite in her pastors, the detachment from the world which should distinguish every Christian, the punishments of the future life, the peace which is enjoyed in the church, the mysteries of the passion of our Lord? Father Angelo Bigoni describes these in his book, published lately at Padua. I saw the representation of beautiful woods and mountains painted in frescoe, on the interior walls of the ancient church of St. Martin at Rome. The fathers of the desert were seen in these landscapes, and thus the beauties and sublimity of natural scenery were introduced within the sanctuary. Desiderio, Abbot of Monte Cassino, in order to adorn the new church he had built there, brought over Greek painters and artists from Constantinople: that church is like a grotto of jewels and precious stones. In their choice of materials, the men of these ages showed how they valued durability. The gates of cypress wood which Adrian III. erected in St. Peter's were in good preservation five hundred years afterwards. In fact, there are examples of the almost incorruptibility of that wood. The Basilica of St. Paul was roofed with cedar of Libanus, and it was the oldest church in the world. The ceilings of St. Mary Major, St. Clement, and St. Mary in Trastevere, are wrought with a skill and magnificence that would defy modern art, as in fact the skill of carpenters in the middle ages greatly exceeded what is possessed at the present day. In the church of the monastery of Cluny, there was before the great altar a candelabra of prodigious magnitude of Cyprus wood, gilt and covered with crystalline stones and beryls. It measured the height of a spear of eighteen feet in length, and six branches extended from it. This was the gift of queen Matilda.* Over the entrance of the choir, in the centre of the entire structure, where the moderns in England have generally placed a shapeless organ, there was always a vast crucifix, with images of our blessed Lady and St. John, to denote that the cross should be in the heart of all Christians. This was the rood loft, the destruction of which was so delightful a task to the self-styled reformers. Thus in the churches all things reminded men of the passion and sacred humanity of Jesus Christ. They might feel as if in Palestine, in Bethlehem, or on Calvary. Frequently too, as in the cathedral of Sienna, there was in another part some solemn representation of the holy sepulchre, with a figure of our divine Lord, and a light always burning before it within an iron grate. In short, as far as poor material works could act upon souls, the world was excluded and all its vanities; for it was not there as within that chief temple of the Anglican sect, in which one beholds nothing but the trophies of great captains, where one might suppose that all the naval battles of which history tells, from that of the Corinthians and Corcyrians were to be commemorated, and where one beholds heroes, not in their death or in their devotions, but in all their temporal glory, and in the exultation of their victory. What a contrast is seen in Catholic churches where, as in the Carthusian monastery of Ferrara, one may find the tombs of Paladins, such as the Strozzi, and other heroes who had fought against the Turks! The sepulchre of Marc Antonio Martinengo della Palata is at Brescia. That illustrious hero, though twice wounded, took prisoner with his own hand Louis Gonzaga, and died three days after his victory. He had magnificent funeral honours, and this mausoleum was erected to his memory: yet excepting his arms, which are an eagle, nothing recalls his glory on this sepulchre. The medallions and bas relievos of marble and bronze, represent the passion of Jesus Christ and other sacred subjects, which have no relation to the brilliant exploits of the hero. The ancient warriors and kings of England are only

* Chronicon Cluniacens.

represented on their tombs, either in the solemn ecstacy of repose, or as meekly invoking Christ, in the posture of that knight described by Tasso, indicating one that ever

Had to heavenly things desire, holding
His weapon in his right hand closed,
His left upon his breast was humbly laid,
That men might know that while he died he pray'd.*

At the same time countless images of saints rendered you familiar with the ineffable joys of devotion, and like the hymn of the church seemed to proclaim on all sides the brave actions, and the immortal palms of the best kind of conquerors.† Many experience a delightful astonishment on entering a Catholic country to find the art of sculpture applied to Christian subjects; for they had only before seen it under the genius of paganism. The admirable basso relievos, representing the life and death of St. John Gualbert, and other events which passed in the convent of Vallombrosa, executed by Benedetto di Rovezzano and Luca della Robbia at Florence, prove how capable this noble art is of expressing the character of Christian sanctity. The meek angelic looks of the monks in those relievos, could not have been surpassed in painting. A similar instance is seen on the Gothic altar and shrine of St. Dominic, in the church of the Dominicans at Bologna, which was carved by Nicholas of Pisa in 1200. The sculpture on the front of the cathedral of St. Laurence at Genoa, is enough to draw tears, so awful and piteous is the spectacle there represented of the martyr's passion; and the figures representing the eight beatitudes in the church of St. Anthony at Parma, proclaim with an irresistible force the vanity of man's wisdom. Duplessis speaks of certain figures in bad taste which were in the abbey church of Fontenelle, which draws the judicious remark from a modern writer, that in the time of Duplessis good taste was nothing else but a pretentious and theatrical affectation; the charm of simplicity was not then felt or esteemed; the great traditions of art were abandoned; so that many works of sculpture executed during the middle ages from the time of St. Louis resemble much more the antique than the greatest part of the productions of the modern school.‡ Even De Saint Victor, like the excellent Fleury, is too much disposed to speak of the barbarous taste of the middle ages; and the learned Abbe Lebeuf, in his History of the Diocese of Paris, shows with regard to the churches of the Templars, great ignorance of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages, and insensibility to its beauty. The observation of Müller that the Doric character created the Doric architecture, may be applied to the Catholic religion, and to the whole development of the arts in ages of faith: for it is clear from the ancient monuments that our ancestors, like the Dorians, attended to the beauty of form to a degree that might lead one to suppose they had always used that prayer, "give us what is good and what is beautiful." In Oxford, as in any of our cathedrals you can trace the date of the modern philosophy by observing the imagery employed upon edifices. We cannot be mistaken in the date wherever we find the old Christian images superseded by statues of Jupiter, Neptune, and Apollo. Even on the portal where Laud feebly restored an image of our blessed Lady there are placed by the side of it, two naked figures of heathen graces. In Westminster Abbey, pagan imagery appears upon the tombs, not such as is merely symbolical like the hearts which the first Christians continued to engrave as we see in the catacombs, but fair imitations of the deities. The moderns, indeed, seem never satisfied unless the whole pagan mythology is before their eyes. Moreover, the old mosaics and paintings in the churches, as in Italy to this day, show evidently that the artists in the middle ages knew the necessity of making art symbolical rather than imitative; and this proves the inconsistency of the moderns who would admire and preserve the monuments of Catholic genius, but destroy the idea which inspired it. But what is above all characteristic of the paintings and sculpture of the middle ages, which are often yet more precious for their artist's sake, is the predominance of mind and spirituality, whether the form be executed with skill or only in a rude manner.

In the church of the Capuchin convent, without the walls of Sursee, are two altars, over which are placed groups of images. One represents the blessed Mary holding the dead body of her divine Son; the other represents our Lord in the garden, with the angel offering him the chalice. At first the eyes might turn elsewhere, as though the form but ill accorded to the design of art, through sluggishness of unreplying

* Book VIII. 33 † Hymn for many martyrs.
‡ Langlois Essai Historique sur Saint Wandrille.

matter; but their final conquest is no less certain: curiosity prompts them to return, and one finds oneself arrested by an indescribable emotion of pity mixed with devout awe: then it is all over with one's proud science: one's eyes are rivetted upon them, and one feels one's whole soul overcome with a sense of that dread mystery which they describe with such pathetic simplicity. But after reading that St. Eloy used to have always some holy book open before him to sanctify his soul, while his hands were working at the shrines, and that others, like Guercini, never commenced a painting without first purifying their souls by sacramental confession,—can we wonder that the works of such ages should be unlike our own? Aurelius Lomi, of Pisa, wrote upon his picture of the Adoration of the Magi these pious lines: "Et quid retribuam tibi, O bone Jesu, pro omnibus quæ retribuisti mihi? Non aurum, non thus, nec mirram, sed cor meum et de thesauro cordis mei hoc opus manûm mearum." The great Bolognese painter, Augustin Carrachi, used to make a retreat in the convent of the Capuchins, where he died. Hence these paintings can sometimes give us quite a new view of scenes with the history of which we had been long familiar, ennobling them to a degree far beyond any conception we had formed from books. Such is the case on regarding that gracious frescoe in the church of the Carthusians near Pavia, which represents St. Paul and St. Anthony dividing the loaf, and the raven sitting by them on the rock. In fact, the early Christian painters were generally monks and men of the interior life. Raphael had a friar for his master in the divine art. This was friar Bartholomew, the Dominican, who is regarded as one of the greatest painters of the Florentine school. Bramante, too, made his first studies in drawing from the works of the friar Bartholomew. The beautiful miniatures in the Antiphonarium and Liturgical Books which belonged to the choir of the great Carthusian monastery at Pavia, were executed by monks. These ages possessed numerous painters of great excellence, whose names are now nearly forgotten; such as Belius, Verrochio, Montagna, Perousin, Bourdichon, John of Paris. Princes were even celebrated as painters, like the pious Count of Provence, René of Anjou. The passion for the arts was then constantly allied with Christian fervour, and the idea of salvation. Michael Angelo composed his testament in three lines. "I bequeath my soul to God, my body to the earth, my goods to my nearest relations. I recommend them and my friends to bear constantly in mind the sufferings of the Son of God." Art has felt deeply the loss of this profound religious sentiment, and has been reduced to a mere mechanical display of skilful execution, indicating often the most offensive affectation, rather a mockery or a caricature than a just expression of the desire of the human soul.

It is by no means certain that, even in point of execution, the noble arts of design and sculpture were so far behind during the middle ages, when it is supposed they were in infancy: the broad seals of churches, abbeys, schools, cities, and castles, to which an historian may refer with such delight as illustrative of ancient manners, are sufficient to demonstrate the contrary. Many of these, still to be met with in England, are worthy of the finest epoch of art. The seal of a small convent of the fourteenth century, might now make the subtlest workman wonder. What ages must these have been, when taste and beauty extended even to the appendages of their title-deeds! The mutilated images which I saw on the west front of the ruined abbey of Crowland, would not disgrace the cabinets of the British Museum, though placed along with the spoils of the Parthenon. There is a book existing, a Benedictional, written by Godemann, who in the year 970 was appointed first abbot of Thorney, by the founder Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, in which the paintings are a proof of the fact, which will astonish many, that the fine arts in England, in the tenth century, had attained to a high perfection in their noblest capacity. These figures are drawn in the most graceful manner of the antique, and being surrounded with shining gold and fraught with all the simplicity of the old Christian paintings, they unite the perfection of the classic style and the saintly tenderness of the middle ages. That of our Lord's entrance on Palm Sunday, and the portrait of St. Ethelreda, are of such exquisite grace, that the eyes which bend on them seem never to have their fill. The collar of the golden fleece, which the emperor, Charles V. used to wear, which is a chain of gold with twelve medallions, representing the stages of the Passion, is a work of such beauty, that it is doubtful whether any artist, goldsmith, or engraver, at the present day, would be capable of executing it. Of late years, indeed, men have begun to do justice to the arts of

the middle ages. In Germany, copies of its Devout historic paintings are multiplied by means of lithography. The great Catholic painter Cornelius has recalled the art to its religious original. Oberbeck paints in the style of the middle age; and his pictures are inspired by piety and grace. The brothers Eberhard are the living masters of Catholic sculpture, like their fathers of the thirteenth century. But to proceed.

The religious use of images and paintings appears in the first age of Christianity. As Mabillon says, it was most ancient in the Church, and instituted in the first cradles of the Christian religion.* Tertullian describes in what form our Saviour was then generally painted;† and Eusebius mentions the painted images of Christ and of the Apostles which had been preserved from ancient times. St. Augustin alludes to the number of these paintings,‡ and speaks of one in these terms: "Dulcissima pictura est hæc," in which you see St. Stephen being stoned and Saul holding his vestments. St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and other holy Greek Fathers, bear the same testimony to the universal use of pictures and images. It appears also that a symbolical painting of the blessed Trinity was known to the first ages, as was seen in the Basilica of St. Felix at Nola.§ We observe that the chapels in the sepulchres of the martyrs at Rome, where the Christian mysteries were celebrated in times of persecution, are adorned with paintings, of roses, birds, crosses, and images of saints. Some of these I copied in the catacombs of St. Cyriaque, the descent to which is from the garden of the church of St. Lorenzo. The passage to this chapel extends more than a quarter of a mile, and is literally between the dead, whose mouldering skeletons are still remaining in the hollow places on each side. Over the stone altar which was discovered in the baths of Titus, is a fresco painting of St. Felicita and her sons; and on the side walls are images of the Apostles. In the lowest subterranean chapel in the church of St. Martin, you see the mosaic of our Lady, which existed at least in the time of St. Silvester. In the church of St. Denis at Rome is the image of our Lady, which belonged to St. Gregory the Great.

The arts were adopted and cherished by the Church with a parent's care, and the result was a new era in their history. Nothing is more evident, says Northcote, than that the Church of Rome alone has been the creator and sole nourisher of the art in its grandest aspect, from which it has received all its dignity. It has now been clearly proved for some ages past, that there is a moral impossibility in the way of this noble art, in its loftiest aims, ever arriving at any degree of respectability in a Protestant country, where it cannot rise beyond the mechanical exercise of a portrait, or the humble baubles for a cabinet: all its struggles are but vain: as well might we expect to see corn grow on the barren rock.* The spirit of these concessions of a great artist will not be approved of by the supporters of the modern school; but without going into the argument at length, on a subject which is admitted by theologians to be one of those which are named adiaphorus, we may be permitted to observe, in opposition to them, that had the Church never imposed any veneration for pictures and images, which were memorials of the persons and actions they represent, she would have opposed a law of nature, and established what Luther was so fond of,—a distinction between theological and philosophical truth, and made that true by her decrees which reason pronounces to be absurd and impossible. To seek to take any part from the Catholic religion, would be as insane as to wish to expunge a tint from the prism, or a principle from the laws of Nature.

Boleslaus IV. King of Poland, used to wear round his neck a golden medal with the portrait of his father; and when he had to perform any action of importance, he used to move it to his lips, and kiss it with veneration, saying, "God preserve me, my father, from ever doing any thing unworthy of thy royal name."† That an expression of reverence, which the moderns themselves involuntarily admit to be pious when used towards a parent, should become impious when its object was God or his blessed saints, cannot be believed by them without supposing that truth is divided against itself; but many would rather condemn the nature of things than their own error. The grounds on which Christians use images and paintings, as contrary to the abominable customs of Pagans, who, as Niebuhr remarks, believed, notwith-

* Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. sec. 3.
† De Pudicitia, cap. X.
‡ Lib. I. de Consensu, Evang. c. X.
§ S. Paulin. Epist. XII.

* Life of Titian, Vol. I. 397.
† Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 174.

standing what Julian and later sophists might say, that when an image was consecrated, the Deity entered into it as into a body, and dwelt in it,* are shown in detail in that curious Dialogue, composed in the fifth century, between Zachæus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher.†

The first who declared war against the Christian images were the Jews, and also the heathens, in consequence of their detestation of Christ and the martyrs. To them succeeded the Marcionites, Manichæans, and Phantasiastans, who abhorred the image of Christ, because they did not believe that he had taken true flesh, as St. Augustin testifies.‡ In the seventh century, the impure sect of Mahomet severely prohibited the use of images. The Turks have such a horror of all paintings of creatures that have or had life, that with them a naturalist, who should make a drawing of a bird or a fish, would be deemed guilty of mortal sin. In the eighth century, the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, deceived by some Jewish imposters, commenced the impious war against the Church; but he was resisted by the Roman Pontiffs, St. Gregory II. and St. Gregory III. as also by St. German, the patriarch of Constantinople. Under succeeding emperors the Iconoclastic heresy was pursued till the Second Council of Nice, since which it was extinguished in the East. From the twelfth century, various obscure heretics prosecuted it in the West, until the great revolution of the sixteenth century, when it was sustained and established by the civil power in various nations, as it continues at the present day. It is infinitely remarkable that this detestation of images should have been first defended and eventually perpetuated by the secular power, in opposition to the sentiments of such men as St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and other illustrious doctors of the Church, who probably were quite as acute philosophers as the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, Michael Balbus, or even Edward VI. and his sage counsellors. The childish and servile fears of the moderns on this subject were calculated to excite only the sorrow and compassion of the meek, who are inheritors of the earth and of all that it produces. For the

* History of Rome, Vol. II. p. 102.

† Consultatio Zachæi Christiana et Apollonii Philosophi, Lib. I. c. 28, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.

‡ In Lib. de Hæres. cap. XLVI.

sake of an argument, granting it possible that images might be abused, they remarked, that at all events images, like the cherubim, whether representing angels as they appeared to men, or as Clemens Alexandrinus, in his eagerness to discover hieroglyphics every where, fancifully argues, signifying only the rest of the glorified spirits,* were things that, in either sense, the people, surrounded with idolatrous nations, might have abused, and yet they were made by the express command of God. Why were the Jews so expressly forbidden to touch the ark, though a thing inanimate, and to venerate it so religiously, unless because it was an instrument of religion, and because to fall down at the sight of it was nothing else but to adore God, of whose presence it was the symbol? These objectors to paintings and images might as well object to God for having made the lights of heaven so resplendent, and the plants and herbs so beautiful and odoriferous, because Divine honours have been paid to them by erring creatures, deluded by the artifice of demons. This is what even Walafried Strabo says, which shows that the abbots of the ninth century were men who knew what they were doing.† In fact, it may be seen in Mabillon's Preface to the fourth century of the Benedictines, that the great ecclesiastical writers from the sixth century uniformly inculcated the necessity of guarding against abuse, though the most vehement never proceeded so far as to tax with idolatry the practices which they condemned. The writings of Dungal, the recluse of St. Denis, and of Walafried Strabo, evinced more than a reasonable caution; yet "images and paintings are so to be had and loved," says the latter, "that neither the utility be nullified by contempt, which irreverence would then be extended to those whose resemblances they are, nor by an immoderate worship, the soundness of faith be wounded, and too much honour being paid to corporeal things, we might seem to contemplate too little things spiritual." In every age of the Church their use was defended with the most perfect sense, at the same time that there was a possible danger to be guarded against; for where is there not danger for man, who abuses the best things? But it was well understood that, by the mystery of the Incarnation, idolatry was a crime, as Bossuet

* Stromat. Lib. V. c. 6.

† De Rebus Ecclesiast. Cap. VIII.

says, impossible to a Christian; for wherever the Mediator, man and God, was adored, there was no possibility of supposing, like the Pagans, that men could be made equal to God, since their distance from him by sin was so fully revealed by that doctrine. The vehemence of Agabard and Jonas was to be ascribed to the accounts which had been transmitted to the West of the conduct of the Greeks; but the synod of Paris wisely determined, that the peace of the Church in Gaul was to be preferred to this controversy, which then agitated the Greeks. Besides, as was observed by the fathers of the second Council of Nice, the advantage to be derived from imagery, under the spiritual revelation of the Gospel, was something too positive for reason to sanction the neglect of it. The ancients often used the word Γράμμασιν, to imply that a wall or a robe was adorned with paintings, for these were in fact the best letters for most men.* Hence, always to the illiterate, and frequently to philosophers themselves, the walls of a Catholic church were the best of books, and even the windows, which showed many a prophet, and many a saint, served to the end of instruction,† as that of York Cathedral to the east, on which was painted almost the whole history of the Bible. In the Festival, which was a devotional book published in the reign of Henry VII. the use of sacred images was thus clearly explained: "Men should learn by images whom they should worship and follow in living. To do God's worship to images every man is forbidden. Therefore, when thou comest to the church, first behold God's body upon the altar, and thank him that he vouchsafes every day to come from the holy heaven above for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross, and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for thee; then on the images of the holy saints, not relying on them, but that by the sight of them thou mayest have mind on them that be in heaven: and so to follow their life as much as thou mayest." Plutarch, in his Treatise on the manner in which one ought to hear, says, "that while there are many parts of the body through which vice passes to the soul, virtue has but one hold on young persons, which is by means of their ears." The church improved on Nature, and made the eyes and other senses minister to sanctity. To this Dante alludes, saying,

Since from things sensible alone ye learn
That, which digested rightly, after turns
To intellectual. For no other cause
The Scripture, condescending graciously
To your perception, hands and feet to God
Attributes, nor so means; and holy church
Doth represent with human countenance
Gabriel and Michael *——

A most admirable passage on this theme occurs in the great work of Vincent of Beauvais. "Superstition," he says, "is a vice contrary to religion. Superstition is said to exceed the medium of religion, not because it exceeds in doing more in the Divine worship than religion would do, or that it tends more to any thing, but because the worship which it pays, it exhibits either to whom it ought not, or in a manner in which it ought not. It is fourfold—consisting in idolatry, divination, observances, and in paying respect more to the written figures than to the meaning of the words. The first is the most grievous of all offences against God. To God the Creator alone, on account of his singular excellence, is due the worship of divinity: therefore, if one should pay Divine worship to any creature, he incurs the vice of superstition, of which idolatry is a species. If we read of images of cheruhim in the Old Testament, as we now have in the churches images of the Blessed Virgin and of Christ, it is observed that the worship of latria is not paid to them, but they are used to a certain signification, that the images may impress on the hearts of men the memory of the persons they represent, and that faith may be confirmed as to the excellence of the Creator of the angels."† Assuredly, these were not men to stand in need of the counsels of modern spirituality. "The soul never thinks without a phantasm," says Aristotle, "which shows the error of those who seek for intellectual perfection in what is ἀσωματώτατον.‡ Fichte, an authority not to be suspected here, confesses that, respecting its external operation, philosophy is less powerful than painting; for the latter has a sympathetic power to transfuse sentiments into the souls of other men, which philosophy has not: he says, that painting and sculpture are capable of giving to all persons some kind of perception, that there are pleasures which far surpass any pleasures afforded by the senses. In regard to its outward in-

* Eurip. Io, 1159. † Durandi, Rationale, I, 3.

* Parad. IX.
† Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Morale, Lib. III. Pars 3. Dist. 26, 27.
‡ Aristotle, De Animâ, A. F.

fluence, philosophy is worse off than art, since the latter, by a secret magical sympathy, which runs through the spiritual world can elevate even such as are aliens from art, for a few moments, into some communion with it, and can give them a foretaste of her joys; whereas, the mysteries of philosophy are altogether closed to those in whose souls the idea has not burst forth into life. Would you now remark the effect which is produced upon minds of different degrees of cultivation and intelligence, by the images and paintings in the churches? Mark then, first, the impression upon the multitude, from which Dante borrows that sublime comparison,

Like one who comes from far to see
Our Veronica; and, the while 'tis shown
Hangs over it with never-sated gaze,
And, all that he hath heard revolving, saith
Unto himself in thought: "And didst thou look
E'en thus, O Jesus, my true Lord and God?
And was this semblance thine? so gaz'd I then
Adoring."*

Open the writings of Leibnitz and of Lavater, and you will find evidence that the study of philosophy, so far from depriving men of such transports, only renders them more profound. Nature, in her tender and ingenious solicitude for the wants of all, imparts them even to humanity in its lowest state; witness that affecting description by a modern writer, of a poor little deformed orphan, whom a priest of blessed charity had nourished, and made a bell-ringer in Nôtre Dame at Paris. "After all," he says, "this poor creature turned his attention with regret to the side of men. His cathedral sufficed to him. It was peopled with marble figures of kings, saints, bishops, who at least never laughed in his face, but had always for him a tranquil and benevolent look. The very monsters in stone had no hatred against him; they rather seemed to mock other men. The saints were his friends, the monsters were his friends, and the cathedral was to him society, nature, and the universe." All that we have said can give but a feeble idea of the interest, in point of literature, art, and history, attached to the ancient churches; but even this little is sufficient to account for the intense affection with which persons of every description, during the ages of faith, revered and loved them. At Florence, in the Piazza del Duomo, the place where Dante loved to sit contemplating the cathedral is distinguished by a white stone. In the nave is an old painting, in which this poet is represented walking outside of the walls of the city, holding a book in his hand, and the dome of the cathedral appears the most conspicuous object of the landscape. In allusion to the baptistery, he says himself,

—— Saint John's fair dome, of me belov'd.*

Lebeuf is enabled to trace the site of the palace of the pious King Gontran, by observing that of the church of St. Marcel, for whom he had so great a devotion;† and in Spain, the castles of nobility were always constructed so as to front the church. St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluni, describes the grief of kings and people on the burning of the church of St. Martin at Tours, and says, that not only the rustics, who so peculiarly loved the blessed man, but even kings were seen to weep.‡ Petrarch's love for churches appears strongly marked in his correspondence. In a letter to William de Pastrengo he says, "I dwell at Parma, and pass my life in the church or in my garden: tired of the city, I wander often into the woods:" but his chief affection was for the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, to be near which, he hired a house in that quarter of the city. He says that he never entered it without feeling an extraordinary fervour. There was an image of St. Ambrose, said to resemble him. Petrarch was never weary of beholding it. "This great archbishop appeared to give me his blessing. What majesty in his countenance! what sweetness and expression in his eyes! This sight spread over my heart a lively and inexpressible tranquillity. I rejoiced that I came to Milan." Afterwards, when inviting a young man of genius, named Modi, to live with him as instructor to his son John, he ends his letter, which stated the advantages he could promise, by saying, "I forgot our being near St. Ambrose, which may perhaps have more influence with you than all I have said." Hence, we do not find these great Christian poets and philosophers procuring curious or exquisite dwellings for themselves. Petrarch composed his Africa in a gloomy house in a narrow street of Parma; and the house of Ariosto, in the little street of Miresole, in Ferrara, (though, as the inscription modestly states,

* Parad. XXXI.

* Inferno. XIX.
† Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. 213.
‡ De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 146.

suitable to him), is small, and devoid of every advantage which we might suppose would endear it to a poet. But the one was near the cathedral and the other adjoining the great abbey of Benedictines; and this was sufficient.

The temporal power and the voice of genius co-operated with the affections of the people and the faith of the clergy, to preserve the churches from all profanation. The first churches were called Basilicas, as if they were royal dwellings: for even the word in its ordinary usage with the Romans had reference to kingly jurisdiction, though in the litanee at the consecration of a church, the title of regal house is given to it, no doubt, on higher than such temporal and human grounds. According to the statutes of the Council of Lyons, we all decree, said the Fathers assembled at Sens, in the year 1460, that no one in churches shall raise any sedition, or clamour, or confusion. Let there be no councils of Universities, or of any societies held in them; neither convocations nor public parliaments, nor vain and profane conversations.* By the canons of the Council of Mayence, in the year 813, it was forbidden to hold any assemblies in churches for temporal affairs. This sense of what was due to the sanctity of churches, appeared even in warriors and conquerors. Henry, King of England, making war upon Fulco, Count of Anjou, was defeated and forced to fly with great loss of prisoners. Early the following morning the count gave directions to the monks who were in the camp, to prepare to sing a solemn mass; but when they came to the church they could not enter it, in consequence of the crowd of prisoners who had been captured on the preceding day, and placed there in confinement. The count, turning to his own people, grievously reproved them. "What have ye done," said he, "fearing not God, neither having any reverence for men! Are you ignorant that the Jews were severely rebuked by our Lord for this very offence? 'Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.' By the canons of the Church, whose sons we are called, we are told that whatever criminal shall escape to a church, he should be suffered to depart without punishment; and we who judge the land should love justice, that we may live to justice, delivered from sin. Then he called his steward, and ordered him to provide an abundance of meat and wine, that, strengthened with bread and made joyful with wine, these prisoners might all return to their own homes without any ransom: they were in number about five hundred."* Even in their vengeance, the men of these ages respected the churches. Barbarossa,—that name ne'er uttered without tears in Milan,—in pronouncing its destruction, commanded that the cathedral should be spared, as also the Ambrosian Basilica, and the monastery called the Greater, which was enriched with the gifts of the Emperor Otho, in the tenth century, and by Didier, the last king of the Lombards. Philip II. King of Spain, besieging the town of St. Quintin, and having to make a breach, was forced with his cannon to batter down a small chapel on the wall, dedicated to St. Laurence, in reparation of which destruction he afterwards built, under the invocation of the same saint, that famous chapel in the Escurial in Spain, which is, for workmanship, one of the wonders of the world. Even Alaric, when Rome was taken and sacked, allowed the church of St. Peter and that of St. Paul to serve as an asylum. The barbarian soldiers protected the translation of the treasures of the altar, such an influence had the force of the Christian tradition upon the minds of the rudest warriors; so that the security of the churches from the hands of men appeared to become known even to the instinct of animals, for the stork would build her nest on their towers, and by the holiness of its dwelling, secure the right of succession.

Some churches acquired a peculiar interest from the saints who had frequented them in their lives. Thus the church of St. Merri at Paris, used to be visited as that in which St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, when a student of theology in the year 1220, used to assist every night at matins,† and that of St. Etienne des Gres, as that in which St. Francis de Sales used to perform his devotions when a student. Others had claims to veneration of a more historical or poetic kind, as that old Baptistery where were made Christian the great spirits sung by Dante. But all were holy and venerable places corresponding with that desire imprinted in the soul of man which prompts him to seek places even on this earth, where he may feel, that in a more especial manner, God is honoured and adored, and where the very ground is sanctified and holy. Every church, under whatever saint, was consecrated in honour of the holy and victorious cross; every consecrated church had beheld the

* Concil. Senonens. Cap. II. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. V.

* Gesta Consulum Andegavensium, Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, I. 6.

twelve mystic lights which were borne round it in procession, commemorating the eternal light and the lucid mansions where rest the souls of the saints. Sublime are the words of the divine office in the preface of the dedication. "This is truly the house of prayer, the temple of the habitation of thy glory, the seat of unchangeable truth, the sanctuary of eternal love. This is the ark which leads us from the flood of the world into the port of salvation; this the only and beloved spouse whom Christ acquired with his blood, whom he vivifies with his Spirit; in whose bosom, being regenerated by thy grace, we are fed with the milk of the word, we are strengthened with the bread of life, we are consoled with the assistance of thy mercy. This he preserving, militates faithfully on earth, and he crowning, triumphs, everlastingly in heaven." "Who," cries St. Bernard, "would fear to call the walls of this church holy, which the hands of consecrated priests have sanctified with so many mysteries, within which the sacred lessons are read, and the devout whisper of holy prayer ascends, walls which are honoured by the blessed presence of the sacred relics, and where flights of angels are known to keep watch? Yet these walls are not holy on account of themselves, but by reason of those who are sanctified. The house is holy on account of bodies, bodies are holy on account of souls, and souls are holy on account of the Spirit of God dwelling in them."* Men there are indeed, who have yet to learn with what veneration, as St. Jerome says, they ought to regard the Catholic altar, its sacred chalices, and holy veils, and other things pertaining to the worship of our Lord's passion; who have yet to learn that these are not empty things without sense or holiness, but that from their connection with the awful mysteries of our Lord, they are to be venerated with the same respect.† They have been accustomed to assume the manners of those who ascribe all things to fortune and deny a Providence.

Atque adeo intrepidi quæcumque altaria tangunt.

But the profound awe and scrupulous reverence with which St. Jerome used to enter the churches‡ continued during the ages of faith to move the mind of Christians with respect to them. The primitive Christians used never to enter the churches without washing their hands and putting on their

* In Dedicat. Ecclesiæ, Serm. IV.
† S. Hieronymi Epist. LXXXVIII.
‡ Epist. XXXVIII.

cleanest apparel.* The inscription which was on several of the vases for the blessed water in the churches of Paris, ΝΙΨΩΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ, was said to have been originally engraved on that of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.† Kings took off their crowns, and in some countries it was even the custom to make bare the feet at the threshold. "Follow my advice," said St. Jerome to a heretic, "enter the churches of the martyrs, and you will soon be cleansed. You will be kindled not by those lighted tapers at the tombs of the martyrs which displease you, but by invisible flames, and you will then confess what you now deny."‡ This remark leads me to the conclusion, for it completes the explanation of the secret, why such importance was ascribed in a spiritual philosophy, even to the material temples during the ages of faith; why they were constructed with such zeal, and preserved with such veneration. From what motive do you ask were men so indefatigable in constructing and preserving these magnificent churches? Was it, as a late writer says, from the want which they felt of something visible to demonstrate the power of unknown and confused principles? Was it from any such vague indefinite speculation, or for any positive object of mere temporal good and national glory? No; the modern philosophers may languish over their proud theories respecting them; their feeling artists may admire and attempt to imitate them; under the encouragement of those who frequent them like the bats in former times, who used to feed upon the oil of their lamps, there may be some who are ready to do full justice to their admirable grandeur, in an architectural or even in a poetical point of view; but they must be seen in another light, and with more philosophic eyes, if men would rightly understand their true connection with the ages of our past history; they must be considered in their character of Catholic sanctuaries disposed for certain specific moral ends, towards furthering the sanctification of souls, and hastening the number of the elect, as having their splendour within; and as being remedies and instruments of deliverance for the wretched captives of this world.

Churches were formerly asylums to save men from the death of the body, and still they continue to be spiritual asylums, to

* Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, Sect. I. 65.
† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, III. ii. 425.
‡ Advers. Vigilant.

which men can fly at every moment and escape the death of the soul, recover the joy of salvation, and be strengthened with a perfect spirit. Behold them, for instance, on the vigil of a festival. But if you be of those who are with error yet encompassed, let me first attempt to instruct you. Ah! it is afflicting to see you enter our churches! What furious or what suspicious looks do you dart at the holy place, as if, in the obscurity of this vast edifice, you supposed that God was concealing an avenger, armed to inflict punishment on you for your own calumines and for the sacrilege of your fathers! But no: thou art within the house of peace. Here thou must all distrust behind thee leave; here be vile fear extinguished. This choir resounds with the sweet hymns of evening, and all these retired chapels along the nave, are thronged with children preparing for their first communion, or with weeping penitents confessing their sins, and hearing the wonderful words of the Catholic church, which she alone can pronounce,—penance and restitution. Tranquillized as to what respects yourself, say where do you find indications here of unknown and confused principles? but mark with joy and with astonishment how this sublime work, raised by mortal hands, encompasses and assists a mighty spiritual operation! Here is a spectacle to give delight to angels; for here is visible, to the eye of those winged messengers, the elevation of innocent souls to God; here they witness that which in heaven makes the wheel of justice run counter to the edge, the sinner's cheek stained by the precious streaming tears of self-accusing: here they mark the first steps of a renovated life, resolutions to forgive enemies, perhaps to forget your reproaches, your calumnies, vows to found hospitals for the poor, to deliver the helpless, to forsake all things for Christ.

"The whole sacred place ought to be held by us always in great reverence," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "on account of the many benefits which are there vouchsafed to those who there devoutly pray. For there the penitent sinners receive pardon; the just, returning thanks merit grace; the poor, lamenting and praying, receive alms; the rich, showing mercy, merit for themselves in return God's mercy; there the priest, celebrating, offers to God, for himself and many others praying on bended knees, the sacrifice worthier than all sacrifice. There the devout supplicant at mass meditates with tears on the sacred passion of Christ. There the stranger and traveller, wandering over the earth and sea, receives a blessing, and Jesus Christ as a faithful friend and guide, who leads all wanderers safe through every way. There the youth, who serves the priest, supplies the place of an angel. There the communicant receives the most holy body of the Lord, the food of angels, the most precious of all gifts. There, before going to his daily labour, the disconsolate receives comfort, the timid confidence, the contrite spiritual joy. There the tempted finds a remedy, the distracted counsel, the fainting help. There the sound receives support, the sick medicine, the dead by prayer that riseth up from the heart which lives in grace, deliverance from penal fire. It is good therefore to enter the house of God, to go about the tombs, to contemplate the relics and images of the saints, suppliantly to adore the sacrament of Christ, not to discuss high things, or wish to penetrate difficulties, but secret things humbly to venerate, and profound things to commit to God. For truth deceives no man. Almighty God can do all things. Brethren, mark these portals, and remember now is the time of grace; a little while and we can seek and knock, a little while and we can merit an eternal kingdom. Lo the gate of heaven is not yet shut; the doors are open for all who will to enter them. O faithful and humble soul, consider how great is the mercy of God upon thee in all thy life, which still delays and waits for thee. O happy church: truly in thee is a hidden God, an infinite treasure, a copious redemption, an everlasting safety. Human eye seeth not, nor can any finite intelligence penetrate that mysterious ineffable presence of heaven's great Lord, the almighty foe to ill. O salutaris hostia quæ cœli pandis ostium, wondrous things are related of thee, to whom, by high effect of surpassing grace, nothing is impossible, who canst in mercy or in judgment do all things in heaven and in earth! Let weak and frail man prepare himself then before he enters the church, remembering what majesty is there veiled, and presuming not of himself, but seeking pardon in holy fear with the publican, that he may deserve with Lazarus, in the future country, to find eternal rest.* That men to whom such thoughts were present, might forget all that material beauty and sublimity of arches and towers, which alone arrest the attention of those who have never beheld churches, unless in their perverted and desecrated state,

* Thom. de Kempis, Sermonum Pars III.

should fill no one with surprise. But it is from considering them in their spiritual point of view, as sacramental instruments, assisting sinners to enter upon salvation's way, and as supplying that living water, of which those who drink shall never more feel thirst, that you can comprehend the consolation of those who, with faith and meekness entered them, and that you can explain why those very doors, as at the four basilicas of Rome, are literally worn down with the kisses of the faithful: it is from such reflections that the disciple of the modern religions, who returns from visiting the threshold of the apostles, may perhaps gain sufficient wisdom to exclaim with Jacob, when he rose from sleep, "Truly that place was holy and I knew it not."

The privileges of sanctuary, attached to the churches in the middle ages, so secure from violation, even from the most flagitious, in consequence of the terror inspired by the tradition of the deaths of Robert de Clermont, Marechal of France, aud of John de Châlons, Marechal of Champagne, who broke open the gates of St. Mèry, need not detain us long. For that of Westminster, Shakespear has inspired us all with a poetic affection. That of the temple still gives its name to an adjoining street. In the old time, long before the house of Durham was suppressed, the abbey church, and all the church yard, and all the circuit thereof, was a sanctuary for any man that had committed any great offence, and fled to the church door, knocking at it, to have it opened. "There were certain men that did lye always in two chambers over the said north door, for the purpose, that when any such offenders did come and knock, straitway they were let in at any hour, and then they did run strait way to the Galilee hell and did tole it, to the intent that any man that heard it might know that some man had taken sanctuary: and when tho prior had intelligence thereof, he sent word and commanded them to have a gown of black cloth, made with a cross of yellow, called St. Cuthbert's cross, set on the shoulder of the left arm, to the intent that every one might see that there was such a privilege granted by God unto St. Cuthbert's shrine for all such offenders to fly unto for succour until such time as they might obtain their princes pardon; and likewise they had meat and drink, bedding and other necessaries for thirty-seven days at the expence of the house, till such time as the prior could get them conveyed out of the diocese."* There is something in this ancient privilege which pleads forcibly in its defence, at least where poets are the judges, one of whom after describing a poor victim who had taken sanctuary in the church of our Lady at Paris, concludes thus: "We may add that the church, this vast church which surrounded her on all sides, which guarded and saved her, was itself a sovereign source of calm. The solemn lines of this architecture, the religious attitude of all the objects which were before her, the pious and serene thoughts which disengaged themselves, as it were from all the pores of this stone, produced an impression upon her. The edifice also had sounds of such blessedness and of such majesty, that they soothed this suffering soul. The monotonous chaunt of the clergy, the responses of the people, sometimes inarticulate, sometimes thundering, the harmonious vibrations of the glazed casements, the deep and solemn bell murmuring from the towers above, made her lose the memory of her woes and soothed her imagination. Thus each sun that rose found her more consoled, with healthier looks, less pale." But the need for sanctuaries has ceased. They have nearly every where disappeared; and though in Italy, in the fifteenth century, that real age of darkness, from the clouds which attended and facilitated, if they did not even occasion, the rise of heresy, the asylums or sanctuaries were dreadfully abused, we may with truth apply to them as they existed in the middle ages, the observation of Müller, that in heroic times those institutions must have been of double importance which checked the fearful consequences of a rash act, sanctified the workings of an uneasy conscience, or rather gave time for reconciliation with God, and provided against the eager thirst for revenge which would have involved both the aggressor and the injured in equal misery.

* The ancient Rites and Monuments of the Church of Durham, 71.

CHAPTER III.

BUT it was not alone within towered cities, or the walls of vast basilicas that religion gave to the meek the possession of the earth. Religious men possessed the isles of Iona and Lindisfarne, and hermits wild rocks in the desert sea. For those who lived well, who gave their hearts to God, and placed their happiness in him, the whole world was but a temple, as Vauquelin, the Lord of Iveteaux, said in his address to princes.* "To a faithful man the whole world is full of riches," as St. Bonaventura said, "fideli homini totus mundus divitiarum est:—for all things good and evil are made to serve him."† Whatever in creation was beautiful, being referred to the glory of God, who alone is the origin and source of all things, was part of the inalienable inheritance of the meek, so that Louis of Blois says, "If you once possess God you possess all the rest. He comprises within himself all that delights our hearts and gives us pleasure. Being himself the model, the first type of all things, he is every thing: he is the increated essence of all that is; for without doubt, in his eternal science, he has had from all eternity the plan and idea of all that he has made; all that has received existence from him has been known to him always, has always lived, and will live for ever in his divine thoughts. We ourselves have in this manner been eternally present to the thought of God. In this sense we are in him from all eternity; in this sense we are uncreated, because in him, in his thought, all things live eternally. Thus, in the essence of God are the models of all things which remain for ever without degenerating. Whereas in this material world, made for our senses, we have only, as it were, the signs and emblems of real things. Now these signs and emblems pass with time, but the perfections of the Creator are everlastingly the same."‡ "Seek whatever you wish," says St. Augustin, "nevertheless you will find nothing dearer, nothing better than Him who made all things: seek him who made, and in him and from him you will have all things."* "Observe," says the holy Eucher in a letter to Valerian, "that what I say here is entirely in accordance with that attachment which we all have for life. Yes, it is the interest of this love of life that I speak to you now on the part of God: for if you find such sweetness in it, all miserable and rapid as is this life which passes, ought you not to feel far more attached to that which will be eternally happy? ought you not to desire to perpetuate that which gives you so much pleasure, to add a thousand new charms to a state which is already so agreeable to you? in a word, to render infinite and immortal this imperfect and transitory happiness, which, notwithstanding its deficiency, appears still worthy of all your affection?" We see, therefore, how the saints were disposed to enjoy and to sanction that present possession of the riches of the visible nature, which was promised from the mountain. It seemed to them as highly useful in the two first of the three conditions of the internal life, in correspondence to which the holy church proposed the recital of the gradual Psalms, on which foundation the great Bellarmin composed his book De ascensione mentis in Deum, which Cardinal Bona said should be read by all those who desire to understand the invisible things of God, by those which are made, and who greatly wish not so much to know as to use the mystic steps of spiritual ascension, for whom what serves to the ruin of others becomes an instrument of elevation, to whom the aspect of creatures is a ladder of ascent, not a stumbling-block of offence.† It seems then as if this seat of earth were to them like heaven; as if angels might repose there or wander with delight and love to haunt her sacred shades; their days are only a constant ecstasy, their soul a song of praise. These are the meditative souls described by the poet, whom solitude and contemplation elevate irresistibly towards ideas of infinity,

* Gouget, Bibliotheq. Française, Tom. XVI. 113.
† Meditationes Vitæ Christi, c. XXI.
‡ Institutio Spiritualis, cap. VIII.

* Tract. in Ps. xxxiv.
† De Divina Psalmodia, 289.

that is, towards religion: all whose thoughts turn to enthusiasm and prayer; whose whole existence is a mute hymn to the Deity and to hope; who seek in themselves and in the creation which surrounds them steps on which they may ascend to God, expressions and images to reveal him to themselves, and to reveal themselves to him,* because God is clearer seen by reflection in his creatures than in his essence, as the sun in the morning was seen first by the Sidonian servant who looked towards the west when he beheld its light shining upon the mountains. Profound and astonishing are the meditations of holy men respecting the love with which these sanctified creatures may be regarded by a meek and faithful soul, living in deep discernment of goodness celestial, whose broad signature is on the universe. For "what is paradise?" asks the author of Theologia Germanica, "Paradise is whatever exists: for whatever exists is good and delightful and agreeable to God. Therefore also it exists and may rightly be called paradise. Paradise is also said to be a vestibule or a suburb of the celestial kingdom. Thus also every thing that exists may well be called a suburb of eternity. For creatures are a demonstration and a way which leads to God and to eternity. So all things are a vestibule and suburb of eternity, and therefore, may deservedly be styled paradise. In this paradise all things are allowed to man excepting the fruit of one tree, and that is self-will, or the willing of any thing contrary to the eternal will."† Here arises a question. Since all things ought to be loved, ought sin to be loved? The answer is, that it ought not: for when it is said "all things," good is understood; for all that exists is good inasmuch as it exists. The Devil, as far as he exists, is good. In this respect, there is no such thing as evil, or what is not good. But sin is to wish, to desire, or to love something contrary to God and to wish this is not to exist, therefore it is not good. In brief, nothing is good unless inasmuch as it is in God; but all things, as far as they exist, are in God, and indeed much more than in themselves; therefore all things, as far as they exist, are good. If there were any thing which was not in essence in God it would not be good; and to wish and desire any thing which is against God, is not in God, for God cannot wish or desire any thing against God, or otherwise than God, therefore that is evil and not good, and also clearly it does not exist."* Let us remark here, that in this manner the desolations introduced by heresy were unable to disturb the possessions of the meek; for all that existed in heresy was good and catholic; its negations corresponding with all evil, did not exist, for they were against God; but all that remained could have been used by Catholics and was used by them: heresy therefore is truly nothing, excepting in the form of speech. St. Anselm pursues the same argument. "Sin and evil," he says, "are said to be nothing; for God made all things, and all things made subsist, and all substance is good in itself. Therefore, what is called evil is nothing but the absence of good: heresy is nothing but the absence of Catholicism, as blindness is the want of sight, and darkness the absence of light."†

This restored harmony between the soul of man and nature, is one of the mysteries of the Catholic religion, respecting which Baader makes divine reflections. "When God the original and positive centre of man dwelt within him, man knew centrally all nature; but since through sin nature has been transposed and materialized, deprived of its primitive spirituality, and that God dwells in man only in an external manner, man no longer knows things centrally but views them from aside, and from a part of the circumference." The effect of faith and meekness consequent upon it, is to restore man to his centre, and to reconcile him with the universal order; for as St. Thomas says of light, that it meets with nothing contrary to it in nature, since darkness is only the absence of it in places to which it has not penetrated, so in nature there is no opposition to God, nor to the will of those who are united to him. The saints, therefore, have a devout love for nature, because it is in the divine order; and they have a human affection for it, because, as Frederick Schlegel says, they can at present perceive in it certain indications, as it were, pointings and winks, which it is impossible to overlook, denoting a sympathy with the desires and hopes of their own hearts. In general nature is only the silent echo and earthly repetition of the divine revelation; and yet it is not without ground and meaning, when it is said in allusion to the great day of universal deliverance, that nature like a groaning creature sighs for it with an unutterable longing.‡ "Do the elements per-

* De Lamartine Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses, Tom. I.

† Theologia Germanica, cap. XLVII.

* Theologia Germanica, cap. XLV.

† S. Anselmi Epist. Lib. II. 8. Elucidarii, Lib. II.

‡ Philosophie der Leben, 93.

ceive God?" asks the disciple in the dialogue Elucidarium, ascribed to St. Anselm, to whom the master replies, "God never made any thing which was insensible. For things that are inanimate to us indeed are insensible and dead, but to God all things live and all things perceive their Creator."* Not without reason then may it be affirmed that the meek of faithful ages loved and possessed the joys of nature in all her variety of creatures, of hours, and of seasons. Truly to their perfect spirits sweet was the breath of morn; sweet her rising, with charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun

"When first on this delightful land he spread
His orient beams; on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Glistening with dew:"——

to them, indeed, the heavens were a ceaseless hymn, and each hour was a morning. The tribe of lowly ones may have left for the silent cloister, raftered halls of state, and the paths to the forest glade where knights were wont to hold their tournaments, yet not the more ceased they to wander where the muses haunt, clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill, smit with the love of sacred song. It is related in an ancient life of St. Maur, from an old manuscript, that St. Babolein, the first abbot of the abbey des Fossés used to recite the Psalms every night on certain great stones in the river Marne.† Such was his employment all through the night, while Philomela wept, and renewed her piteous song from bough to bough. Peter the venerable, mentions too, a certain holy Carthusian monk, who used often to spend the night in the open air in order to contemplate the sky and the works of the Creator.‡ Daniel's fountain near Malmesbury, was so called from the holy Bishop Daniel, who was fond of spending whole nights at its side while singing the praise of God. Gervais, the excellent Archbishop of Rheims, a holy, learned, and prudent prelate, had so loved forest wanderings in his youth, that he placed before the gate of his palace a brazen stag, with an inscription, stating that he did so, in order to be reminded of his native woods. They loved the clear fountains, and the asphodel meadow, and the countless forms and tones of that admirable nature which each returning spring seemed more fair than

* Lib. I cap. 5.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. V. 161.
‡ S. Petri Ven. de Miraculis, Lib. II. c. 29.

ever; it filled their eyes with pleasant tears to trace the goodness of their God in these his lower works, and they no longer wondered that the Samaritan woman should have recognised, and confessed the Messiah at the fountain whom the Jewish people knew not in the temple.* What a deep sense of the loveliness of this beautiful earth is shown by the Capuchin friar Lombez, where he reproves the complaints of earthly sadness, and traces expressions of horror for the world to a root of dangerous melancholy.† "If," saith he, "amidst so many riches and beauties we are in a hard exile, as we are in fact, the dignity of our souls must be very great, and our true country wondrous fair, and the love of God for us surpassing all conception, since he banishes us to such an admirable world, a place so adorned with all kinds of loveliness."‡ Even the austere Carthusian order, bred in the ancient forest, the deep stable of wild beasts, rejects not the possession of nature's softer beauties. Witness Calci's holy pile, with its lovely cloister, and its separate gardens, so fair and odoriferous with orange trees and every sweet flower, with its enchanting groves of olives clothing those surrounding Apennines, which are seen through long vistas of arches. The Hexameron of St. Basil, a kind of course on natural history, was preached during the fast of Lent both morning and evening: the scientific part is defective, but one of the greatest modern writers admits that the details are charming. The history of plants and animals gives rise to moral instructions, a common practice of the middle ages, as when those cones of the pine which cover the mountain side, composed of a multitude of grains which are kept in close union by a resinous cement, are said by father Elzear of Archer to be an emblem of religion which consists in the union of many persons connected by charity; or as when father Diego de Stella compares the pleasures of the world to those reeds which when they shoot out first in the spring of the year, do with their fresh green colour delight the eyes for a while, but if you do break them, and look within them, you shall find nothing there but emptiness and hollowness; or again, as when Dante compares the dropping away of earthly pleasures to the fall of the light autumnal leaves,

* S. Hieronym. Epist. XCV.
† Traité de la joie de l'ame.
‡ Id. chap. VIII.

"One still another following, till the bough,
Strews all its honour on the earth beneath;"

or as when Albert the Great shows in his eighth book on animals, that in their instinct we should recognise the divine wisdom, since in whatever degree possessed by some, it is still but the universal instinct, and not greater in one than in another, excepting that it may be more developed in some by certain circumstances. All creatures were objects of their love, so that even the authors of fable conceive a case of one who condemned himself to a voluntary penance for having killed a faithful dog. The multitnde of dogs without masters which are found in Lisbon, is attributed to the sensitiveness of the Portuguese, and their unwillingness to deprive any animal nnnecessarily of life.*

Monteil, in describing the virtue of the French curates, takes care to show that one point of their charge to rustics and peasants was to be kind to their animals.† He qnotes one question in an ancient tract De Institutione Confessorum, from the chapter concerning husbandmen and rustics, in which the demand occurs "si boves nimis fatigavit unde destruantur." "The sorrows of beasts," says Frederick Schlegel, and he expresses but the sentiments of men in the ages of faith, "are certainly a theme for the meditation of men, and I could not agree to the justice of regarding it as a subject unworthy of reflection, or of permitting sympathy with them to be banished from the human breast."‡ And yet to plead in behalf of that sympathy would now be often considered an indication of a weak or defective intelligence; and rather would he seem of sound and perfect nature who would be willing to partake of that amusement of the Roman epicures which Seneca describes, of watching the mullet expiring in the channel on the table, in order to observe how its golden and red colours faded, so alive are men to every barbarous joy! The notion of religion as compatible with natural savage cruelty and hardness of heart was unknown in the middle ages. St. Pius V. prohibited the bull-fights as inconsistent with piety.

The monk Frodoard, speaking of St. Remi, in his History of the Church of Rheims, says, that "his sanctity moved not only rational creatures but even tamed those that are without reason, and that one day as he was giving a familiar repast to some intimate friends and rejoicing to see them happy, some sparrows came down and began to eat crumbs out of his hand;"* he relates also that St. Basle, who lived as an anchorite on the mountain near Rheims, having saved a poor beast that had fled from the forest, pursued by a hunter whose dogs seemed to forget all their ferocity on approaching his little cell, it used to be remarked by all hunters in that forest ever afterwards that any beast who could gain the heights in that forest was safe, for that then the dogs would lose their ardour and the hunters their courage.† St. Meinrad, the hermit of Einsiedelin, in the ninth century, after the example of St. John the apostle of charity, had tamed two ravens which showed their fidelity at his death, by pursuing his murderers to Zurich with horrible cries, which led to their detection.‡ The same affection for animals, is expressly ascribed to St. Anselm, St. Francis, and many other great servants of God. St. Francis used often to say his canonical hours with the birds, near their leafy houses. St. Bonaventura describes the rapturous joys of contemplative devotion by a divine irradiation in the mind as exerting an influence even externally upon the body, and filling the soul with a desire to embrace every creature of God, sometimes impelling the body to motion, and at others to rest from excess of sweetness. Then whatever the mind beholds it considers it as abounding with a certain divine sweetness.§ The master of the sentences declares it to have been the opinion of the holy fathers, that no creature would have been poisonous, or hurtful to man if he had not sinned.‖ In the ages of faith men believed that the friends of God would be protected from the evil which nature had contracted; they evinced an affection even for inanimate creatures which were not exclnded from the sphere of their benevolence. St. Severinus repented having uttered an imprecation on the tree whose branches had wounded him as he hastened to serve a church, and alighting from his horse, he prostrated himself at its roots, and besought God to spare it. St. Gregory of Tours, says, that this noble saint used to gather flowers in the season

* Letters on Portugal to Orosius, 11.
† Hist. des Français, Tom. III. 384.
‡ Philosophie des Lebens.

* Lib. 1. cap. xii. † Id. Lib. II. cap. 3.
‡ Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.
§ Stimul. Divini Amoris, Pars III. cap. 6.
‖ Petr. Lombard. Sentent. Lib. II. Distinct. 15.

when lilies unfolded their beauteous forms, and that he used to fasten them on the walls of his church.* On the external walls of churches, these humble plants were carved in stone, as we read of Melrose.

> "Spreading herbs and flowerets bright,
> Glistened with the dew of night;
> Nor herb, nor floweret glistened there,
> But was carved in the cloister arches as fair."

The holy vestments used in the abbey of Lindesfarne were adorned with figures of the wild animals that lived upon the neighbouring shore. Books of hours used to contain lessons in agriculture attached to the calendar: these appear in the Heures de Rouen in Gothic letters and in many others. The miniatures of the ecclesiastical calendar represented the rural labours of each season, which are also sculptured along with the signs of the zodiac on the front of the cathedral of Cremona, built in 1274: and on the brazen gates of Loretto, the rustic youth beholds an image of his own occupations in the noble figure of Adam, breaking the ground in pursuance of the primal sentence. Nor was it only in speculation that nature was enjoyed; the undertakings of men in the middle ages, in favour of material interests, were as arduous as our own, though generally for a nobler end. Dante does not disdain to borrow a similitude from the Flemings, "and their mound 'twixt Ghent and Bruges to chase back the ocean, fearing his tumultuous tide that drives towards them, and from the Paduans and theirs along the Brenta to defend their towns and castles, ere the genial warmth be felt on Chiarentana's top." But mightier tasks than these were accomplished by the Teutonic order in Prussia, of which the greatest was the Cyclopian bank of the grand master Meinhard, in the thirteenth century, between Elbing and Marienburg, to prevent the inundations caused by the Nogat and the Weichsel, by means of which a vast portion of land was reclaimed and made subservient to human wants. During six years thousands of men and thousands of waggons were employed day after day till 1294, when the amazing work was finished. The wanderer in our day stands rivetted with astonishment at the spectacle, and admits that the name of Meinhard must be immortal. "His magnificent works proclaim how excellent he was," says the old chronicle, "for he dared to undertake a thing which other men would not have had courage to imagine."* In ages when the ideal of justice was believed to be St. Louis seated after hearing mass at the foot of an oak in the forest of Vincennes, making his friends sit round him, and then giving audience to all who had business to transact with him, it is not strange that independent of motives of public economy the beauties and interests of nature should have become even an object of legislative care. The wisdom of the middle ages provided by a multitude of minute statutes and practices for the preservation of forests and secured their perpetuity. To protect the celebrated pine forest near Ravenna, many sovereign pontiffs issued briefs, testifying the utmost watchfulness in its regard: as in the Virgilian line alluding to the provision of the early Roman laws,† the woods were deemed worthy of consular solicitude. The simple manners which prevailed among all classes of society kept men familiar too with the humble charms of the animal world. The δῖος ὑφορβὸς was a personage belonging to our Christian annals. The blessed confessor Paschalis, when a youth, tended the flocks in the fields, and he ever loved that kind of life, as being favourable to the exercise of humility and the preservation of innocence. The occupations of agriculture form part of the work entitled the innocent pleasures by Platina of Rome. The sons of kings used to be familiar with their flocks upon the mountains, beauteous with wild flowers, as the Pass of Storek and the Leitern See, which looks on Engelberg's holy pile. Charlemagne, every morning after mass, used to pass in review the poultry of the lower court. We read of many nobles in the middle ages who believed, as Poggius says, that a country life and the woods, conduce more to the attainment of nobility than cities, and who would have approved of no passage in Cicero's Orations more than that in which he asks, "What cupidity could be in Roscius, who always lived in the country, and was occupied in agriculture,—a life greatly removed from cupidity, and connected with duty."‡ Men were then subjects, but not citizens,—a term which the modern sophists have adopted, without troubling themselves to reflect upon its meaning. In the heathen time, city

* De Gloria Confessorum, 50.

* Voigt. IV. 34.
† Petrus Crinitus de Honest. Discuss. IV.
‡ Pro C. Roscio, Amer.

states really existed, as in the Athenian and every similar democracy, where each citizen was in some way settled in the city, and had the right of possessing a house there. Even in Homer's time, every thing that concerned the government of a state was connected with the city, and the military families and the nobles dwelt in it.* Hence, it is viewed in Homer as a disgrace or a misfortune for a noble to live among the bondsmen in the country, which was abandoned to labourers of the soil. Hence the distinction between the term an Athenian and inhabitant of Attica. Even Plato used the former as a more honourable appellation than the latter, though Müller remarks, that even in Athens there was among the people a constant struggle of feeling between the turbulent working of the democracy and the peaceful inclination to their ancient country life. The Christian state left men free to choose the latter, which religion sanctified, and the term of citizen could thenceforth only be applied in its natural and classical signification, to denote those who had a corporal residence in cities.† The country was no longer left exclusively to the rustic labourers: the priests of holy Church spread themselves over it; the nobles were attached to their ancient forest life; and we read of many who in youth, or in seasons of recollection, from a desire of greater innocence, would have deigned, like Apollo, to dwell beneath the roof of Admetus, mixing with his menial train, driving along his flocks, whether they roved through the winding valley or rested in the upland grove. So clear and powerful is Nature's voice, that even Socrates, after all his arguments to prove the superiority of the city to the country, was no sooner seated peaceably in the cool shade of the plane-tree, on the banks of the Ilissus, than he confessed that he felt the sweet influence of that retreat. "O dear Phædrus," he exclaims, "do I seem to you, as to myself, to be experiencing a divine impression?" and his companion replies, "Truly, O Socrates, contrary to custom, a certain flow of eloquence seems to have borne you away." And he resumes,—"Hear me then in silence; for in fact this place seems to be divine."‡ This loving familiarity with nature was inseparable from men in whose hearts resided so deep a tone of the eternal melodies; but so also was the conviction which experience had given to St. Augustin, that it was not nature alone, or the beauties and delights of earth, that could ever satisfy the soul of man: "that which it seeks is the true and supreme joy, which as St. Bernard says, is derived, not from the creature but from the Creator, which, when received, no one can take from it, to which, in comparison, all gladness is affliction, all tranquillity pain, all sweetness bitterness, all that can delight, vexation." The pretended revelations of nature, independent of that tradition by which society exists, are but the empty boast of a vain philosophy. Left in the presence of nature alone, uninformed and unsanctified, man degenerates rapidly into a savage state. Without religious worship, which is the realizing of the abstract idea of the divinity, that idea would soon be effaced from his thoughts; and, as Lord Bacon says, "No light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God.* However conducive to the physical enjoyments of man, experience shows that a life in the country, without the constant resources of the Catholic religion and its rites, becomes in the end completely a Pagan life, natural in its motives as well as in its pursuits and pleasures. Without an altar, not the shade of the lofty groves, not the soft meadows, not the stream descending from the rocks, and clearer than crystal, winding through the plain, can sanctify the soul of man. Left in the presence of nature alone, it faints and becomes like earth without the dew of heaven; it is oppressed by the contemplation of that vast immensity; it loses its tranquillity and its joy. Man in himself can find no rest or peace: and how should he find repose in the works of nature, when these are themselves for ever restless? The fire mounts in a perpetual course, always flickering and impatient; the air is agitated with conflicting winds, and susceptible of the least impulse; the water hurries on, and knows no peace; and even this ponderous and solid earth, with its rocks and mountains, endures an unceasing process of degradation, and is ever on the change. Besides, how should spirits of human kind find content in nature, when, as the Stagyrite proclaims, nature is in most things only the slave of man?"† But in his Creator has the crea-

* Od. XXIV. 414.

† An instance is cited by Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. III. 484.

‡ Plato, Phædrus.

* Advancement of Learning.

† Aristot. Metaphysic. Lib. I. 2.

ture present rest, and in the pledge of grace revealed supernaturally from on high, has he eternal peace, immortal felicity. We must leave the laurels, and the fountains, and the swans, and all the harmonies which resound along the margin of rivers, and we must enter the streets with the multitude, in quest of that temple of peace where the Lamb of God is offered up for sinners. Abandoned to nature, the man who is endowed with a delicate and sentimental soul, is found to breathe only the vague desires of the modern poet, whose ideal may be seen in that Burns, of whom we read that "he has no religion; his heart indeed is alive with a trembling adoration, but there is no temple, in his understanding: he lives in darkness and in the shadow of doubt: his religion at best is an anxious wish—like that of Rabelais, a great Perhaps."* The error of the modern poets consists in their not viewing the visible world in union with the mysteries of faith, and in supposing that a mere description of its external form can satisfy even the thirst after poetic beauty, which is inherent in our nature. Dante is blamed by them for mixing scholastic theology with his song; but it is precisely this very mixture which gives that charm to it which attracts and captivates the thoughtful heart. The same error is committed with regard to life; and while spirituality and faith, with all their beauteous expressions and sublime affecting symbols, have been effaced, instead of increasing, proud and sensual men have forfeited the possession of the present good. The earth is infected by its inhabitants and its joy is passed away. Observe the character of those cantons of Switzerland where the Catholic religion is unfelt, and men are left in presence of nature alone, without an object or a sound to recall the images of faith. What overpowering melancholy reigns in those valleys, notwithstanding all that dressing, fattening, harrowing, and distillation of the earth, in hopes of gain! What a silence is there, excepting when interrupted by the fall of avalanches, the roar of torrents, and the eternal sighing of the winds! What a moral blight has attended the political demarcation of the territory! There are indeed, here and there, some immense enterprises for the sake of profit and pleasure, some unsightly buildings, the fruit of careful speculations to afford luxury and ease to the distempered inhabitants of licentious cities, who come here in the summer season, in hopes of enjoying some vague dream of Arcadian life, united with the solid advantages of the Epicurean form; but no where do you see the beautiful chapel or the venerable cross; no where any thing to realize a tender or a sublime idea; no sacred sentences, no devout image, to exalt men to the spiritual life. You pass, as on the borders of those Berne Lakes, whole villages without a church; and upon the sloping lawns you can only hope to find some ruins of a convent, or the tower of some ancient church, which you will find converted into a barn or a magazine. Yet even amidst the devastated valleys, covered with sand and rocks and the bare trunks of broken pines, ploughed up with the rains and burnt by the fire of the summer's day, which now present that pale and horrid aspect of a fearful nakedness, the Catholic religion would have planted her peaceful and her beauteous trophies. That religion has left the stamp of her genius and the imperishable monuments of her faith in the deserts of the East, and on the wildest rock of Alps or Pyrenees, amidst the lions under the fires of the tropic, as well as amidst the bears and icebergs of the pole. Where is there a garden of more rich and beauteous variety than in the very valleys surrounding the tracks over which heresy has passed? Even to the mere poetic soul, what a delightful accompaniment to the silent hymn of nature is that chiming of angelic bells which rises at evening and at noon, and at the sweet hour of prime, from all sides of a Catholic valley?—bells that may well be termed of the angel, that are not rung, as in other lands, by base hands, through love of sordid gain, to celebrate some occasion of sensual joy, temporal and vain, soon to change to mourning as vain, but by pious hands, through the devout intention of inspiring men with thoughts of prayer. How inspiring is it to hear the great bells of the abbey of Engelberg at the fourth hour of the morning, awakening the echoes, amidst the rocks and eternal snows of Titlis, and piercing the vast forests of the surrounding Alp! What consolation to the weary pilgrim, when stopping to shelter from the storm under some covered bank which charity has erected by the mountain's side, he beholds, even there, some poor prints, representing in successive stages, the sacred passion of our Lord, and dictating some seraphic

* Edinburgh Review, 1828.

aspiration! How sweet and cheering,—and in a philosophic point of view, how important,—is all this, and how it cherishes and strengthens our young affections! But as the swimmer in the blue flood of the arrowy Rhone sees the pale line of snow-fed waters issuing from the devasted bed of the Arve, and no sooner, plies his right arm to be borne up that new channel, and enters its sullen wave, than instantly a sudden cold and deathlike chill strikes through his whole body; so is the full glow of youthful devotion checked and chilled when we pass from Sarnen to the Scheidek, or from Soleure and Freyburg to the shores of the Leman Lake. Protestantism knows no neighbourhood: it goes on repeating its old and barbarousinv ectives, like those sullen waters of the Arve, which pass down with the Rhone in the same channel without blending into it, without losing their chilling aspect or acquiring the least portion of its warmth or of its purity. And would you know how the loss of the joys of the Catholic faith is felt by those of the moderns themselves, who seem to have a finer and more spiritual nature? Hear these lines that are enough to make the blood weep from one's heart:—

"Alas! our young affections run to waste,
Or water but the desert; whence arise
The weeds of dark luxuriance, tares of haste
Rank at the core, though tempting to the eyes;
Flowers whose wild odours breathe but agonies,
And trees whose gems are poison; such the plants
Which spring beneath her steps as Passion flies
O'er the world's wilderness, and vainly pants
For some celestial fruit forbidden to our wants."*

The ancients tried all the means which imagination could propose or wealth and power execute, in order to enjoy Nature, and avail themselves of her possession. The Emperor Adrian, after visiting the provinces of his empire, wished to concentrate, at his country villa of Tivoli, whatever had most struck his attention. There he built the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytanea, as they were at Athens. There he formed the valley of Tempe, like that in Thessaly; there he constructed the Canope, like that near Alexandria. All this was not sufficient: he conceived the design of representing there the Elysian fields: but at this stage he was attacked by the mortal illness of which he died at Baia. The poor insatiate moderns too, in vain attempt to satisfy themselves with the beauty of parks, and the imitation of nature, in lakes and gardens, interspersed with objects of heathen art and the plants of eastern clime, the cypress and her spire:—

"They show the plants divine and strange
That every hour their blossoms change,
Ten thousand lovely hues!
With budding, fading, faded flowers,
They stand the wonder of the bowers
From morn to evening dews."

Then comes the complaint of Gilbert, lamenting that the hopes of genius, the joy and triumph of nature, should be at an end. "Unhappy guest at the banquet of life, I appear for one day and die! I die: and on my grave no one will scatter flowers. Farewell, fields that I love! and thou, sweet verdure! and thou, smiling solitude of woods! Sky, beauteous canopy for man! admirable Nature! for the last time farewell!"* And even before they learn to contemplate this separation, after all their pains, there is, even amidst these beauteous bowers, the

"Something still that prompts the eternal sigh!"

For, even to the mere poetic imagination, nature alone cannot suffice; and in Paradise itself, man could not be happy if God or his angels did not visit him. They look around from their fairy halls, and inhale the ambrosial aspect; but do they not sometimes lament that, when evening sinks o'er the earth, so beautiful and soft, there sounds no deep bell in the distant tower, no faint dying-day hymns steal aloft from cloistered cells, to make the forest leaves seem stirred with prayer? Their own poet represents his hunter looking from the steep promontory upon the lake, and exclaiming, "What a scene were here, could we but see the turrets of a convent gray on yonder meadow!"—

"For when the midnight moon should lave
Her forehead in the silver wave,
How solemn on the ear would come
The holy matin's distant hum:
While the deep peal's commanding tone
Should wake in yonder islet lone
A sainted hermit from his cell,
To drop a bead with every knell."

Sweet is the breath of morning: but when so sweet as during those early walks between paintings of the sacred Passion, to the first mass of the Capuchins, whose

* Byron.

* Ode, written eight days before his death.

convent crowns the towering rock, or is embosomed in the odoriferous grove?

"The youth of green savannahs spake
And many an endless, endless lake,
With all its fairy crowds
Of islands, that together lie,
As quietly as spots of sky
Among the evening clouds."

Lovely is this painting of your Wordsworth, but would it acquire no fresh charm from thinking of those convents, which might cover them, as in those islands of the Adriatic gulf, seen from the towers of Venice, and from the music of those bells, which would sound along its shore, for the angelus or the benediction? might not the vesper hymn suggest a sweeter image than occurs in the Virgilian line, which speaks of the hour in which begins the first rest of wretched mortals?* Contemplate again the seasons of the year; see what a charm descends upon the enamelled garden, from its reference to the altar; for why, cries the tender poet, "O flowers, raise ye your full chalices to the light of morning, why in the damp shade exhale those first perfumes which the day breathes? Ah, close them still, flowers that I love; guard them for the incense of the holy places, for the ornament of the sanctuary. The sky inundates yon with tears, the eye of the morn makes you fruitful; you are the incense of the world, which it sends up to God."† Sweet is it to recline, composed in placid peace, upon the shady lawn, when violet and hyacinth, with rich inlay, embroider the ground, more coloured than with store of costliest emblems, and to hearken to the verse of some wild minstrel, who sings by the clear stream which flows through the meadow, on a summer's day; but sweeter still to hear the litanees and hymns of holy church rise from the midst of waving corn, when her annual rogations implore a blessing on the first fruits of the earth, and when the cross and banner of her bright processions glitter through the darksome foliage.‡ Nor are thy reviving sports, innocent and playful youth, insensible to the universal influence of the church's season. Well I know how dear to the bold swimmer is the plunge into the clear blue flood of the impetuous Rhone, which hurries him along amidst froth and waves, sporting as in a bed of waters, or the fall from those projecting rocks, which stand at the entrance of the Gulf of Lecco, under that noble promontory on which stood the Tragædia of Pliny; but there is to him even a sweeter moment, when winter first departs, and he hastens to the remembered pool, along the embowered banks of the bright stream which first hears the sweet bird that harbingers the spring, and there gathers those budding osiers, which each returning year our mother Church puts into his hands to serve as palms, to be borne on that day of mystic triumph, when she celebrates the entrance of the Son of God into Jerusalem. These are the resources of a northern clime; but yet, methinks, even thy stately forests, noble Valencia, where innumerable old and lofty palm trees shade the shore of Alicant, would lose half their interest to the Christian eye, if their branches were not yearly thinned for that solemn festival, and sent in offering to the eternal city. In a country stripped and dismantled by the modern philosophy, one lives only in visible presence of what passes, like the leaves of the trees, or the flowers of the field; and the youthful race, which is the most susceptible of the charms of nature, like summer flies, is sought for in vain, when autumnal rains have cooled the rivers, and despoiled the bowers of their foliage. Without very extraordinary grace the progress of seasons and of years is felt by the noblest dispositions, which are the most apt for every change, with an emotion of deeper and deeper melancholy; but in a Catholic land one consorts continually with things that never die; and as one grows older, one only feels as if endowed with higher and higher privileges, which are to be crowned at length in the last supernal state, to which death is but the momentary passage.

This mutual influence of nature and faith, multiplying and expressing each other's joys, was profoundly felt by the meek possessors of the earth during the middle ages, and hence arose a number of beautiful monuments, the mouldering ruins of which still adorn our country, though their origin and object may have been long forgotten. Historians record the profusion of oratories which were destroyed in England when the new religion was first established. These little chapels, embowered amidst the pale ivy or the myrtles that love the shore, were common in the days when

* Æneid, II. † De la Martine.

‡ The benediction of the new fruits of the earth used to be celebrated on the feast of the Ascension, that of orchards on the festival of St. James the Apostle, and that of the new grapes on the day of St. Xystus.*

* Martene, Tom. IV.

above all things the woods were dear to men, and the divine muse was beloved everywhere, found to be sweet amidst the woods, and sweet upon the waves, combining all the fabled charms of Orpheus and Arion. Petrarch beautifully moralizes upon the fountain of Vaucluse, and declares that it is his resolution to raise an altar there in the garden which hangs over the water. "It shall not," he continues, "be dedicated, like those of Seneca, to the gods of the rivers, or the nymphs of the fountains, but in honour of the Virgin Mother of that God who has destroyed the altars and demolished the temples of all other gods." The month of May was called the month of Mary, when men would devoutly repeat her office as they walked in some garden, bright with the sweet hue of eastern sapphire that was spread over the serene aspect of the pure air, at the rising of the sun, and beheld the swans majestically resting on the limpid waters. The waters too were claimed, and images of saints and hermits, and mitred fathers, were seen, stretching the hand of benediction over them, as at the Balhian promontory on the Larian lake. The course across the Lagunes, for eighteen miles from Venice to the Camaldolese convent on the isle of St. Clement, is marked by an image of our Lady, with a lamp burning, which seems almost to touch the sea, over which it casts so far its placid beam. In the midst of the lake of Garda is a point, mentioned by Dante, where the bishops of Trent, Verona, and Brescia, would have the right of giving their benediction; and I have heard the sweet and solemn sound of litanee or sacred hymns rise from boats of pilgrims, bearing cross and holy banners, across Lugano's lake, when boat used to respond to boat while onward hastening.

Wherever a wild and broken rock projected, or a beauteous hill rose from a river's bank, there was sure to be some spot dear to piety, which scholars and poets would unite to celebrate, like that of Mount Valerian on the Seine, which forms the subject of an elegant Latin history by Briezac. As the morning sun first visits the mountain heights, so does the great and admirable sun of justice make his grace to shine first at the door of the solitary hermit, and of those who live retired upon the points of rocks. When St. Vincent of Paul was ordained priest, he repaired to a chapel situated on a mountain in the midst of a wood, near the river Tarne, and there he said his first mass. The presbytery of St. Vit of Mont-Meillan, being on the side of a hill, commanded a most beautiful view over the country. The curate, in the year 1695, thought this garden was too beautiful to be left without rendering service to religion. Accordingly he had the piety to convert it into a Calvary, with grottos and cells for prayer; so that a crowd of devout people used to come there on Sundays and festivals from the neighbouring parishes.* Marchangy makes his traveller of the fourteenth century remark, that as he mounted the heights of Fourvières at Lyons, the view became so enchanting, that he was almost certain to find at the summit of the mountain some place of pilgrimage. "For I have remarked," he adds, "in the course of my travels that religion never fails to invite tender or suffering souls to places, whose natural beauty attests the power of the Creator."† The fields and level shores were, indeed, associated with religious mysteries: for, that standing of Jesus by the lake of Genesareth when the multitude pressed upon him, that seeing of the two boats and the occupation of the fishermen, that walk through the corn with the disciples on the Sabbath, of which men had heard from infancy always in the same sweet season of the summer,‡ made such an impression, that they could never enjoy the beauties of nature, or the recreations of a country life without thinking of their blessed Redeemer; but mountains were especially dear to religion from the remembrance of that mount whose name has given an universal and beloved fame to the pale verdure of the olive, from that of Thabor, and Sinai, and Ephreim, which fed the holy Samuel. It was on mountains that God manifested himself to the Hebrews of old, and it was on them that the tremendous mysteries of human redemption were accomplished. Mountain heights, enclosing on their brown and mossy moors the spot where earliest wild flowers grow, were dear to village children, but so were they also to the eye of faith, as symbolical of a religious life; for mountains are the abodes of the most noble animals, the lion and the eagle; the source of the mightiest and purest streams; the soil congenial to the loftiest trees, the cedar and the pine; the places most secure to helpless innocence, in consequence of their distance from the haunts of men; the spots which are

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. V. 544.
† Tristan, Tom. V. 333.
‡ Fourth Sund. after Pentecost.

the first and last to enjoy the golden light of day, and which afford the farthest prospect over this world of woe.* During the ages of faith in reference to the holy enclosures on their summits, it might with truth be said, that the mountains distilled sweetness, and the hills flowed with milk and honey; for there was heard at many seasons of every year a voice of the multitude on the mountains, as if of a people gathering, a voice of the sound of kings and of the nations assembling. Then used each man to say joyfully to his neighbour, "Come, and let us ascend to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths; because a law hath gone forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

The blessed John of the Cross distinguishes three kinds of holy places, that is, places where God is accustomed to excite the will to devotion. The first are certain spots rendered agreeable by the extensiveness and variety of the view, by the verdure of trees and plants, by solitude and silence. The end in employing such places is to elevate the heart to God. Almost every Christian city, and even village, was adorned and consoled by some place of this kind, on which a Calvary was erected, where devout persons went at all times to pray; and where at intervals, as on the festivals of the holy cross in May and in September, the whole population would assemble then in peaceful pilgrimage, to assist at the divine offices celebrated in an adjoining chapel, and to hear some man of God discourse upon the love of Jesus. Such was the Mount Valerien near the city of Paris, where hermits had resided since the eleventh century, whose sweet solitude even kings protected, for in the year 1633 there was a royal decree forbidding any one to keep a hostelerie upon that mountain nearer than the village of Surêne.† In the house of the missionaries on the summit, it was the custom to admit laymen who desired to make retreats. The Cardinal de Noailles came there every year for that purpose, and the Cardinal Boromeo used in like manner to retire to the Calvary on Monte Varale, where were represented the mysteries of the Passion. Here were fields of roses, which embalmed the air with their sweet fragrance; and when the multitude assembled, such peace and joy beamed from every countenance, that one might have thought that the reign of universal order was already come. One of the first acts of the sophists who wrought the last revolution, was to throw down the crosses and desecrate the sanctuary, that all men might know them by their fruits. The second kind, continues the blessed Friar, are particular places, whether solitary or not, in which God is known to have had extraordinary intercourse with just men, thither sending his winged messengers on errands of supernal grace, so that these persons continue ever after attached to them, though it is not the place but the soul which draws down the grace of God. Thus Abraham raised an altar on the spot where God had appeared to him; and in passing by it on his return from Egypt, he again worshipped there; and Jacob also made an altar of stone in the place where the Lord appeared to him. Such are the famous church of the Portiuncula and the seraphic mountain of Alvernia in Italy, exhibiting those wondrously split rocks, which a pious tradition ascribes to the earthquake at the death of Christ, and clothed with that deep and solemn wood, which so often beheld the secret wanderings and heard the infinite sighs of the fervent servants of God, Francis and Anthony, where the former, while praying at day-break on its rocky side, received the stigmata which his limbs two years did carry. Such, too, is that high mountain called Cruachan Ailge, in Ireland, so memorable for having been the place where St. Patrick spent a Lent in great abstinence and solitary meditation. The places where hermits had lived or where holy men used to preach, were often called ever afterwards the holy place. Thus, in the diocese of Paris, there is a lieu-saint, so called from St. Quentin having lived there a recluse. There is another lieu-saint in the diocese of Coutances near Valogne, where holy solitaries lived under the first race of kings. In Germany there is Heiligenstad, where Dagobert I. had a vision of saints.* That tower of Ader, where St. Jerome says the angel appeared to the shepherds that were watching their flocks by night would be a place of the same order. The third kind of places are those which God has destined, by an especial choice, for his service. Such were Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb.†

* Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet ou le Paradis de la Religion du Seraphique Pere St. François, p. 10.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. VII. 129.

* Lebeuf, Tom. XIII. 188.

† B. John of the Cross, ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. III. c. 41.

The Carmelite friar Nicholas, who describes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1487, visited these holy mountains, to which he could travel only by night, through the midst of horrible deserts. Arriving at length within view of the convent of St. Catharine, he says that every one wept for joy. The monks received them with great charity, but the pilgrims were only disposed for prayer. After mass matins were sung, after which every one retired to rest for the remainder of the day. The pilgrims disposed themselves to visit the holy places of the mountain by confession and devout prayer. On Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb, he says, there were many holy chapels to honour the spots which are consecrated by events of the sacred history. He describes his ascent and the views from the summit, and no book of modern travels will convey the same impression of reality as this holy man's simple relation. In few words he makes you behold the two mountains of Sinai and Horeb, and the holy places and the dreadful wilderness, and the Red Sea with its desert islands and the horrible mountains of Thebaid.* The moderns have lost the idea of holy places, and are often disposed to condemn and ridicule those who have retained it. Had they been with Moses upon Horeb, they would have imagined some figure that would dispense their making bare the feet. Let us pause a moment, therefore, to hear the sentiments of men in ages of faith respecting the origin and influence of that idea. In the first place, they needed not the discourse of Milton to teach them as a general precept,

> —— "that God attributes to place
> No sanctity, if none be thither brought
> By men who there frequent, or therein dwell."†

This was a Catholic maxim, which he had gathered, as many things besides, from the writings of the olden time. St. Bernard had said, "Let no one flatter or congratulate himself respecting a place, because it is said, this place is holy, non enim locus homines, sed homines locum sanctificant;" to which words the pilgrim brother Nicholas alludes, saying, "Le canon dit, l'homme fait le sainct lieu, et non le lieu fait la saincte personne."‡ "Neither do holy places," says Walafried Strabo, abbot of Fulda, "profit those who lay aside holiness, nor do horrid places injure those who are protected by the grace of God. The angels fell in heaven, whereas Moses was preserved in the waters; Daniel among the lions, and the three children in the fire."* St. Peter the venerable, abbot of Cluni, writing to the monks of Mount Thabor, exhorting them to be especially devout and fervent, from the consideration, not only of their being Christians and monks, but also because they inhabit a holy place, desires them to remember well that a holy place can never save them.† "As for these places of pilgrimage, and the extraordinary graces which are vouchsafed to those who visit them," says the blessed John of the Cross, "the reason of their existence is to give occasion for more ardent fervour and opportunity for men to awaken their piety. It is for this end that miracles are wrought in those places where the faithful assemble to offer up their vows to heaven, in sight of the sacred images. Their faith in God, their confidence in his goodness, their singular devotion for the saints whom these celebrated images represent, and their continual prayers, sustained by the intercession of the blessed, obtain from God these extraordinary prodigies, of which the whole glory returns to the Creator. We find that these operations generally occur in places where the painting or image is some simple and common work, and where the place itself is retired and solitary, far from the haunts of men, where simplicity and faith alone are favoured, where the length and difficulty of the journey may prove the devotion of the heart, and where the solitude of the place itself may deliver the pilgrims from the noise of the world, and favour their devotion, as when our Lord withdrew to deserts and to mountains for his prayer."‡ The zeal with which such places were visited by the early Christians may be learned from St. Augustin, where he says, "Brethren, recall to mind how, on any festival of the martyrs, when any holy place is named for any certain day, the crowds flow in together, to celebrate the solemnity. How they excite one another; how they encourage one another, and say, Let us go; let us go; and when it is asked whither? they reply to such a place, to such a holy place: they talk together, and as if catching fire from one another, they kindle into one flame, which impels them to that holy place which saintly meditation

* Le grant voyage de Hierusalem, Paris, 1517.
† Paradise Lost, XI.
‡ Le grant voyage à Hierusalem, f. CVIII.

* De rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. XIII.
† Epist. Lib. II. 44.
‡ Ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. III. c. 35.

points out to them. Such is the holy love which makes men visit temporal places of sanctity. What then ought to be their ardour in hastening to heaven."* If men would only observe what passes within themselves with regard to human things, they might learn to understand the principle of devotion to holy places, with regard to God: for instance, they esteem one chapter of a favourite book more highly than the rest, because they remember having read it in presence of a friend who is now absent. If they have executed any work of art while conversing with him, they prize it more than all others on that account. What intense and subtle feeling connects itself with the most trifling circumstance which has any relation to the earthly affections of the heart! and so it is with those who love God in his saints. Their habits, the staff they used to bear, the chamber they used to inhabit, the rock on which they used to pray, the well from which they drank, the sepulchre where they repose, become precious and venerable and holy.

From St. Gregory of Tours we can learn the usual mode in which such places were visited, for he says, "On one occasion, as I was going about the city of Lyons to visit the holy places, the man who walked before us coming to the crypt of the blessed Helius, invited us to pray, saying, because a great priest rests in this place."† Cold ungrateful men may argue or contemn, but reason will admit the wisdom of a devotion which is founded in the deepest principles of our nature. Ah, why are men so undoubting and résolute to admit an excuse for omitting the memory of God; why so backward and forbidding, so full of scepticism and difficulties, when an occasion is offered of invoking him? Never can I lose the remembrance of that evening of sweet peace, when with the holy monks of Vallombrosa I went the round of all their blessed spots, sanctified by the wondrous life and blissful death of the ancient eremites of that cloister, when the narrow cell which had sheltered one, the rocky bed on which another had expired, and every other revered memorial was visited with solemn litanee or hymn to Christ's blessed mother, or offering of glory for everlasting to the trinne God. Thus did we ascend that mount of Paradise, when each step they invited me, thoughtless and obdurate, to turn from nature unto nature's God. To Vallombrosa one repairs with recollections that centre upon the poesy of Milton, and from it one returns with a mind refreshed, exalted, enraptured with a sense of that supernal music which can be known fully but where day endless shines. By the erection of stations in some retired spot, in the neighbourhood of every town, the church proposed to multiply places which, by the representation of our blessed Saviour's sufferings, might move the hearts of her children to greater fervour, and serve as a perpetual instruction to the ignorant: and in connection with the great historical facts and awful mysteries of religion, these affecting memorials of piety contributed to the riches which the earth was found to yield to the meek in ages of faith. What was the idea of their institution? at Jerusalem was their original. There tradition has preserved even many circumstances of the passion, which are not related in the Gospel. The spot is shown where Mary met Jesus bearing the cross; driven away by the guards, she took another road, and was found again further on, following the Saviour. It is Chateaubriand who thus speaks: "Faith is not opposed to these traditions, which show to what a degree this wondrous and sublime history has been engraven on the memory of men. Eighteen centuries passed over, persecutions without end, unceasing revolutions, ruins piled up, and still ever increasing, have not been able to efface or conceal the trace of this divine mother weeping for her son!" The Church was well aware of the impressions felt by those who visited these stations, and with her constant tender solicitude she endeavoured to provide the same for all her children. Every town and village, therefore, furnished places where, in some degree, they might be experienced by those who had a devout heart and sincere contrition. There, after the business of the day was over, when the angelus had tolled and the hour came when nature makes that awful pause and inclines the soul to meditation, the pious youth or holy matron would steal softly from the crowd and repair thither, to shed the sweet undiscovered tear on the Mount of Olives, on the spot where Pilate cried Ecce Homo! on the place where our Saviour sank under the cross, on that where he said unto the women, Weep not for me, and so on the rest. At Rome these were represented in the Colosseum, within that very inclosure where such multitudes

* Tractat. in Ps. cxxi.
† De gloria Confessorum, 62.

of martyrs had followed Christ to the bitterness of his passion. On certain days the clergy, followed by a devout multitude, visited these places in procession, sung the litanee, recited prayers, and delivered a short instruction. Nor was this all. Innumerable crosses of stone or wood were erected by the public ways, in the heart of forests and amidst the wildest scenes of nature, on bridges, which heard amidst the eternal murmur of the streams, the chaunt of nocturns in the night, and on the craggy summit of islands, that lay far in the melancholy sea; that no place might be left without the symbol of human redemption, and the memorial of the passion of Jesus. Descending from the mountain of St. Bernard, under that fort of Bard, in a spot which seems made by nature herself for the destruction of an army, and where modern art now vies with her in appalling frowns, with what delightful surprise does one discover the peaceful images of heaven's mercy, the Madonna and the cross! Time was when England too possessed them. In the vast fens surrounding Crowland, we read of there being immense crosses placed, as on the boundaries between Holland and Kesteven, Alderlound and Goggisland.* In the ancient groves, too, which never heard the woodman's stroke, amidst the giant trunks' projecting withered arms, like that forest which clothes the shore of Bolsena's Lake, through which the pilgrim mounts to Montefiascone, you would find the cross to sanctify the melancholy shade. Thus we read in the books of chivalrous fable, how the knight errants used to hang up their shields by the stone crosses in the forests. In poetry, as in nature, we sometimes come upon them suddenly with glad surprise. How impressive is that instance, amidst a battle-scene, in the lay of Marmion, when Clare looks round for water to slake his dying thirst as he lay wounded on the wild heath, near a stone cross:

"Where shall she turn? Behold her mark,
A little fountain-cell;
Where water, clear as diamond spark,
In a stone basin fell,
Above, some half-worn letters say,
Drink, weary pilgrim, drink and pray
For the poor soul of Sybil Gray,
Who built this cross and well."

Frequently, too, these were memorials also of historical events, to which piety gave an immortal remembrance, as at Ravenna, near which a simple Greek cross indicates the spot where formerly stood the superb basilica of St. Lorenzo, founded in the year 396, and destroyed in the sixteenth century. King Philip, carrying the body of St. Louis, his father, from Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, wherever he halted to repose crosses were erected on the spot, which stood till the revolution. On the similar occasion of the body of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I., being conducted from the north to Westminster, those beautiful crosses were erected, of which the ruins may still be seen at Waltham and other places. At Rievaulx Abbey, when the body of St. Wilfred had been washed, and the water then poured out upon the earth, a wooden cross was erected on the spot.

The first amongst the Christians who opposed the worship of the cross was Claudius, a Spaniard, in the ninth century, and in the same age the Paulicians, who appeared in the East. The Wickliffites called the images of the cross putrid trunks, less estimable than the trees of the wood, for the latter, said they, had life, but these were dead, a passage which shows how profoundly these first reformers could philosophize. The succeeding heretics were animated with a most invincible hatred against the crosses, so that they disappeared every where before them, while statues of kings, in the heathen style were erected in their stead, as at Charing Cross, the demolition of which was effected amidst loud cheers from an immense multitude. Yet such was the inconsistency of these men, who mistrusted or condemned the impression produced by the representation of the cross of Christ, that some of them were heard to say, that they could never hear the loud solitary whistle of the curlew in a summer noon, or the wild cadence of a troop of grey plover in an autumn morning, without feeling an elevation of soul, like the enthusiasm of devotion. Our forefathers, too, may have known nothing, or next to nothing, of the structure of their souls, but yet they could give a reasonable account for their attaching more importance to the impressions which they felt at the sight of a cross, than to any of the seeming caprices of their nature. "The mere sight of a crucifix is never useless to the soul," says Louis of Blois, speaking of the spiritual ascetic.* "A Christian of orthodox faith," he says again,

* Hist. Croylandensis in Rerum Anglic. Script. Tom. I. and Ingulphi Hist. p. 39.

* Institutio Spiritual, cap. VI.

"can never behold the image of a crucified Redeemer without great utility."* "The moderns are not unwilling to kiss the books of the Gospels before a judge," observes Bossuet, "and what is the cross but the whole Gospels in one sign and character contracted? What is the cross, unless the whole science of Jesus Christ crucified? Why then should we not kiss that and bow the knee to it?" Does not the very instinctive aversion with which it is regarded by all enemies to Christianity prove it to be holy? What other inference can be drawn from those late horrors in Gallic land, where the symbol of salvation was overthrown with such demoniacal ferocity, and replaced by the symbol of the revolution, by that of Atheism? The moral influence of the Christian symbol was so clearly seen by its enemies, that among the articles of capitulation to be observed by the Christians on the fall of Jerusalem, the Turks stipulated that they should place no crosses upon their churches, nor bear them or the Gospels about in procession, and that their bells should not be tolled, though they might be allowed to observe their religious rites in all the churches already built. Elsewhere, indeed, the same enactments, with the exception of the latter indulgence, were enforced by men who continued to profess a belief in Christianity; but the results proved the acuteness of the Sarassin policy, and the folly of those who, with different intentions, imitated it. By degrees, the race which had lost faith lost also the memory of Christianity; its thoughts were wholly engrossed with business or political debates, or with the delusive phantoms of sense; if it heard mention of God having come down on earth, chosen apostles, and sent them to found a religion, the impressions excited were not different from those with which it read the history of Romulus or Alexander. Now one can easily understand why, in a Catholic country, such a godless crew should feel startled and disquieted; for there men may indeed fall victims to passion, may aspire to rob or remain tangled in a net of sensual delight, but never for a single day can they forget the great and awful facts of the Christian dispensation. Faith has raised too many memorials of its history and of its mysteries for their minds, to be ever reduced to a state of nature or mere animal perception, that is left without either the consolations or the terrors of religion.

Thus, then, during ages of faith, was nature enjoyed in connection with religion, by those to whom meekness imparted the privileges of simplicity. Thus was the exterior and interior life brought into perfect harmony, so as to produce that expansion of the heart which is the real cause that makes a Catholic country so delightful to men of good-will; for so sweet is it to them, that "they whose verse of yore the golden age recorded, and its bliss on the Parnassian mountain," may be thought to have foreseen it in a dream. The earth was adorned with beauteous monuments, and the luminous air itself seemed to diffuse sweet harmony, not alone those wild and melancholy strains of which the poet speaks as heard in Scottish land, rising from the bands of busy harvest,

> "When falls before the mountaineer,
> On lowland plains, the ripen'd ear;"

but oftener, as in the neighbourhood of Rome when peasants in the evening return from the vintage, some litanee or sacred hymn, for even festive songs, like those of that devout people, had in some manner still a religious burden. The author of the Martyrs ascribes this custom of pious ejaculations and responses by the rustic labourers to the first Christians, and traces it to the days of Ruth.* In the time of St. Jerome, the labourers in Palestine conducting their carts, and the husbandmen in dressing their vines, used to refresh their spirits with the chaunt of Alleluia, and the presence of Christian youth was recognized by hearing the shepherds and peasants singing canticles of devotion by the side of their flocks, a scene which then recalled the primitive innocence of the pastoral life of the ancient patriarchs. The old French kings endeavoured to promote this custom by their paternal ordinances, which said, "Let all sing on the Sabbath, going to vespers, or to matins, or to mass, chaunting Kyrie Eleison; and in like manner let the herdsmen of cattle sing as they go into the fields or return to the house, ut omnes eos veraciter Christianos et devotos esse cognoscant."† Wandering among the olive groves of Fiesole, I have heard children in cottages chaunting the Kyrie Eleison, while mothers at the

* Enchirid. Parvulorum, Lib. I. doc. XII. append.

* Lib. II.

† Capit. Carol. mag. 202. Liv. VI.

doors handled the distaff and the flax. The very reverence with which the humble friar and the village pastor were regarded was a source of social and serene enjoyment to the people among whom they walked. Their sweet and holy countenances were felt as a benediction, in the same manner as the entrance of the unblessed feet of modern sophists is always felt as an interruption to joy, though these are the men who have the confidence to speak of applying their moral energies to the gradual extinction of Catholicism, and the consequent increase of social enjoyment, "as if," cries an excellent writer, "men who are themselves incapable of social enjoyment, their principles being a condensation of selfishness and repugnant to all sociability, their rudeness, and even ferocity of look and manner, being sufficient to enable travellers to recognise them in any place, could increase or secure social enjoyment in others." In short, the meek felt themselves in every object that struck their senses, and at every hour of their existence, endowed with hidden riches, and in possession of an innocent and a happy earth. If they had lived more years than Abraham, they would not have had time to use this long series of sanctified pleasures and natural enjoyments which life distilled, drop by drop, sweetly and secretly upon their lips. Thus "through a wilderness of primy sweets that never fade they walked in thoughtfulness, and yet expectant of beatitude more high."

So far we have considered the blessedness of the meek in relation to the material advantages which could be drawn from the possession of the earth. It remains to take a brief view of the more spiritual and interior riches which were attached to that inheritance, and the attempt to show in what manner it became subservient to the extension of intellectual good will be the object of our next disputation.

CHAPTER IV.

IT is the object of our enterprise to discover in what manner the meek, in ages of faith, availed themselves of the intellectual treasures which the earth is capable of yielding, and for this purpose we must direct our thoughts to those spiritual and interior riches which are derived from poetry, from learning, and from friendship, for it is clear that, in one sense, these rise to mortals from the earth, and are an essential part of its inheritance. Of themselves, too plainly imperfect, and liable, as experience proves, to the most lamentable abuse, we shall find that they were ennobled, perfected, and secured by an alliance with the principles of faith, which gave purity to their object and stability to their possession. Poetry was perhaps one of the original gifts which the bountiful Creator attached to the present condition of man's life, in order to enable him to sustain the wretchedness of his exile. Philosophers observe that the sensible world, being inferior in dignity to the rational soul, poesy seems to grant that to human nature which history denies, supplying shadows in place of substance to the mind; and Lord Bacon says that if any one should examine attentively, a firm argument is derived from poesy that there is a more illustrious and perfect order of things than can in any manner be found in Nature herself after the fall; therefore, as realities cannot satisfy the mind, poesy feigns actions more heroic; it corrects history, and therefore conferreth not only to delectation but to magnanimity.* Pindar had remarked that truly there are many things wonderful, and that legends adorned with varied fables lead away the minds of mortals more than a true discourse."† Yet if attention be paid to the original source of all poetic fable, there is deeper penetration shown by Homer, where he invokes the muses as divinities who

* De Augment. Scientiæ, Lib. II. c. 13.
† Olymp. I.

alone know all things, and then adds, but we hear only rumours and know nothing:

"ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.*"

"Fancy itself," as Frederick Schlegel observes, "is one of the essential groundworks of consciousness. It is in its foundation nothing but memory; and what we commonly call fancy is in fact only a delirium of the memory."† True art and all higher poetry, is the beautifully adorned summit, the promising blossom, nay, the very flower of hope.‡ "And man," as he says, "from childhood to youth, from youth to manhood, from manhood to death, is, above all other creatures, a being of hope."§ The same view is taken by Huet, in accounting for the disposition of men to love romance: "It arises," he says, "from the faculties of the human soul, which, being too vast in capacity to be satisfied with any present object, seeks gratification from the past and the future, from truth and fiction."‖ St. Augustin had said that those fictions which are significative and emblematical are not falsehoods, but figures of truth, of which some of the wisest and most holy men have availed themselves, and we find the same doctrine well explained and diffused in the middle ages, in proof of which we may witness the words of John of Salisbury, where he says that "the lies of the poets serve truth;"¶ and those of Christine de Pisan, where she says, "although in general the name of poesy be taken for some fiction, and though it is a common saying, Les poètes mentent de moult de choses, yet the end of poetry is truth, to advance which these feigned images are formed, enveloping the real and occult sense."** Indeed, such has been the universal judgment of mankind. The Persians, who had such a reverence for truth, and who regarded every species of lie with such horror, were nevertheless peculiarly fond of works of ingenious fiction, and many of their books of instruction for youth were in the form of romances. Their legislator Zoroaster employed fabulous adventures for this object. Strabo says that their masters of youth gave their precepts of morality in tales and fictions.

* Il. II. 465.
† Philosophie der Sprache, 136.
‡ Id. 190. § Id. 125.
‖ Huet, De l'Origine des Romans..
¶ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. II. cap. 6.
** Livre des Fais et bonnes Mœurs du sage Roi Charles V. Liv. III. chap. 68.

Seneca observes that the ancient Romans made frequent use of fabulous adventures for the purposes of instruction; and Macrobius reckons works of the nature of romances among those which administered instruction with delight. In the middle ages the title Romant was applied to true histories, as to that of Du Guesclin, for it signifies any work which was written in the langue Romane; but it was at length applied exclusively to those works which, as Huet observes, were true in their details, and false only in their general object, which differed from many of the ancient historians only on this account, that they were false in their details, though faithful in their general outline. After all, romances in this sense had their orgin in the beautiful East, and they were allied to those parables which have the highest of all sanctions. Huet supposes the Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, Indians, and Syrians, to have been the first writers of romances, and he shows that the great authors of antiquity, who composed romances, were all of oriental origin.* Aristotle, and after him Cornutus and Priscien, mention the Libyan fables. The Arabs brought their romantic poetry into Spain; but their dominion, during the first period, so far from assisting, kept down and stifled the genius of that people, and by imposing the Arabic tongue, put off the rise of the Spanish literature, so that Italy, Provence, and even Normandy, had their poets and writers in the language of their country before Spain had produced any. A Spanish bishop complains, that while his people can write verses in Arabic, they cannot say their prayers in Latin, by which he meant the Spanish in its infant state. In the hands, however, of the ecclesiastical and chivalrous writers, the object of romance became, in the middle ages, still more under the influence of idealism and allegory. Josaphat, Percival, Arthur, Wigalois and Tschionatulander, were mystical personifications of sanctity and knighthood. According to the doctrine of Boethius in his Consolatio Philosophica, the ideal was represented as a person, and the Germans are delighted to find, in the middle ages, poets of their nation who professedly pursued this object, such as Konrad of Wurzburg, Peter Suchenwirt, Henry Muglin, Hadamar von Laber, Hermann of Sachsenheim, and Melchior Pfinzing.

Nothing is more easy than to collect

* De l'Origine des Romans, 13.

passages condemning poetry from the writings of the holy fathers, and nothing simpler than to arrange and connect them in such a manner as to convey the idea of a final and absolnte prohibition, when men have taken in hand to write a formal treatise against it, or to show the danger of its abuse: but whether Religion might avail herself of the assistance of poetry, and inclnde that beautiful world in the promise which gave to meekness the possession of the earth, was, at no time, as the lives and writings of the holy fathers prove, made a qnestion virtually in the Christian schools; while the splendid triumph which the eighth Clement had prepared for Tasso at the capitol, left a positive and ever-memorable testimony that the love of poetry is not incompatible with snpreme solicitude for the first and highest good. Repeatedly, dnring the ages of faith, the holy hishops of the Church, hy their instructions and hy their example, sanctioned its diffusion, and allowed men to mix serious things with trifles, and false with true, "in order," as John of Salishury says, "that all things might be referred expressly to the worship of the highest truth."* So that, as at the beleaguered city sung hy Æschylus, at whose seventh gate royal Apollo took his awful stand,† the purified and innocent Muse was permitted to appear as the champion on one side of the city of the chnrch, that city which is besieged at all times by proud and delnded men. Celebrated was the ingenuity evinced hy the Christian pastors in the time of Julian, when they contrived to elude the decree of that emperor, who sought to deprive their yonth of the advantages of an acquaintance with the great poets of antiquity. The Greek tragedy entitled the Passion of Christ, composed of verses taken from Sophocles and Euripides, whose choruses are converted into Christian hymns, is said to have been formed hy St. Gregory Nazianzen on this occasion, when the Christians were forhidden to stndy the original classical writings. This tragedy has been lately consulted with success, in order to correct the present texts of Euripides. Not without surprise will some hear mention of a German nnn, Hroswithe, in the eleventh century, who, merely throngh a sense of the beanties of the classical writers, adopted a similar expedient, and composed Latin dramatic pieces upon Christian subjects, in a style well imitated from that of Terence. Christianity has always had its poets, under the white robes of the Apollinares in the first age, as under the episcopal mantle of Fenelon after the lapse of eighteen centuries. Ecclesiastical history makes frequent mention of bishops, like Sidonius in the fifth age, who cultivated the Muse, and associated it with their apostolical lahours, not disdaining to hearken sometimes to the ancient classic bards, hut as Dante, when he followed the souls of Statius and Virgil,

> "Listening that speech, which to their thoughts convey'd
> Mysterions lessons of sweet poesy."*

St. Cyprian of Carthage, Pope St. Damasus I. Panlinus Bishop of Nola, Victorinus, Fortnnatus, and Hilary of Poictiers, Prosper of Aquitaine, and St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, are illustrious examples; to which may be added priests not invested with the episcopal character, as Tertullian of Carthage, Lactantins, Jnvencus of Spain, Cælins Sedulins of Ireland, Arator of Rome, and Claudian Mamertus of Vienne.† The suhjects chosen hy Panlinus are the death of the son of Celsus, the turbulent condition of his own times and trust in God, the ancient festivals of the chnrch, newness of life, and the creation of man. Many of the little pieces of St. Fortunatus were addressed to St. Radegonde or to St. Agnes. One was "on some violets," another "on some flowers which were placed on the altar." He composed many fine sacred hymns, among which the Vexilla Regis has been adopted hy the Church. The oldest monnment of German literature is an epic poem relating the slaughter of Roncevalles composed hy a priest Conrad. The romances of Barlaam and Josaphat, published in the thirteenth century, hy Rudolf of Montfort, had been composed hy St. John Damascenus; it treats of the love of God and the heroism of the martyrs. It was greatly admired hy the Christians of Egypt, being translated into the Coptic tongue. Eusthathins, Bishop of Thessalonica, abont the middle of the twelfth centnry, was said to have composed a romance, thongh it was one unworthy of his genius. The Connt of Stolberg might have appealed to the authority of Hnet, who also is inclined to disbelieve the report of Nicephorus that Heliodorus had been deposed by a council

* De Nugis Curialium, in Lib. VII. Prolog.
† Æschyl. Sept. cont. Theb.

* Purg. XXII.
† Fabricius, Poetarum Vet. Eccles. Opera.

for having composed the adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea, and the latter grounds his argument on the purity and virtue of the work itself.* That learned and holy prelate, Camus, Bishop of Belley, as well as the great St. Francis de Sales, spoke in terms of high admiration of the romance of Astrea. Fenelon may be said to have composed both a poem and a romance in the adventures of Telemachus, as also Æneas Silvius before succeeding to the apostolic chair, though in one of his letters, this learned Pope expresses bitter regret for having left such a production among his works. Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angouleme, was regarded as one of the greatest poets of his time. He saw the reigns of Charles VIII., Lous XII., and Francis I. He gave translations of the Greek and Latin poets, of the whole Æneid, and of many books of the Odyssey, yet, from the tone of some of his early poems, perhaps Dante would have found him in the number of those who wept. On being invested with the episcopal character, he indeed abandoned all former amusements, and gave himself up wholly to the study of holy things, and to the service of the church, but still on the death of King Charles VIII. whose body he followed to St. Denis, he testified his regrets in many verses which were afterwards published in the Vergier d'Honneur. Our great St. Dunstan was both a poet and musician, whose works no purifying flame need have feared, and the Scottish minstrel who has sung the Lady of the Lake alludes to the harp which erst Saint Modan sway'd.† St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Shireburn, cultivated poetry with such success even in his native tongue, that it was said no one could equal him in the composition of English verses. Eldred mentions a certain poem of his which the common people continued still to sing; for when this blessed man led a hermit's life in the woods of Malmesbury, he used often to station himself after mass on a certain bridge over which the people returned from the town, and there he used to stop them, endeavouring to correct and reform those semi-barbarous rustics by the melody of his verses. He composed at various times a multitude of poems and other works, and he expressly wrote on the rules of versification. To convey an idea of the interest which poets in the middle ages could excite among the higher orders of the clergy, we need only to refer to that scene painted by Marchangy, where he represents some rude warriors relating what had passed during

* De l'Origine des Romans, 70. † II.

their reception in an apartment at Avignon. "A gentleman of Padua entered the hall and spoke a few words to the Cardinal of St. Vitalis, who uttered a loud cry, and gave signs of the utmost affliction. This cardinal then spoke to those who were near him, and they in their turn lamented with hands raised up to heaven. The news was soon known to all excepting to us, who, comprehending nothing of this general desolation, were thinking that it must mean at least the sack of Rome, or some new schism in Christendom. It was in vain for us to ask the cause. Hardly would any one condescend to answer us, as if we were not worthy to feel this privileged grief, too delicate to reach hearts encased in steel. In the mean time there came in Mathieu Le-Long, Archdeacon of Liege, whose hands the cardinal seized, saying, the celebrated companion of your studies, whose genius all Europe admires, the divine Petrarch, is no more! It is even so, adds the gentleman of Padua, for I have just come from assisting at his obsequies; he died in his house of Arqua, the 18th of last July. The company soon broke up, each retiring to his own home apparently in equal consternation at this common loss."* If we now repair to the solitude of holy cloisters, we shall find the same affectionate converse with the Muse, disproving in its effects that maxim of the old Cratinus, that no verses can long survive which have been written by water-drinkers.† The saintly recluses of the middle ages were far from evincing that contempt for poetry and gentle studies which is so loudly professed by those modern theologians who are seen welcoming vile political debates, and engaging themselves in the vain and odious controversies of men. "For what reason I compose this work in verse," says Cælius Sedulius, the Irish priest in the sixth century, speaking of his great poem, "I will briefly explain. There are many whom an harmonious style and the songs of poets delight to such a degree that they take no interest in any work of rhetorical eloquence, neglecting all such studies, and being so fond of the sweetness of verses that whatever they receive in that way they commit to memory. I thought then that the manners of such persons ought to be not rejected, but cultivated, in order that every one according to his genius may be procured in a more voluntary manner for God."‡ But, independent of the efforts excited by charity, Plato would

* Tristan, Tom. VI. 101.
† Hor. Epist. I. 19.
‡ Sedulii Epist. Fabricius, Poet. Vet. Eccles. Opera.

have said, that the monks were poets by profession, and sooth I believe if any convertite had proposed to them the question of the Athenian, "Are we to receive tragic poets into our state?" there would have been always some father sufficiently imbued with deep philosophy to make a reply in words similar to his, and with the smile of saintly brightness: "O reverent stranger, we are ourselves poets and makers of tragedies, authors of the best and most beautiful tragedy. The whole of our state is but an imitation of the best and most beauteous life, and we say that in fact that is the truest tragedy."* But in a lower and more ordinary sense we gladly admit the children of the Muses, among whom did not disdain to walk the great St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Columban of Ireland, and Jacopone, that saint and poet, monk, mendicant, ascetic, and traveller, that worthy predecessor of Dante. Was it not a monk of good life, John of the Abbey of Hanteselve, who translated into Latin the ancient romance of Dolopathos or the seven sages, the French translation of which was addressed by Hebers to the Bishop of Meaux? Was it not Guillaume de Guigneville, a monk of Chalis, who composed the romance of the three Pilgrimages, that of man while on the earth, that of the soul when departed from the body, and that of our Lord who comes to visit his people? Did not Adam of St. Victor, that holy monk, during his travels in Greece, compose some sacred poems?† And did not Thiband de Marly, a monk of the Cistercian order in the Abbey of Vaux de Sarnay, where he died in the odour of sanctity, in the year 1247, write a celebrated romance in verse?‡ Bernard of Cluni wrote a poem in Latin of three thousand verses on the contempt of the world,§ and Mabillon commends the verses of Marc, of Monte Casino, the disciple of St. Benedict, which are the only vestiges that remain there of the studies of that time.|| Who has not heard of Aboon, a monk of St. Germain des Pres, who died in 924, and of his Homeric poem on the siege of Paris, by the Normans in the year 885? John du Pin, a monk of Vaucelles, who was a good theologian, a great philosopher and naturalist, was also a poet of renown. He employed sixteen years in composing his great work, entitled, "Le champ vertueux de bonne vie," having

* Plato de Legibus, Lib. VII.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. ii. c. 5. ‡ Id. Tom. VI. 73.
§ L'Abbe Massieu, Hist. de la Poesie Française, 87.
|| Tractat. de Studiis Monasticis, cap. 11.

begun it in the year 1324.* Is it forgotten that the first treatise on the art of poetry, which appeared in the French tongue, was written by a prior of the abbey of St. Genevieve at Paris?† or that the oldest Italian poet is the great St. Francis of Assisi? or that friar Guittone of Arezzo is reckoned among the founders of Italian poetry? or that the most ancient poem existing in a vulgar tongue, if we except the Niebelungen lay, was composed by the monk Otfrid, of the monastery of Weissemburg, who lived about the middle of the ninth century? This is a versified translation of the Gospels. The author was a disciple of the celebrated Raban Maur, Abbot of Fulda, and he dedicated his work to Luitbert, Bishop of Mayence. This monk Otfrid, in the preface, blames the French of his time for neglecting their own language, and complains that no one will write excepting in Latin; his object was to impart the advantages of poetry to the people. The historians of German poetry will tell you also of a remarkable poem, composed by a monk Werner in the twelfth century, of which the subject was the life of the blessed Virgin, in which were united the epic repose with the eulogistic transports of revering gratitude.‡ A poem of great interest on the same subject was also composed by Philip the Carthusian. The courts of princes could bear witness that poetry was cultivated by religious men; Helynand was a poet who used to be invited every day after dinner to recite his verses before Phillippe-Augustus. The most celebrated piece of his composition was a poem on death, which is allowed to contain passages of great sublimity. After passing his early years at court, and in the castles of nobility, he became a monk and retired to the abbey of Cistercians at Froimont, in the diocese of Beauvais. On leaving the world he left also all the spirit, views, and interests of the world, but he did not forsake the Muse; he led so holy a life that he was regarded as one of the lights of his order. France beheld in him a poet who was a saint: he was also a man of profound learning; he composed many works in prose, a chronicle, a treatise on the advantages of a monastic life, and one on the policy of princes, which evinced great wisdom and ability. His poems continued to be held in such esteem, that Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote under St. Louis, speaking of the

* Massieu, Hist. de la Poesie Française, 212.
† Id. 222.
‡ Rosenkranz Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, 177.

year 1209, says, "At this time lived Helynand, monk of Froimont, a man of extraordinary knowledge and virtue, to whom our language is indebted for the poem on death, which is now in the hands of every one as a work of great elegance and of acknowledged utility." Will you hear now for what favours the abbot Gutberct, the disciple of Bede, writes to his most loving and sweet friend in Christ, Lullus the bishop? "Since you have asked for some works of the blessed father Bede; I have prepared, with the help of my boys, to the best of our power, what I now send you, namely, his books on the man of God, Cuthbert, composed in prose and verse. I should willingly have sent you more had I been able. But the present winter has been so severe in our island with intense frost and dreadful winds, that the fingers of our transcribers have been unable to execute more books. If there should be any man in your parishes who can make glass vessels, I beg that you will induce him to come here as soon as the season becomes mild; for we have no one who is acquainted with the art. It would delight me also to have a harper who could play upon the harp which we call rotta, because I have a harp, but no artist to play upon it. If it be not too much, I wish that you would send me such a person. I beg that you will not despise my petition, nor turn me into ridicule on account of it, and as for the other works of Bede, of blessed memory, I promise you if I live that I will fulfil your desire."* It may be remarked in conclusion, relative to the monastic poets, that many of their legends or short histories of holy persons have been acknowledged to possess considerable poetic merit. The German critics speak with fondness of the legend of Alexius, by Konrad of Würzburg, of that of the two Johns, by Heinz of Constanz, of the journey of the holy Brandan, in old German verse, which was celebrated in the middle ages, of the legend of St. Martina, by Hugo of Langenstein, and of that of the holy William of Oranse which was sung in the twelfth century in the language of the northern Franks, by Guillaume de Bapaume, and in German, by Wolfram von Eschenbach. But it was not only men separate to the Church who possessed the enjoyments of the holy Muse; history records the names of multitudes in every walk of life during the middle ages, whose works evince a tender and poetic mind of boundless fecundity, and alive to the noblest and loftiest conceptions. It would not be too much to affirm that the people generally were then, not as is now supposed, mere animals of clay and spirits gross, but poets; and the reason of this phenomenon we shall better understand hereafter when we come to speak of the offices and festivals of the church. Dante and Petrarch do not stand isolated like beings of another world in their generation. They possessed but the art of expressing that which they felt in common with their contemporaries, and of developing in the language of genius the sweet and profound impressions which the multitude also experienced from the mysteries of faith, and the loveliness of nature. Do we suppose that ordinary men, in those ages of whom history takes no note, had not also their visions of hell, purgatory, and heaven? That they had not also their seasons when the love of solitude would impel them to fly the city, and go wandering about the country, in summer seated in the shade on a green lawn or reclining on the bank of a river, and when autumn approached repairing to the woods, followed by the Muses? That they could not taste also how sweet was the pure and serene air, that their eyes would not contemplate with joy the stars which shone over them? Socrates says, that while Homer lived, he used to be utterly neglected,* but it was not so with the poets of the middle ages. When Petrarch came to Arezzo, his native town, all the inhabitants went out to meet him, and paid him the same respect and homage that they would have shown to a king. Such was the enthusiasm of a goldsmith at Bergamo, named Henry Capra, that he renounced his trade to commence the study of philosophy and poetry in the steps of Petrarch, whom he persuaded to come to his house, where he received him in a style of royal magnificence, with such joy and honour, that people feared he would lose his senses.

That noble cavalier, Pandolphe, of the ancient house of Malateste, was so delighted with the works of Petrarch, that he sent a painter to make his portrait. Rienze at one time owed his preservation, as Petrarch relates, to this love of poetry: for it being rumoured at Avignon that he was a great poet, they thought it a kind of sacrilege to put a man to death of so sacred a profession. In another letter Petrarch describes the passion for poetry which prevailed at this time, not in the city of Avignon alone, but in all parts; for he says, "Verses rain in

* S. Bonif. Epist. LXXXIX.

* Plato de Repub. Lib. X.

upon me every day from France, Germany, Greece, and England. Our lawyers and physicians will listen to none but Homer and Virgil. What do I say? Even labourers, carpenters, and masons, abandon their hammers and shovels to lay hold of Apollo and the Muses. The other day a father came up to me in tears, and said, 'See how you treat me who have always loved you: you have been the death of my only son.' I was so struck with these words, and the air of the man who spoke them, that I remained for some time motionless. At last, recovering myself, I replied, that I neither knew him nor his son. 'It is of little consequence whether you know him or not,' replied the old man; 'he knows you too well. I have ruined myself to bring him up to the law; and now he tells me he will follow no steps but yours. I am thus disappointed of all my hopes.'"—Charles Fontaine, in like manner, used to be often lectured by his uncle, Jean du Guè, a lawyer and avocat of the parliament of Paris, who endeavoured to prevail upon him to forsake the Muses for the bar, saying to him—

> "Mieux vaut gain que de philosopher
> A gens qui ont leur ménage à conduire;"*

But it is hardly necessary to add, such arguments had little weight with youth during these spiritual ages, when even tradesmen devoted themselves to the Muse. The famous Nicolas Flamel, from being at first but a simple scrivener in Paris, became a painter, a mathematician, an architect, a chemist, a philosopher, and a poet! What an extraordinary state of society was that which existed in Provence, under the sceptre of those amiable and poetic princes, who used to exempt their subjects from paying subsidies on condition that they could produce amongst them a troubadour!†—or that which was seen at the court of Urbino, when it was the asylum of the Muses, under the Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro? Historians relate, that many cities in the middle ages were in a peculiar degree favoured by the Muses. The poetic fame of Tholouse was inherited in Germany in the fourteenth century by Mainz, Strasburg, Colmar, Frankfurt, Würzburg, Zwickau, and Prague; in the fifteenth by Nürnberg and Augsburg; and in the sixteenth by Regensburg, Ulm, Munich, Steiermark, Breslau, and Dantzic. But generally speaking, as was before observed, the multitude, from which a great part of poetry springs, and to which, in one sense, it must return to be judged, was then inclined to receive poetic inspiration. The Muses would not then have separated their admirer from the people, according to the expression of the Roman poet;* for ordinary life was then poetical, so that the personal impressions and recollections of men corresponded with the beautiful creations of poesy. The poets of these ages, like Guillaume de Lorris, frequently trace the origin of their works to some dream which they really had experienced while sleeping upon some sweet violet bank of a clear river in the season of spring, or to some ride by night in the midst of a tempest over a moor, or to some lonely watch near the battlements on narrow wall, marking below the sudden hastening of the swine, who snatch up straw in foresight of a storm, while the distant howl of wolves rises over the surrounding forest. It was not strange that youths who had swam by night in Menai's straits, when "the livid sparkles, those lightnings on the wave, crested the broken tides," should afterwards have had a wild romantic dream, which, with little effort, might employ the genius of a poet. Life admitted then of high natural enjoyments, and consequently men were formed to poetry. They were poets precisely because they lived simply and had an unsophisticated heart. It is a false, and not a Christian civilization, that kills the imagination and banishes the Muse from all converse with mankind.

Moreover, meekness and humility are essential to poetry, for pride is incompatible with its joys. The proud are too knowing to become or to continue poets. The sensations caused in us by the various beauties of literature and art are so fine and delicate, that they perish at the first effort of the mind to understand their causes and relations. In general, pleasure defies analysis, and we are affected exactly in proportion as we are ignorant of the manner how. The proud curiosity of the moderns has impoverished their imagination. That sensibility, which, in youth, extended to all surrounding objects, gradually departs, and the same men who had once so lively a sense of beauty, finish by regarding it with indifference. Do not these observations of Arnaud on the style of Plato, show clearly that meekness conduces to the possession

* Gouget, Tom. XI. 118.
† Tristan, Tom. VI. 233.

* Hor. Car. I. 1.

of poetic enjoyment?* Now this artificial and perverted state, the result, not of a law of nature, but of a formal apostacy, which is substituted for the natural and renovated order of human life,—this proud curiosity, which only condescends to accept the gifts of heaven on condition of submitting them to an analysis,—did not exist in the ages of which we are attempting to relate the moral history; and therefore the assistance and the consolations of poetry were possessed in all their fulness. The very names of the streets of cities, as in Paris, bore testimony to the importance of the harper, who, like Reginald, had inhabited them, and the roads through forest wilds were designated by the titles that were celebrated in heroic song.† The poet, or harper, was a welcome visitor in the castle or in the cottage—men listened to him, as Plato says, as to one who knew many things; and they used him as boys make use of aged persons,—loving to hear their sweet tales.‡ Even amidst the cold regions of the North, the people were not all in these ages, as one might at present suppose, men like those described by Æschylus, whose lively blood dull draughts of barley wine had clogged.§ These were the days when a young Harold bard of brave St. Clair,

> ———"born where restless seas
> Howl round the storm-swept Orcades:
> Where erst St. Clairs held princely sway
> O'er isle and islet, strait and bay!"

would come to Roslin's bowers,—

> "Where, by sweet glen and green-wood tree,
> He learn'd a milder minstrelsy;
> Though something of the northern spell
> Mix'd with the softer numbers well."

These were the days when nobles in the castle halls, Μύθοισιν τέρποντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνέποντες, as Plutarch says,

> "And noble youths, the strain to hear,
> Forsook the hunting of the deer."

Even the pages of princesses were poets then, as was Michael Marot when page to Marguerite of France; and noble barons expected a poetic nature in their squires, as when Marmion, sitting under the wide chimney arch of the hostel, says,

> "Fitz Eustace, know'st thou not some lay
> To speed the lingering night away?
> We slumber by the fire."

King Edward I. had a poet in his camp on his expedition into Scotland, who was a monk, named Baston. He was present in the dreadful battle, and describes the death of Sir Giles de Argentine with great feeling.—

> "Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi
> Vix scieram mentem cum te succumbere vidi."

Who need be told, that even the banquets of these ages were associated with a poetic taste? Ταὶ Διωνύσου χάριτες, of which Pindar speaks,* were as familiar with our feudal ancestors as with the ancients.† For Christianity did not declare war against all Homeric manners. Speaking of the Provençal poets, Huet says, that the verses which Homer puts in the mouths of Phemius and Demodocus at the courts of Penelope and of Alcinous, and those which Virgil makes Iopas sing in the court of Dido, may prove the antiquity of the Guay Savoir. Simonides was a troubadour in the Castle of Scopas, and Lord of Thessaly; and Arion represented the same character with the princes of Italy. The ancient Gauls had also their romantic bards: and we learn from Possidonius, as quoted by Athenæus, that Luernus, Prince of Anvergne, holding plenary courts and open table, presented a sack full of gold to a strange poet, who had come to honour the feast. Samson gives his robe to the Philistines who explained his enigma; and Pisthetærus, in the Birds of Aristophanes, advises another to give his tunic to recompense a poet, who was come to celebrate the praises of their new city.

I know not whether, among the ranks of modern society it would be possible to select one to which justly would be applicable the words of Plutarch respecting the majority of kings, that they are not Apollos to sing, but Bacchuses to drink, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐκ Ἀπόλλωνες μὲν ἂν μινυρίσωσι, Διόνυσοι δὲ, ἂν μεθυσθῶσιν;‡ but I am convinced that these could not be used with truth, in reference to the character of the nobility of the middle ages. To propose giving instances illustrative of this assertion might

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. XXXVII.

† In the diocese of Paris there was a road called le Chemin de la Table Ronde; and the Rue de la Harpe was Vicus Reginaldi Citharistæ. Lebeuf, Tom. I. II. 567.

‡ Plato, Hippias Major.

§ Suppl.

* Olymp. XIII.

† Plutarch, Quest. Græc. § 36.

‡ How to discern true Friends, cap. 16.

well alarm a reader who was conversant with the pages of Wharton, Gouget, Renaudot, Millot, Tiraboschi, or any of the great literary historians of Europe. But those who have only met with modern descriptions of the feudal age, which ascribe to it the character of their own, may not be unwilling to hear some evidence in proof that the dignity of a noble was not synonymous with a profound contempt and incapacity for every thing but the dull realities of a materialized existence.

In the first age of French poetry there are recorded the names of Thibault de Mailly, of the illustrious house of Mailly, in Picardy, at that time one of the greatest in France, of Tristan, the châtelain of Coucy, and of Blondel, whose faithful attachment to King Richard I. of England was so celebrated in romantic annals. The oldest known poet of Provence was William IX. Count of Poictiers. In the time of St. Louis, nothing was more common than for great nobles and princes to be poets. Charles of Anjou, the king's brother, and afterwards king of Naples, Henry of Soissons, who followed him to the crusade, Henry, Duke of Brabant, Pierre Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, Raoul, Count of Soissons, Thibaut, Count of Champagne, and King of Navarre, were all celebrated for their love and cultivation of poetry. Thibaut, not content with repeating his verses, had them written on the walls of his hall at Provins, and in that of Troyes. Henry of Soissons was a worthy rival, who followed St. Louis to the East, and was made prisoner at the battle of Massoura: so that what Pindar says of the Locrians, Epiziphyrians, might with strict justice be applied to the devout Paladins, who sought to deliver the Holy Land:—

——— Μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα
Καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης.*

And as at Corinth, where the bit was first joined to the reign of horses, and the eagle of Jove displayed upon the two parallel frontispieces of Temples, and the sweetly-breathing Muse cultivated amidst the dreadful spears of heroes,† so to their towers might have been ascribed poesy and art, and the triumphs of a saintly warfare. How dear was poetry to Charlemagne, who collected all the ancient compositions of the bards! In the time of Charles, Duke of Orleans, father of Louis XII. and uncle of Francis I. the greatest seigneurs of France aspired to be poets and men of learning; and as Gouget says, the majority of them were writers. The Duke of Orleans had a noble genius and an admirable taste for poetry. In the manuscript collection of his poems on vellum, which the Abbé Gouget consulted, were also the poems of John Duc de Bourbon, of Philippe-le-Bon, Duc de Bourgogne, of Renè d'Anjou, of John of Lorraine, of the Duc de Nevers, of the Comte de Clermont, and of John, Duc d'Alençon. Spain, England, and Italy, could early boast of having poets among their highest princes and nobles.

Illustrious women were inspired by the same enthusiasm. Marguerite of Austria, while regent of Belgium, was the distinguished patroness of the poets, Jean Moulinet and Jean le Maire. She was herself a poet, and also an excellent prose writer: her most considerable work is the history of her misfortunes. The highest nobles of Germany followed in the same track, as Henry of Breslau, the Markgraf of Meissen, Otto of Brandenburg, John of Brabant, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, whose Castle of the Frauenburg was renowned in heroic song.

The Swabian poets flourished a century later than the Provençal, and derived their models from them. Frederic I. composed a short history of Provence. Many verses of the Count Rudolf of Nürnburg resemble those of Folque of Marseille.* Celebrated in the middle ages were the German poets Hartmann von der Aue, who sung the Knights of the Round Table, Wernt of Gravenberg, who composed the Wigalois, Walther of the Vogelweide, Konrad of Würzburg, Henry Frauenlob Wolfgang Röhn, Marner Müglin, Klinsor, Boppo, Regenbogen, Konrad Nachtigal, Herman Oertel, and Fritz Zorn, who composed the mystic twelve of the Nürnberg school, that were entitled the poets of the Wartburg. The wise grand master of the Teutonic order in the fourteenth century, Luther of Brunswick, loved poetry and music, and was himself a poet, singing the praise of the Holy Barbara, a saint greatly venerated in the order, whose relics had been brought to Kulm by the brave Dietrick of Bernheim. His example had such an effect, that throughout all the land of Prussia a taste for poetry became general, and poetic

* Olymp. X. † Id XIII.

* Rosenkranz Geschichte des Deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, 52.

paraphrases were made of the Prophet Daniel, and of the Book of Job. The head convent of the order at Marienburg became the resort of minstrels and poets, some of whom were also knights and priests, who made religion and history the first subjects of their muse.* Spain could boast of her poetic princes: Don John the First, King of Arragon, was thought by his people to devote too much of his time to poetry; he lived always in the company of poets, whom he invited from every country.† Martin Franc in his Champion des Dames, says,

> Lisez souvent au Breviaire,
> Du doulx poëte Alain chartier,
> Eslevez toujours le viaire
> A haultes besongnes traictier,

This is an allusion to the Breviaire des Nobles, of which he says, that all knights,

> Le Breviaire de Maistre Alain,
> Doivent lire deux fois le jour.

In fact, John le Masle, an Angevine, who has written a commentary on this poem, says, that in the time of our ancestors it was in such esteem, that all pages and young gentlemen were obliged to learn it by heart, and to repeat it every day. The verses of these noble poets are often associated with the memory of an affecting and heroic history. John Regnier, escuyer and seigneur of Garchy, a counsellor of Philip the Good, was a great poet, whose affection for the poor was noticed in the last book. He had travelled, as he says, instigated by youthful desire to see strange countries, and had visited not only Italy and many parts of Europe, but also Greece, Turkey, the Holy Land, Armenia, and many other kingdoms. On his return he resided at Auxerre; but in the wars between Philip and Charles VII. of France, he was seized by the latter and imprisoned in a tower at Beauvais, which was opposite the cathedral. In his prison he composed many poems, one of which was entitled, his fortunes and adventures, which begins with a devout prayer to Jesus Christ. The other prisoners, finding out his talent, used to entreat him to write poems for them, which he did. One is entitled, for John Faulcon, a Norman esquire. Besides this, every solemn festival received his offering, that is, a poem on the subject which it commemorated. The poet, Charles de Clavison, who made it his pride that, in an age of heresy, he had always been attached to the Catholic religion, was a knight and lieutenant of the king of France; he dedicated his poems to his sister, Constance de Bauffremont, who was abbess of the royal monastery of St. Menoulx.

Here then, I conceive, is proof sufficient that the race of men during these ages of faith, loved and possessed the consolations of poetry: it may be required, however, to state briefly what were the merits of those compositions, and their claims to the honour of the Parnassian mount. In the first place, the enthusiasm with which they were received ought to be a sufficient warrant to us that they fulfilled at least one of the essential ends of poetry, which is to move and to exalt. In their rapturous delight the men of these ages cried, "the course of the Loire swells with pride for having beheld the birth of Jean de Meun upon its banks." Jean de Meun, thus celebrated as a poet who finished the Romance of the Rose, was a doctor of theology, and with him and Guillaume de Lorris, in about the year 1050, under Henry I., the French poetry may be said to have commenced.* Such was the admiration excited by Bernardo Accolti, in the time of Leo X., that when it was rumoured he was about to recite his verses the shops used to be shut, and the most learned men would crowd to hear him.

The applause with which the divine comedy of Dante was received at the time, is attested by the fact of pulpits having been erected in many cities, from which it was expounded. Boccacio was employed for that purpose by the Florentine republic; to him succeeded in the same office Antonio Padovano and Philip Villani. In Bologna, Benvenuto of Imola became a public lecturer upon it in the year 1375. In Pisa, Francesco of Bartolo da Buti gave a similar course in the year 1386. The celebrated Giovanbatista Gelli, from being a shoemaker in the streets of Florence, became one of the greatest writers of Tuscany, through the intense admiration which he conceived for the divine comedy. He used to say, that after being born a Christian, he knew no greater happiness than to have been born in the country of Dante. Yet when that immortal poem

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, IV.

† Diego Savedra Faxarda Christian Prince, Tom. I. 62.

* L'Abbe Massieu, Hist. de la Poësie Française, 67.

first appeared, there was nothing new or singular in its design, which was but a development of the deepest and loftiest thoughts that had long moved indistinctly through the minds of men, perpetuated by the tradition of many visions, like that related by St. Boniface, or that of the knight Tundal in Ireland, or that of Rotcharius the monk, in the time of Charlemagne. But, in general, the character of the poetry of the middle ages was religious, in so much that when poets produced works of a contrary tone, they were indebted for their success to the ingenious fervour which enabled the people to put a devout construction upon them, and by means of a supposed allegorical sense to impart to them a holy character. Thus it was maintained, notwithstanding the indignant and impressive eloquence of Gerson, that the Romance of the Rose was all allegorical, and that it contained sublime wisdom to correct men, that no attention was to be paid to the letter, but that the deep religious sense was to be carefully investigated. This rose, so difficult to gather, was wisdom, truth, grace, Christian piety, salvation, and, finally, the beatific vision. The Abbé Massieu says, that it is impossible not to smile at the simplicity with which all this is supposed in the editor's preface. But still this judgment of its contemporaries is interesting; it shows that in these ages men exercised as much ingenuity in turning to a religious and virtuous sense what might have been really objectionable, as the moderns evince in detecting a bad motive for every production. For such ingenuity, indeed, there was no occasion in order to discern the religious sense of the greater poets of the middle ages, those monarchs of sublimest song, who even in their lightest productions, like Shakspeare, evinced the constant action of a profound revering spirit. Dante lived at the time of the crusades, when all Enrope rose against Asia; and yet, as a French writer remarks, this immense and awful event was not the subject which seized his poetic imagination. There was in the interior of Europe something still greater than this sublime episode, that which was the cause of this prodigious movement, religion. Three centuries later, the beautiful imagination of Tasso, amidst the delights of the conrt of Ferrara, found nothing more admirable to commemorate than the crusades. But even in presence of these holy wars, and while their memory was fresh, there was something still above them, the church, and it was this which he comprised in his mysterious and immortal Vision of the Life to Come. The example of St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, has been already adduced as that of a pontiff and a poet. He was born in the middle of the fifth century, and was a firm supporter of the Catholic faith against the Arians. His poems, in hexameter verse, being six in number, are on the Creation, on Original Sin, on the Expulsion from Paradise, on the Deluge, on the Passage of the Red Sea, and on the Praise of Virginity. The three first are only, as it were, cantos of one poem, which may be called the Loss of Paradise, and which modern critics acknowledge deserves to be compared with that of Milton. It has been thought by some, that his description of the garden of Eden is rather superior than inferior to that of the English poet; for, though so shortly removed from paganism, he mixes in his pictures fewer mythological images, the imitation of antiquity is less visible, and the description of the beauties of nature more varied and more simple. Like Milton, he has imparted to Satan some traits of his original state, and a certain vestige of moral grandeur; he too has painted Satan, at the moment when he enters Paradise and perceives Adam and Eve for the first time,

> " Proh dolor, hoc nobis subitum consurgere plasma,
> Invisumque genus nostra crevisse ruina?
> Me celsum virtus habuit, nunc ecce neglectus
> Pellor, et angelico limus succedit honori.
> Nec tamen in totum periit, pars magna retentat
> Vim propriam, summaque cluit virtute nocendi.
> Nil differre juvat: jam nunc certamine blando
> Congrediar, dum prima salus, experta nec ullos
> Simplicitas ignara dolos ad tela patebit."

It will be easier, he continues, to deceive them while they are alone, and before they shall have launched a fruitful posterity into the eternity of ages.

> " Immortale nihil terra prodire sinendum est;
> Fons generis pereat, capitis defectio membris
> Semen mortis erit.
> Hæc mihi dejecto tantum solatia restant:
> Si nequeo clausos iterum conscendere cœlos,
> His quoque claudentur: levius cecidisse putandum est
> Si nova perdatur simili substantia casu.
> Sit comes excidii, subeat consortia pœnæ,
> Et quos prævideo nobiscum dividat ignes.
> Sed ne difficilis fallendi causa putetur,
> Hæc monstranda via est, dudum quam sæpe cucurri
> In pronum lapsus: quæ me jactantia cœlo
> Expulit, hæc hominem Paradisi è limine pellat.
> Sic ait, et gemitus vocem clausere dolentis."

The departure from Paradise is thus described:

"His pater exactis, hœdorum pellibus ambos
Induit, et sancta Paradisi ab sede rejecit.
Tunc miseri egressum properant, mundumque vacantem
Intrant, et celeri perlustrant omnia cursu.
Et quanquam variis herbis ac gramine picta
Et virides campos, fontesque et flumina monstrat,
Illis fœda tamen species mundana putatur
Post, Paradise, tuam, totumque videntibus horror.
Quæque magis multo paradiso extenditur, illis
Angustatur humus, strictumque tuentibus orbem
Omnia lata nimis parent angusta duobus.
Squallet et ipse dies, caussantur sole sub ipso
Subductam lucem."

The middle ages were familiar with innumerable poems of a high moral interest, the fragments of which still charm and astonish us. Celebrated with our Anglo-Saxon ancestors was the poem of Beowulf, which has been termed a Gothic Iliad. It is so full of noble sentiments and poetic imagery, that the learned Dane, Grundtvig, affirms without hesitation, that any poet of any age might have been proud to have produced such a work. Equally renowned were the song of the Traveller in Anglo-Saxon, which is found in the great book at Exeter, bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric, at the close of the eleventh century, the triumphal song of the battle of Brunanburh, and also the funeral dirge over Brithnoth, who, during the unhappy reign of Ethelred, fell gloriously fighting in the battle of Meldun.

Genius, indeed, must not be estimated by years, nor is every old poem holy or inspiring; but yet what reador of taste at the present day does not recur with pure delight to those English poems of the middle ages, collected by Percy, Wharton, Ellis, and Scott, which recount the heroic deeds, the mourning, and the devout joys of our Catholic ancestors? Many of these are by poets whose names have remained unknown; and some aro said to have been the sole productions of their authors, who never made any other, like Tynnichus, the Chalcidian, who never composed any poem but that Pæon, which Plato says all used to sing, and which he affirms to be nearly the most beautiful of all hymns, the invention of which, having been without art, he therefore thinks was justly said to be divine rather than human.* In other works I have made use of these ancient Christian poems, in reference to the manners of chivalry,

"When all of wonderful and mild
Had rapture for the lonely child."

The interest attached to the poetic associations of those days defies the cavils of modern criticism. Lord Byron, writing as a reviewer, attempted to despise the Lay of the Last Minstrel; but while he travelled amidst the beautiful scenes of Greece, he could not refrain from calling to mind, even at the court of Ali, the description of the castle of Branksome.

In turning to consider the merit of the early poets of France, we do not leave names and works of a domestic interest; for to Englishmen these old French poets were in some manner naturalized. Several of them had visited England, and were received in illustrious houses, where they nourished the genius of many of our own bards, and instructed the youth of noble families; as was the case with Denisot. The poesies of Ronsard were a consolation to Mary Stuart, who used to read them in the days of her sorrowful captivity, and to find in them a relief that could lighten the burden of her chains.* The modern French have nothing to despise in these ancient poets, but rather from them they might learn simplicity and nature, as well as beauty and force of language. Even the Abbé Massieu admits that the old metrical romances of France contained sometimes passages approaching the sublime. Where we least expect it, we find them giving to Christian virtue a most gracious, venerable, and august character, and striking terror into the guilty. Their object is not to represent the varieties of human character, but to move the soul with admiration and surprise, and that is the end which Aristotle had in view where he affirms that a philosopher is a lover of fables.† Henry Stephens made a collection of sentences, from the old French romances, which he said were like Rabbis for the knowledge of many things which belong to the French language. These men, like Guillaume de Lorris, the Ennius of France, who began the Romance of the Rose, or like the songster of Limoges commemorated by Dante, could not at least be condemned as movers and fabricators of new words, an offence so alien from the office of a poet,‡ though so common with those of our age who have risen to fame. William of Malmesbury observes, that at the time when the English were fond of making

* Plato Io.

* Gouget, Bibliotheq. Française, Tom. XII. 205.
† Metaphysic. Lib. I. c. 2.
‡ Aristoph. Nubes, 1397.

use of abstruse and pompous words derived from the Greek, their greatest poet St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Shireburn, was remarkable for not using exotic words unless very rarely, and when they were necessary. In the descriptive poetry of the middle ages, there was not that fault of attempting to conquer difficulties which do not repay the conqueror, of describing what has no need of being described; objects are only named, and the rest is left to the imagination; a word or a comparison place them before our eyes. It did not resemble the descriptive poetry of our times, which, as Guizot justly remarks, is scientific rather than picturesque, and which, by dint of analysing objects minutely like an anatomist, makes them appear dissected and decomposed.

It is easy to perceive too, in many instances, that this old poesy embodied the thoughts of men who possessed, as Marot says, "un gentil entendement." The modern critic Gouget admits, in praise of the poet Andrieu du Hecquet, that he reproves vice without sourness, instructs without being morose, that he is playful without insolence, that he assumes a tone of irony without saying a word that is personal, and that he praises without flattery. Huet, though he derides the old romantic poetry, seems delighted to find that the learned Italians acknowledge that they learned it from the provençals. He remarks that the ancient romantic poems have served to throw much light upon the history of Spain, and to correct the order of its chronology; and though he affirms that D'Urfe was the first to elevate romances from barbarism, it is not to be doubted but that those old Spanish poems, which he so much despised, will survive the fame of that incomparable Astrea to which he assigned the palm. In truth, it appears that very high notions were entertained during these ages of tho nature of poetry, and of the object to which even its lightest effusions should be directed. The troubadour has songs for all kinds of glory, and a tear for all misfortunes. "Jonglerie," says a contemporary of St. Louis, "has been instituted to put the good in the way of joy and of honour." Then came the troubadours to sing the history of past times, and to excite the brave in relating the prowesse of the ancients. Half a century afterwards the maintainers of the "gai savoir," at Toulouse, exhorted poets to fly from sadness, and to make noble verses in order that all the world might be the more disposed to faith, and to virtue. There was to be nothing childish or effeminate in their verse. The advice given to them resembled that of Milon to Battos, recommonding tho choice of an heroic theme.

ταῦτα χρὴ μοχθεῦντας ἐν ἀλίῳ ἄνδρας ἀείδεν·

But as for these songs about private little domestic affections, it is only fit that you sing them to your mother at her toilet.

*Μυθίσδεν τᾷ ματρὶ κατ' εὐνὰν ὀρθρευοῦσα·**

Poetry, said they, is not to be degraded to an art merely administering to pleasure. The sages of antiquity had nobler sentiments respecting it, one of whom noticing the saying of the majority that the great object of poetry and music should be the giving pleasure to the soul, adds, but to utter such word is neither endurable in any manner, nor holy, *ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἀνεκτὸν οὔτε ὅσιον τὸ παράπαν φθέγγεσθαι.*† "So far I agree to the general opinion," says Plato, "that music should be estimated by the delight which it inspires, but it is not by the delight of any one taken promiscuously; but that is the most beautiful muse which delights the best men, and those who have been best educated—those who are most remarkable for their virtue. Therefore, we maintain that virtue is an essential qualification for a judge of such things: for neither in the theatre ought a true judgo to take any notice of the clamour of tho multitude, and of its undisciplined judgment. The practice of determining the victory by tho clapping of hands corrupted tho poets themselves, who were induced to consult only the vicious pleasures of the multitude, and to look to them for instruction; and it corrupted the pleasure of the theatre, for it ought always to have exhibited better manners than those of the people, and to have inspired them with a sense of higher pleasure than their own."‡ What a contrast is there between the judgment of the ancient sage respecting poetry, and that of our contemporaries! "That which does not admit justice," says Socrates, "does not admit any thing pertaining to the Muses, whatever is unjust is unpoetical, *Ἄμουσον τὸ δὲ ἄδικον.*"§ In their estimate of the importance and object of poetry, our ancestors adhered to the spirit of the

* Theocrit. Id. V.
† Plato de Legibus, Lib. II.
‡ De Legibus, Lib. II.
§ Plato, Phædo, 105.

ancient world, whose expressions only needed correction, as where Pindar says of their Apollo, that he invented the harp and bestows the Muse on whom he wills, in order to introduce peaceful law into the heart,* and as where Hesiod says, in a connected strain,† that poets and kings are from the gods, for under a legitimate domination, the gifts of the Muses to men never seem to emanate from the demon. Nostradamus, in his lives of the Provençal poets, says, that the monk of the golden isles expressed himself as follows, respecting Phanette and Estaphanette, "They excel in poesy, having a kind of divine inspiration, 'laquelle estoit estimée en vray don de Dieu.'" Horace thought that the Iliad of Homer conveyed a better moral instruction than the works of the most able philosophers, and certainly there is much to learn from the poets of the middle ages, though they might have little to expect from a critic like Quintilian, who excusing himself from deciding between the rival poets Sophocles and Euripides adds, that no one need hesitate to affirm that for all practical purposes Euripides is by far the more useful.‡ To a judgment formed on loftier and less earthly views, the simplicity of their construction, the profound piety of their sentiments, the corresponding tone of candour and innocence which characterize them, attended with some degree of that Homeric excellence of sublimity in great things, and of propriety in small, for government may be learned from the names which they give to wines in the fabliaux, cannot but conciliate the affection even of the modern readers, and perpetuate the renown of books which were alike recommended by the consent of the learned as well as by the love of boys. By the poets of the middle ages nature was shown in her totality with a holy earnestness. The solution for all temporal difficulties was sought for in the traditions of spiritual wisdom; and a grand universal view was exhibited of the origin and destiny of the human existence, as may be witnessed in that remarkable book entitled, "Hortus Deliciarum," composed in the twelfth century, by the abbess Herrad of Landsberg, at St. Odilien, near Strasburg, for the instruction and recreation of her sisters. It may be remarked too, that there was nothing forced or still-born in the poetry of the middle ages, because it was in accordance with the living faith of men. It was Homeric and Virgilian not from a cold repetition of Pagan fable and exploded error, but because in accordance with the true ideal exposed by Tasso it was employed upon such themes as Homer and Virgil would have chosen if they had lived in Christian ages.* How well does Mamertus of Vienne direct his companion—

"Quanto major ab hic cedet tibi gloria cœptis,
In quibus et linguam exercens, mentem quoque sanctam
Erudies, laudemque simul vitamque capesses:
Dumque legis catus et scribis miracula summi
Vera Dei, propior disces, et carior ipsi
Esse Deo."———

But with this principle constantly borne in mind, there was nothing to prevent a Christian poet from knowing and mentioning all things. It was said, that he should read all books, so that strange works ought to be found in his study.

"——— Mais cela n'est offense
A un Poëte, à qui on doit lascher
La bride longue, et rien ne lui cacher,
Soit d'art magique, négromance, ou caballe,
Et n'est doctrine escripte, ne verballe,
Q'un vrai Poëte en chef ne deust avoir,
Pour faire bien d'escrire son debvoir."

But whatever might be the multitude of discordant subjects to which he alluded there should be never any difficulty in discovering what was the poet's own opinion: and heathen imagery was never to be used as a heathen would have applied it. Certainly no poet of the middle ages describing Adam and Eve in Paradise, would like Milton, have compared them to Jupiter and Juno.† Nor have been obliged to say of Eve,

"With goddess-like demeanour forth she went.‡

Nor, on the other hand, would he like Milton have described angels in language that belonged rather to a heathen. What Villani chiefly admires in Dante, is the art by which he reconciled the ancient poets with Christianity, and transferred their treasures to illustrate the Christian doctrine. In fact, the meek possessed all the intellectual as well as material riches of the earth, on the principle that was even known to Cicero. "Recte ejus omnia di-

* Pyth. V. 63. † Theogon. ‡ Instit. Orat. X. 1.

* Dialoghi degl' Idoli. † Book IV. 500. ‡ Book VIII. 59.

centur, qui scit nti solus omnibus."* In the poetry of Dante, Guinicelli, Cavalcanti, and even Petrarch, were nnited philosophy and theology, civil science and poetry, the beantiful and divine, earth and heaven, not from a defective direction of the intelligence as the modern sophists affirm,† but from a thorough initiation into the mysteries of wisdom, and in accordance with that divine fiat which gave to the poor in spirit, and to the meek, both heaven and earth. To the ages of faith was nnknown that erroneous philosophy which first appeared in France during the time of the fourteenth Louis, which rendered men scrupulous and afraid, whenever they beheld religion attended with the chorus of glorions and beantiful offerings of nature, and which taught that men could not have fancy as their companion along with reason as their guide. The great spiritual writers had shown to the exclusive admirers of every thing positive the danger of affecting to despise poetry. "There are some," says Taulerus, "in this life who too quickly bid adieu to images before truth has delivered them from their power: and because they deliver themselves they scarcely or never can attain to truth." The danger arising from the power of the imagination when not nnder the control of reason, that Socratic medicine, as Cicero terms it, was indeed never more carefully and acutely explained than in the writings of St. Anselm and other masters of the school, in which we may find passages exactly parallel to that sentence of Tieck, that if the feelings and imagination succeed in setting np their own supremacy, and in overthrowing reason, then each of our higher impulses begets a giant as its son, that will war against God. For donbt, wit, nnbelief, and scoffing, are not the only faculties that fight against God; our imagination, our feelings, our enthusiasm, may do the same, thongh at first they seem to supply faith with so safe and mysterious an asylum." In the blessed John of the cross, the holy Theresa found a monitor to correct those wanderings of the imagination which had sometimes caused her so mnch pain, and who enabled her to read from experience that the imagination and the understanding, as she says, are not the same thing.‡ It was not overlooked that the possible errors of fancy are as great and their delusions as dangerous as those of reason; hut neither was it nnobserved in those times which beheld the fall of an Abailard, that as Frederick Schlegel says, there was much more occasion for pointing ont the errors incident to reason, than for anxiously warning men against the possible ahuse of fancy.* Upon the whole, therefore, to the philosophic views of the ages of faith, the object and employment of poetry were not different from those of religion. Tasso says, that the poem of Dante has contemplation for its object;† and accordingly we find that many of the poets then renowned, never began to compose without a formal and devout invocation of the Almighty.‡ Moral and pious reflections in verse are mixed np with their histories, as in that celebrated account of the life of Louis de la Tremouille, hy John Bonchet, who proposed as his chief object to edify and instruct young knights in their various duties, as also in his book "Séjour des trois nobles Dames," though it was written for a particular occasion on the death of Arthur de Goufier, in which he says, that his object is to inspire hope and comfort to all persons in adversity, and to supply brief instruction to teach men how to pass the perilous ways of this dispiteous world. Thus again, Claude Mermet, entitled the collection of his poems, the past time of Clande Mermet, of Saint Rambert in Savoy, a poetical work sententious and moral, to give profitable instruction to all persons who love virtue. One poem of Arthur Desire, is entitled, Les Batailles et Victoires dn Chevalier Céleste contre le Chevalier Terrestre. Raoul de Hondan, of whom Hnon de Merry says, that no mouth of a Christian ever said things so well, composed a work entitled, the Story of the Way of Hell, which those follow who go to visit the Lord of Hell, "Plaisant chemin et bonne voye." As they began with a religious invocation, so they used to finish with a devont prayer. Thns concludes John Ruyr one of his poems.—

"Jesus soit mon art studieux
Et sa sainte croix mon volume."

And the only reward which Martin Franc requires for his long labours in the composition of the champion des Dames in de-

* De Finibus, Lib. III. 22.
† Antichita Romantiche d'Italia, II. 213
‡ The Castle of the Soul IV. dwelling.

* Philosophie der Sprache, 180.
† Discorsi sul Poema Errico, I.
‡ Gouget, Bibliotheque Française, Tom. XI. 4.

fence of women, to disprove the slanders brought against them in the Romance of the Rose, is that they for whom he has composed it, would please to pray for him that he might obtain the kingdom of Paradise. Many of these poets, too, were themselves men of innocence or of sincerely penitential lives. Such were Luis of Leon, Gower, Lydgate, Southell, Tasso, Dante, and Petrarch. The exquisite Latin poems of Mark Antonio Flamminio, the friend of Cardinal Pole, are associated with the image of the most amiable of men, those of Vida, Bishop of Alba, with that of a prelate whose generous disposition had endeared him to the poor, those of Sannazzaro with that of a poet comparable to Virgil, whose heart was ever bent on heavenly musings. In reply to the heir of Petrarch, and on hearing of his death, Boccacio says, in his epistle, "After having read your letter, I wept all night for my dear master; not indeed for him; his prayers, his fasts, his life, permit me not to doubt his happiness, but I weep for myself." Philip Villani relates that when Petrarch had grown mature with age, he devoted himself without intermission to the study of theology, to the ecclesiastical office, to prayers and fasting, and that he lived piously and with simplicity. How engaging is the portrait which John Bouchet gives of the poet Pierre Riviere, in the verses which he placed on the tomb of "this child of Poitiers."

"En son jeune âge il fut fort studieux,
A Dieu devot, aux gens très-gratieulx,
Humble et courtois, et de bonne nature,
Prisé de tous par sa littérature."

The Poet John le Masle, who expressly sung the moral excellence of poets, and their honest freedom, and who was celebrated as the commentator on the Bréviaire des nobles of Alain Chartier, who had so well explained all the virtues and perfections which belong to the nobility of a gentleman, could bear this testimony to himself, that he had never sought—

"Pour estre grand en biens, se mettre en servitude,
Mais tousjours libre et franc, a mis tout son estude,
A poursuir la vertu."

These are examples and lessons which ought not to be withheld from the youth of our times, which is in such danger of losing sight of the true ideal of the poet, familiar to men in ages of faith, and of mistaking for it the gloomy and delusive phantom of modern genius. The human intelligence is, to the ear of faith, like the statue of Memnon, which sends forth no harmonious sound, unless it be shone upon by the sun of justice. Without those rays to sanctify it, the extraordinary gifts of the Creator may astonish and impart a transitory pleasure to wretched mortals; though, after all, what is Childe Harold by the side of Dante, or Juan compared with the hero of the Jerusalem? but they can never yield a complete and unfailing joy. Sad, at all events, and unutterably miserable is the attempt of those who look to them for models of imitation. Modern literature shows how easy it is to catch the licentiousness and the gloom, without the freedom and the depth of Byron, the frivolity of the Troubadour without his grace and tenderness. As Marot says, in allusion to the celebrated but immoral poet Villon,—

"Peu de Villons en bon savoir,
Trop de Villons pour decevoir."

But how feeble is language to express the desolation which awaits genius misdirected, and employed to an unholy end, when, as in this once gay and licentious Villon, it beholds the early victims of its influence prematurely departing, and itself comfortless, self-tormented, and alone! Would you hear the mournful testimony of an old poet to the inefficacy of his heart to sweeten such days:

"Quand on est jeune, en grand esbattement
Pour passe-temps et pour contentement,
C'est un plaisir de sonner la musette;
Mais puis après, quand l'âge et la disette
Surprennent tost le poëte estonné
Alors s'en va son chant mal entonné,
Diminuant tout petil à petit,
Car de sonner il pert tout appetit:
Alors il hail sa muselte et sa muse;
Si elle s'offre, il la jette et refuse."

St. Fortunatus of Poictiers taught the same lesson in his poem on human life:

"Cum venit extremum, neque Musis carmina prosunt,
Nec juvat eloquio detinuisse melos."

I am not ignorant that there is a dark and deplorable side belonging to the poetic history of the middle ages; but I reserve my observations respecting it to a future place, where I shall speak in general of the virtue and vice which distinguished them, for the modern opinions will neces-

sarily require an explanation, with respect to the profligacy of the licentious poets, when we may be able to place the fact of their existence in its just and natural point of view. At the present, let us direct our attention for a moment to the theatre, as it was reconstituted in the middle ages. All things, say the teachers of divine wisdom, are lawful to the pure; but some are so essentially tyrannical, so powerful and universal in their tendency, to bring men into subjection, to give force to the passions, and to enervate those higher powers of the immortal nature which are to wage war against the ancient serpent, that Christianity has pronounced them to be eternally separate from the sphere of her dominion, and from an association with her consoling promises respecting the enjoyments of a future life. In the form of the ancient world, the theatre evidently stood condemned on different grounds, but whether it was possible to revive it in any other, so as not to have it included among those things, through prudence, and almost necessity, forbidden, was a problem which did not admit of an easy solution. Some, in considering it, might indeed be influenced by caution and unwillingness to sanction any unnecessary restraint which might affect the interests of human genius, while others, with equal zeal in behalf of poesy, might question whether the interests of intelligence were really so concerned in the result as was pretended. Probably it would be very easy to have demonstrated that they were not; and, indeed, the experience and testimony of men the most removed from ascetical influence, will go far to show that the grandest creations of dramatic poets are not developed by a representation on the stage of a theatre. But, however that question be determined, it is certain that genius lost that instrument of expression when the belief in the heathen mythology was destroyed. From that hour the real dramatic effect, in relation to higher poetry, could only be revived on the stage by an alliance between the theatre and the Christian faith, an association most difficult, most delicate, which it was obvious could not be accomplished until the Church had seen many ages and generations of her children, and which, if ever formed, the least relapse to heathen incredulity, or the scepticism of later philosophers, the least relaxation or diminution of simplicity and faith, would inevitably and for ever abolish. Such an union, however, did take place during the middle ages, and it was at an end when they closed, and from thenceforth the genuine children of the muse, they who had really drunk deep of the spirit of Æschylus and Sophocles might have regarded with the utmost indifference the controversy respecting dramatic representation between the church and the self-imagined poets who sought to identify the interests of human genius with the success of their art and the encouragement given to their own profession. This brief statement may serve to account for the seeming inconsistency in the language of the clergy, who at one time cry out with the primitive Christians, What union is possible between the Gospel and the muses, between Calvary and the theatre? and at another, are heard to invite men to the new plays, which they have themselves composed, and in which their students perform characters, at the same time that they are condemning actors in ordinary theatres, saying, with John of Salisbury, that it is unquestionably a shameful thing to be an actor; "satius enim fuerat otiari quam turpiter occupari," declaring that actors and buffoons are excluded from the holy communion while they persevere in their malice, thence leaving the patrons and favourers of actors and buffoons to collect what awaits themselves, if those who do and those who consent are to be punished alike,* and adopting as a passage to be for ever read by their successors in their office for the vigil of Pentecost, the solemn words of St. Augustin, which refer to the theatre in its ordinary state, in that to which it had always a tendency to return: "these things you must renounce, not in word alone, but in deed, and in all the acts of your life. For you are caught and discovered by your cunning enemy, when you profess one thing and perform another, faithful in name, and not holding the faith of your promise, at one time entering the church to pour forth prayers, and shortly after in the theatres crying out shamelessly with actors. Quid tibi cum pompis diaboli quibus renuntiasti?†

The history of the Christian drama, though in many respects interesting, need not detain us long: its first efforts are witnessed in those mysteries, as they were termed, of the nativity, of the passion, of the resurrection, and of the acts of the apostles. This forced union, which, however, be it remembered, was the only possible device for affording to a Christian

* De Nugis Curialium, Lib. I. c. 8.

† Tractat. de Symbol. ad Catechumen.

society a dramatic representation of the highest tone, is one of the chief grounds for the accusation of grossness, and barbarism brought against the ages of faith by modern writers, who thus enable us to estimate pretty clearly the consistency of of their own faith as Christians, and the depth of their sagacity as philosophers. In the villages, on the patronal feasts, the mysteries of their respective patrons and of other saints, used to be performed when every one would contribute, from the baron who lent his finest tapestry, to the poorest rustic, who gave his labour to construct the stage. There were pious spectacles at Paris, Metz, Angers, Poitiers, Rouen, Limoges, and in other cities of France. At Rheims, in the year 1624, the mysteries of the Saints were transferred to the theatres of colleges. The personages were not libertines, adulterers, robbers, and gamesters, but angels, apostles, doctors of the law, scribes, and tyrants. The people were so familiarized with these scenes, that if any actor of the troop were absent, there was always some young man ready to take his part, and play an angel or a martyr. In England, the first trace of dramatic representation is found in the history of Matthew Paris, where he relates that Geoffrey, a learned Norman, master of the school of the abbey of Dunstable, composed the play of St. Catharine, which was acted by his scholars in the year 1110. Another writer, in 1174, mentions that religious plays were acted in London, representing either the miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of the martyrs. The Grey Friars at Coventry used to represent mysteries on the festival of Corpus Christi, comprising the story of the old and New Testament, composed in the old English rithme, which used to attract vast multitudes of people to the city. In the year 1483 Richard III. visited Coventry in order to see the plays, and in 1492 they were acted in presence of Henry VII. and his queen. In every great castle the children of the chapel used to act religious plays during the twelve days of Christmas and at Corpus Christi. There is notice of this in the Earl of Northumberland's household book. In every college pieces of this kind used to be performed. The confraternities of the mysteries were composed of persons of the most innocent manners and of the purest intentions; and who can doubt but that these spectacles tended to keep men familiar with the themes which should be ever dearest to the Christian family?* At the same time it is to be remembered that, owing to incorrigible abuses, they were not every where equally favoured by the encouragement of the religious. The reply of the Sacristan, in the convent of the Franciscans at Poictou, to Villon, who came to borrow a magnificent cope, to be borne by one of his actors in the piece entitled The Passion, proves that such spectacles were sometimes regarded with displeasure by the clergy.† With respect to the literary merit of these pieces, their most disdainful antagonists admit that they are enlivened by boldness of incident, and that occasionally they evince an unexpected tenderness and delicacy of expression. It was from one of these plays called Adam and Eve, which Milton saw represented in Italy, that he is said to have taken the first hint for his poem of Paradise Lost. In Catholic countries, at the present day, there are sometimes to be seen, at banquets, certain religious shows in miniature, representing the annunciation, the nativity, or the epiphany, and the kind of galvanic effect which these innocent spectacles produce upon the sophists would be unaccountable, if one had not perceived that they were associated with a deep religious feeling, the attempt to recall which produces in minds that detest God, those paroxysms, which are supposed to arise only from the pain which all indications of a popular and barbarous taste occasion in persons of delicacy and philosophic refinement. When brought unexpectedly in presence of these innocent representations, they rail like the demoniac who came out from the tombs, and sometimes might be observed to use almost his words: "Quid mihi et tibi est, Jesu Fili Dei altissimi? obsecro te ne me torqueas."‡ There were other spectacles exhibited in the middle ages to which I shall merely allude. Those professedly ludicrous, though associated with solemn forms, were offensive abuses against which the clergy loudly protested. Contemporary writers speak of them with the utmost abhorrence, and yet perhaps they were only the indication of a natural disposition which belongs to men

* See Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. III. Hist. du Théâtre Français, par Parfait, Tom. I. II. Hist. de Poésie Française, par l'Abbé Massieu, règne de Charles VII. Historia Universitatis Parisiensis a Buleo, annis 1469. 1483. 1487. Antiq. de Paris, par Sauval. Wharton, Hist. of English Poetry, &c.

† Hist. de Poésie Française, par l'Abbé Massieu, 257.

‡ Luc. VIII. 28.

in their noblest state, which merely required to be directed and moderated. Müller speaks of the inclination of the Doric race to mirth and merriment, under which a very serious character was frequently concealed;* and, in fact, when these diversions of the middle ages are described, we might imagine that we were reading of those sports of the Lacedemonians which mingled in the same breath the grave and solemn lessons of philosophy, and the most ludicrous mimicry and buffoonery. Persius, the disciple of the Stoic sect, made Sophron the mimographer, the model of his satires; and the grave and philosophic Sparta was the only Greek state in which a statue was erected to laughter. Religion, indeed, would have the right to reject such a plea in mitigation of sentence, but when human wisdom proudly inveighs, we may, in justice to the character of the middle ages, reply, with the historian of the Doric race, that among that people the strictest gravity was found closely united with the most unrestrained jocularity and mirth; in the same manner as the modern society can lay claim to neither; for as every real jest requires for a foundation a firm, rigorous, and grave disposition of mind, so moral indifference and a frivolous temperament not only destroy the contrast between gravity and jest, but annihilate the spirit of both.

CHAPTER V.

RETURNING now to matters of more interest, we should observe that from the very nature and origin of the Christian religion, there was clearly no inconsistency between its principles and the possession of human learning. Truth admits of no separations or exclusions. In the first astonishment of the awakening soul of men and of nations, when apprized of the advent of the Son of God, it was indeed to be expected that there would be a temporary suspension of all intellectual exercise, and a total obliteration from the memory of all former and perishable things; but the universal and continued indulgence in such a quiescent state would, beyond all doubt, be contrary to the order of Providence, and opposed to the intentions of the Divine announcement. They who had been permitted to see the end of all perfection were at the same time made sensible that the commandment was very broad. The interests of truth sometimes required the employment of learning to illustrate and confirm it, and the Divine promises sanctioned the enjoyment of its advantages in declaring that the meek should possess the earth. St. Clemens Alexandrinus was the first among the Christians to attack the profane authors with their own arms, and to make use of their learning. Origen followed in that track, but as St. Augustin says, "the faithful always accommodated what was good to their own use, wherever it was found. How much gold and silver," he says, "did the blessed martyr Cyprien carry away from Egypt? How much Lactantius? How much Victorinus? Optatus? Hilarius?" We ought not to disdain what is good in the learning and arts of the heathens: "imo vero quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intelligat ubicunque invenerit veritatem."* St. Basil, treating expressly on the advantages to be derived from the learning of the Gentiles, found much to praise in Homer and the Pythagoreans. The Greek fathers, indeed, are known to have endeavoured to imitate the style of Demosthenes and Homer;† and the importance which they attached to the beauties of literature, may be inferred from

* Hist. of the Dorians, Book III. c. 10.

* De Doctrin. Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 18. 40.

† Mabillon de Studiis Monasticis, Pars II. c. 15.

that work of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, who, when Julian published his decree, forbidding the Christians to be instructed in ancient learning, in order to supply the faithful with a specimen of every kind of composition, according to the design of St. Gregory Nazianzen, formed the writings of the Evangelists and those of the Apostles into dialogues, in the style of Plato. Even St. Jerome had not omitted the study of the heathen writers, and in writing to Magnus, a Roman orator, he observes that the ecclesiastical writers who preceded him had always used this liberty. The passage in which he describes his ancient fondness for learning, is truly remarkable. "When I was young," saith he, "I was carried away by a wonderful ardour for learning, nor did I presume, like some others, to be my own teacher. I heard Apollinarius at Antioch, and worshipped him, yet I would never receive his contentious dogmas. When my hair became grey, and bespoke rather the master than the disciple, I went to Alexandria and heard Didymus. I was grateful to him, for I learned what I had not known before, and I did not lose from his teaching what I had before known. Men thought that I would make an end of learning, yet I proceeded again to Jerusalem and to Bethleem. With what labour and cost had I Bar-aninam for my nocturnal preceptor! for he feared the Jews like Nicodemus. Of all these men I make frequent mention in my works. Certainly Apollinarius and Didymus differ on many points, so that I was borne to one side and the other, for I confessed both of them as my masters! I have read Origen. If there be a crime in reading, I must confess myself guilty. Yet I never admitted his errors: his genius would never have displeased me. Lactantius writes a detestable sentence in his Institutes, yet who would forbid me to read that powerful work because of that one sentence. In like manner I may apply to Origen without fearing his poison. Physicians say that great diseases, being incurable, should be left to nature, lest medicaments should aggravate the evil. I have never sought, therefore, to transfer these errors of Origen into the Latin tongue, and to publish them to the world. Non enim consuevi eorum insultare erroribus quorum miror ingenia. If Origen were alive again, he would be indignant at you his admirers, who have made known his errors; and he would say with Jacob, 'odiosum me fecistis in mundo.' Let us not imitate his vices whose virtues we cannot follow. But the books of Origen may be read with profit for their learning and useful matter, and they who object to this should remember, that if there be a woe against those who call evil good, there is also one against those who call good evil."* It is a modern discovery that the Christian literature of early ages is unworthy of the attention of scholars. Petrus Crinitus, the friend of Politian and Picus of Mirandula, says, "that he cannot express with what delight he studies the Greek and Latin fathers, for their writings seem to him to be treasuries in which there is such a varied and multifarious learning and knowledge of all things, that they contain nearly all laws and sentences of philosophy, and nearly all antiquity."† The tragedy composed by St. Gregory Nazianzen, of which I have already spoken, shows how early it was the desire of the Christians to avail themselves of the beauties of heathen literature. We do not find them paying any attention to the medium through which they might have to pursue intellectual riches. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. studied for three years at the Moorish university of Cordova, where the sciences of mathematics and medicine were cultivated with great success. It was this pope who introduced the use of the Arabic figures into Christian Europe. St. Augustin scrupled not to make use of the writings of Tichonius, a Donatist; and Mabillon, in his treatise on monastic studies, recommends the Prolegomena of Walton, and the proofs of Christianity by Grotius, and proves that it is consistent with the monastic duties to consult the writings of heretics, when they contain nothing contrary to truth.‡ Of the importance attached to learning in the estimation of men, during the ages of faith, we have evidence in almost all the ecclesiastical monuments which have come down to us. We find St. Augustin exposing the folly and criminality of certain enthusiasts, who were for dispensing with the trouble of learning languages, from expecting a particular inspiration, and even for despising all who did not pretend to it as deprived of the grace of the Holy Spirit. "Let us not tempt Him in whom we believe," says the holy Augustin, "lest being deceived by

* Epist. LVI. XLI.
† De honesta Disciplina, Liv. VIII. 1.
‡ Tractat de Studiis Monast. Præfat. Pars II. cap. 2, § 2.

such craftiness of the enemy, we should become unwilling even to enter the churches to hear the Gospel, or to attend to any man reading or preaching, being inflamed with the hope of being carried up to the third heaven like the Apostle, there to hear ineffable words, and there to see our Lord Jesus Christ, and from him, rather than from men, to hear the Gospel. "Caveamus tales tentationes superbissimas et periculosissimas.'"* St. Jerome, too, reproves certain persons who condemned him for his application to learning, and who esteemed themselves as saints because they knew nothing.† "Join yourself to a virtuous, tractable, and learned man," is the advice of an ascetic writer of the middle ages.‡

The decay of learning, during the convulsions which attended the invasion of the barbarians, was regarded as a great calamity by the Christian clergy, whose affecting lamentations over the fall of letters, were a proof how highly they esteemed them. St. Gregory of Tours, in the preface of his history says, "the study of letters and of liberal sciences, perishing in the cities of Gaul, amidst the good and the bad actions which were there committed, while the barbarians were given up to ferocity, and their kings to fury, while the churches were alternately enriched by devout men and plundered by the infidels, there has appeared no grammarian, skilful in the art of dialectics to undertake the description of these things in prose or verse, so that many men lament, saying, Woe to us! the study of letters perishes among us, and there is no one who can record the facts of this time; seeing that, I have thought it right to preserve, although in an uncultivated language, the memory of past things, that future men may be made acquainted with them." The promotion of learning was a constant object of solicitude with the sovereign pontiffs. "We are bound," says Pope Alexander III. to Peter Abbot of St. Remé, "to provide with so much the more care for the convenience of learned and devout men, as the fruit and utility are great which result from their labours to the churches of God." And in a subsequent age we find that it was the Roman pontiffs who encouraged the learned scholars, who devoted themselves to searching for precious manuscripts, like Poggio, the successive secretary to eight popes. Nicholas V. promised five thousand ducats to him who should produce a manuscript of St. Matthew in Hebrew, and he made Rome an asylum for the learned men of the East, when they fled from the Mahometans, carrying with them their literary treasures. It was the popes who assisted and supported the first printers, as the workmen of Faust and Schoeffer, on their removal to Rome. It is a pope, the great St. Gregory, so falsely accused of having burnt the library of Mount Palatine, which must have perished long before his time, who is the patron of scholars throughout the universal church. Of the wide diffusion of learning, during the middle ages, the generality of modern writers seem not to be aware, nor, on the other hand, of the very confined limits within which its influence extended before the rise and propagation of the Church. At the commencement of the Christian era, we find that books were so scarce, and the means of communicating them so scanty, that the greatest writers were often unknown to their contemporaries. Thus Strabo is not once quoted by Pliny or by any other contemporary naturalist, nor is Aretin by Galen. It is probable that they were not aware of each other's existence. Whereas in the middle ages, in the vast society of the Church, by means of communication with Rome, and the intercourse which was carried on between monasteries, learned and holy men, though separated at the greatest distances, were known to each other, and Europe became one immense republic of letters. Schlegel shows that from the time of Charlemagne manuscripts were multiplied in the West with more profusion than they had ever been in the most polished times of antiquity, so that the writings of Greece and Rome were now studied and commentated upon in remote and desolate regions, to which, if it had not been for the ecclesiastical society, their fame would have never reached. We find the monk of Melrose, who wrote a chronicle of that abbey, quoting the fourth book of Aristotle de Animalibus, and eighth of Pliny's Natural History. In the fifth and sixth centuries, amidst the dreadful shock of the fall of the Roman empire and the desolation of Europe, by the barbarous hordes, Ireland, from its situation, as Baron Cuvier remarks, being at a distance from the ruin, became the asylum of learning, and monks from Ireland then proceeded to carry back the torch to the devastated regions of Gall and Germany. It is a mistake,

* De Doctrina Christiana Prolog.
† Epist. XXV.
‡ Thom. de Kempis Hortulus Rosarum, I.

however, to suppose that the ancient learning at any time wholly perished in any part of the empire. St. Augustin speaks of the wide diffusion of the Latin language as an event miraculous, and a resnlt of the special providence of God to facilitate the work of evangelizing the nations. In the fourth and fifth centnries, the Latin was spoke in all the Galls to the Rhine, as well as in Spain and Italy. So late as the time of St. Bernard, the people generally nnderstood Latin; and Mabillon places it among his questions, whether the sermons of St Bernard were originally composed in the Latin or in the Romance. There was in Enrope, as a modern French critic observes, a kind of intellectual repnblic, which was styled "omnis Latinitas." It is certain that St. Bernard sometimes preached in Latin, and his secretary says of him, that his eloqnence and wisdom are celebrated "through all Latinity." Yet he preached also in the Roman wallon, or language of the country. In the seventh and eighth centuries it was in Latin that even popular songs were composed. When Clotaire II. gained a victory in the north of France, his army celebrated it hy a Latin song.

It appears from the Life of St. Eloy, by St. Onen, that in the seventh century the upper classes of Rouen were familiar with Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Herodotus, and Homer, with Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Menander, Plautus, Horace, Solinus, Varro, and also with other authors, of whom we have now nothing hnt the catalogue of their writings.* St. Gregory of Tours relates that King Gontran, making his entry into Orleans, was received with greetings in Syriac and in Latin; for in conseqnence of commercial relations, the oriental languages were then taught in the schools of Paris. The chronicles of these ages speak of many saints who were skilled in the Roman law. At the end of the seventh century, St. Bonet, Bishop of Clermont, was learned in the decrees of Theodosius, and St. Didier, Bishop of Cahors, from the year 629 to 654, applied himself to the study of the Roman law. The tenth century is that age of deplorable fame which is said to have been involved in extreme darkness,—insomnch, that the heretics have made it a ground to deny the perpetual and nncorrupt transmission of the doctrine of the Church. Mabillon, aided by his nnbonnded learning, examines the history of this period, and comes to a result widely different from theirs: he even proves that the complaints of Cardinal Baronins* can only be justified by a regard exclusively directed to the state of Rome and Italy at that moment; for that a view of the nniversal Church will demonstrate that, althongh there were then indeed many evils to be deplored, yet all things were not so deplorable hut that there were some remains of ancient learniug; nay, it will show that there were then many men of the most eminent sanctity and of sonnd learning, who were able to transmit the uncorrupt doctrine of the Church to posterity. No age is void of moral darkness. The holy Fathers in primitive times lamented the reign of wickedness and ignorance: this we too lament, and this onr posterity will lament also; hut never does the Church lose the savonr of sanctity and of learning which she received from Christ.† Ignorance is the punishment of sin; but they who say this, continnes the master of the sentences, should consider diligently, that not every one who is ignorant of something, or who knows something less perfectly, is therefore in snch ignorance, or ought to be called ignorant; becanse that only should be called ignorance when what ought to he known is not known. Such ignorance is the punishment of sin when the mind is obscured with vice, so as not to be able to know the things which it onght to know.‡ This is a darkness which involved the race of men in no age of the Church's history; but the light of human learning in Italy was no doubt in the tenth centnry obscured,—though even then, as Henrion justly remarks, the object of stndies was good, since it embraced doctrine and morals, the only things in reality of which the knowledge is essential.§ In the eleventh it broke forth again in the various congregations of learned Benedictines, the success of whose labours are acknowledged hy the moderns themselves; hnt even in the tenth century, other nations enjoyed greater learning: for it is a mistake of Villemain, when he affirms that Italy had uninterruptedly remained more civilized than every other part of Europe.‖ Spain, though oppressed under the yoke

* See Recherches sur l'Hist. Relig. et Lit. de Rouen, 41.

* Ad An. 900.
† Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Benedict. § I.
‡ Petr. Lombardi, Lib. II. distinct. XX.
§ Hist. de la Papauté, Tom. III. 177.
‖ Tableaux de la Litterature au Moyen Age, I. 97.

of the Arabians, beheld those great prelates, Gennadius of Asturia, Attilanus Zamorensis, Sisenand and Rudesind of Compostello; and the state of the Church with regard to learning, in Germany, France, England, and Ireland, was far happier. Bruno, brother of Otho the great, and Archbishop of Cologne in that age, is thus described in the chronicle of Madgeburg: "He was endowed with a great genius; he was great in learning, and in all virtue, and industry. Being appointed by King Otho to preside over the untameable Lotharian nation, he delivered the country from robbers, he instructed it with legal discipline, he loved the flock committed to him, he saved many from error,—some, by assiduous disputations, leading to better things, and others, by maturity of learning, inflaming with a holy desire:—mild in speech, humble in learning, a destroyer of evils, an asserter of truth, gentle to the subject, severe to the proud, and fulfilling in his own life what he taught to others." Of Rotgerus, a German bishop in the tenth century, we read that he was versed in Greek and Latin, and that wherever he went he used to carry about with him his library, like an ark of the Lord.*

Modern critics have remarked, that the prodigious number of books published during the twelfth century, attests the existence of a multitude of readers. They admit, that in the city and feudal life of those times, a great number of persons, of all classes, employed themselves in reading, and in reasoning on the books they read.† Even the Provençale poetry of the Troubadours, is not free from the influence of classical antiquity; for it contains some literal imitations from the Latin poets, and one Troubadour expressly cites Plato, Homer, and Virgil. That classical learning was at no time wholly neglected, might be inferred from the writings of many whom obscure fame hath concealed from ordinary readers;‡ but the compositions of distinguished men throughout the series of ages, place that point beyond question. To attempt to give an adequate idea of the learning of the clergy during the ages of faith, would be wholly inconsistent with the very narrow limits prescribed to this inquiry, and indeed it would be also on other grounds deserving of ridicule, since it would indicate great presumption in one who is himself without learning, to pretend to estimate that of others. It is not for a mere spy to feel ambitious to mount the horses of Achilles. Nevertheless, I fain would say something on this subject, not only because one feels as it were arrested irresistibly by the kind of solemn and romantic interest which is attached to it, but also in consideration of its extreme importance, independent of what is required to be shown in this place: for though many good men may be disposed to think lightly of such disquisitions, there is reason to believe that the strong hold of heresy in many heads, consists in the opinion, that during the middle ages, men were ignorant to such a degree as to be incapable of distinguishing truth from error, history from fable.

When Mabillon published his Treatise on Monastic Studies, in which he proved the antiquity, universality, and great importance of the study of learning in the religious orders, the celebrated Armand de Rancé sent forth a reply, in which he disproved the necessity for such studies in members of the monastic order, and proceeded even to criticize, with considerable severity, that part which related to the conduct of the ancient religious in the cultivation of the sciences. The facts, however, he did not disprove: and although he might feel that no obligation resulted from the example of such numbers of holy monks who had applied to learning, to music, and even to poetry, he could hardly have expected that the judgment of many readers would acquiesce in his suggestion, that these men must have forgotten death and judgment, because they had been anxious to procure a copy of Cicero's books, de Oratore, and the Institutions of Quintilian. At the same time it cannot be denied but that, independent of the object presented to us in this place, there would be more occasion for explaining on what grounds the elect children justified their cultivation of human learning,—though, to those who stand near the mountain, the answer is involved in no difficulty,—than for proving a fact which is so evident to every one conversant with the history of the middle age, that they did possess it in an eminent degree. It is, however, to illustrate the latter proposition that I am at present called upon. But to what order shall I first turn for examples? or what bright gems shall I select from the overflowing plenty in the intellectual treasury of the meek during the ages of faith?

* Mabillon, Præf. in V. Sæcul. Ben. § 2.

† Villemain, Tableaux de la Litterature au Moyen Age, I. 307.

‡ Vide Hæren. Geschichte des Studiums der Classischen. Litteratur im mittelalter.

Before I attempt to enter upon the subject, I would observe, that to a Catholic, not only the philosophical, as we shall see in another place, but also the literary history of the world, is prodigiously enlarged; objects change their relative position, and many are brought into resplendent light, which before were consigned to obscurity. While the moderns continue, age after age, to hear only of the Cæsars and the philosophers, and to exercise their ingenuity with tracing parallel characters among their contemporaries, the Catholic discovers that there lies, between the heathen civilization and the present, an entire world, illustrious with every kind of intellectual and moral greatness: the names which are first upon his tongue are no longer Cicero and Horace, but St. Augustin, St. Bernard, Alcuin, St. Thomas, St. Anselm: the places associated in his mind with the peace and dignity of learning, are no longer the Lyceum or the Academy, but Citeaux, Cluny, Crowland, or the Oxford of the middle ages.

Perhaps I shall best discharge the office I have undertaken by abandoning all pretensions to an oratorical enumeration of illustrious titles, which need only be named to proclaim genius and wisdom in its utmost cultivation,—and by simply taking detached statements from the history and other writings of the middle ages, which will prove that, in whatever direction we look, we shall be sure to discover some eminent example of extensive and excellent erudition. Taking them then as they might occur to one who at hazard would open the ancient chronicles, how remarkable is this testimony of Bede, that Thobias, the Saxon Bishop of Rochester, could speak familiarly, not only the Latin, but also the Greek language? What an example is presented by the venerable Bede in his own learning! Barlaam, who first made the Italians acquainted with Homer, was a monk of St. Basil, who came from one of the seven convents which the religions of that order possessed at Rossano alone, where they cultivated the popular Greek dialect, which had remained in Calabria. What episcopal see, what holy monastery, during the middle ages, was not associated with the names of men most illustrious for their love of letters? Who has ever fathomed that sea of learning in Dominic and Aquinas,

"Whence many rivulets have since been turn'd
Over the garden Catholic, to lead
Their living waters, and have fed its plants."*

* Dante, Parad. XII.

The fact of the existence of libraries in the early monasteries, even in the days of St. Pachomius, is adduced by Mabillon in proof of the great antiquity of monastic studies.* Celebrated were the libraries of Lerins of Tours, of Monte Cassino, of St. Germain-des-Près, where Dacherius was librarian when he compiled his Spicilegium, of Bobbio, which was so rich in ancient manuscripts, of Luxeuil, of Corby, of St. Remi at Rheims, of Fulda, of St. Gall, of St. Emmeranus, at Ratispon, and of Einsidelin; in the last of which I have seen curious manuscripts of Bede's works.

In England, our libraries are but of modern date; for the pseudo-reformers did not spare even those which they found in the Universities: but in the libraries on the continent before the French revolution, were collected the accumulated stores of the learning of the middle ages. In the abbey of Jumièges, the writings of Annon, its learned abbot in the tenth century, might have been found as he had left them. There were no less than seventeen hundred manuscripts in the abbey of Peterborough. The libraries of the Grey Friars in London, that of the abbey of Leicester, and that of the priory at Dover, contained noble collections, as did also those of Crowland, Wells, and many others. To these all persons had access. At Crowland it was ordained that the greater books, of which there were more than three hundred volumes, were never to be taken for the use of remote schools without license of the abbot; but smaller books of which there were more than four hundred, such as Psalters, Catos, and Poets, might be lent to boys and acquaintances of the monks, but only for one day.† The magnificent library of the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, used to be open to the public during three days every week.‡ There were even public libraries attached to some parish churches. Baptist Goy, the first curate of the parish of St. Magdalen at Paris, left his libraries to the church, one for the use of the clergy of the parish, and the other for that of the poor parishioners.§ The library of Marucelli, at Florence, was founded by a virtuous prelate, for the use of such men of learning as were poor, as the inscription testifies—"Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitati." In the works of Petrus Crinitus,‖ there is repeated men-

* De Studiis Monasticis, Par. I. cap. 6.
† Ingulph. 105.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II. 5.
§ Lebeuf, II. c. 4. ‖ De Honest. Discip.

tion of learned men,—Picus of Mirandula, Politian, and others,—meeting together in the Marcian library at Florence, to discuss questions of philosophy and literature. St. Louis, in the same manner, used to visit the public library, which he had founded at the holy chapel in Paris, for the purpose of conversing with learned men. There is a character of learning and sanctity belonging to the very rooms which contained the ancient collections, as may be witnessed in the library of Merton at Oxford, and in that of St. Michel-in-Bosco, at Bologna; in which latter, over each department of books, was a noble painting of the principal writer belonging to it. Thus over the scholastic philosophy was seen the angelic disputing with the subtle doctor on the "universal à parte rei." The student of Rome, when he finds himself in the libraries of St. Augustin and of the Minerva, waited upon by the men of those venerable orders, seems of necessity to imbibe somewhat of the grave and holy spirit of Christian antiquity. Bede mentions the multitude of books that used to be brought from Rome to England by holy Bishops on their return thence. St. Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury, who completed the building of that cathedral, collected thither men of learning from all parts, and retained as well as invited them by his liberality: he formed a library, and enriched it literally with the works of his own hands, transcribing books for it, and binding them himself. So again in the time of Pope St. Gregory VII. Herrand, Abbot of Ilsenburg, afterwards Bishop of Halberstadt, having founded a school at Ilsenburg for all liberal arts, and collected many learned men, made there a noble library, which was particularly rich in old histories.* Of the abbot, William of Hirschau, we read, that he became when young most learned in all kinds of science, so as to surpass his preceptors, and that he mastered all the arts which are called liberal;† that he was skilled in philosophy, in dialectics, in music,—so that he wrote upon it,—in mathematics, arithmetic, and astronomy; that he procured copies of holy and profane books to be written out in beautiful letters, in which work twelve monks of the house sat daily employed. He used to send good men to govern other monasteries, many of which became celebrated in consequence, among which are reckoned that of St. Peter at Erfurt. There were above 260 men in his abbey, who all loved and revered him. Mabillon desires his reader to consider what was the immense manual labour exercised by the Cistercians and Carthusians in copying manuscripts and writing them out for the public, in revising, and correcting, and collating the works of the holy fathers, and to consider too how all this was done in a spirit of humility, and pious fervour, and penitence, for the good of the church and the greater glory of God. "Be not troubled at the labour through fatigue," says Thomas à Kempis in addressing youth, "for God is the cause of every good work, who will render to every man his recompence according to his pious intention, in heaven. When you are dead, those persons who read the volumes that were formerly written beautifully by you, will then pray for you: and if he who giveth a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward, much more, he who gives the living water of wisdom, shall not lose his recompence in heaven."*

The collection of the Latin Fathers on vellum, written in the most beautiful characters, and illuminated with exquisite paintings, which is in the Libraria Medicea in the cloister of St. Lorenzo at Florence, or the splendid choral books and Bible, in twenty-two volumes, of the Carthusian monastery of Ferrara, will give an idea of the labour and admirable skill of the monks in this art. Albert was a monk of Cluni, distinguished for the number of beautiful books which he wrote out and bound. The Bible was covered with beryl stones: he had read it through twice and corrected it twice, and at the end of his labour he fell at the feet of the seniors of Cluni, beseeching them to pray to God for him and for his father, that their sins might be forgiven them.† Estates and legacies were often bequeathed for the support of the scriptorium of abbeys; at Montrouge, indulgences were given for the supply of books, and vestments, so that to that poor rustic church crowds of learned men and scholars used to come from Paris, to cast their little piece of silver or gold into the trunk appointed for the alms in behalf of learning. By the Pope's Bull, in the year 1246, which stated that the churches in Prussia and Livonia, being as yet infant, were unprovided with books, monks and

* Voigt's Hildebrand als Papst Greg. VII. und sein Zeitalter, 164.
† Chron. Hirsaug. An. 1071.

* Doctrinale Juvenum, cap. 4.
† Chronicon Cluniacensis, X.

other persons were invited to send them a supply of books out of their abundance, or to employ writers at their expence for furnishing them; and indulgences were extended on their complying.*

In the middle ages, books were generally bound by monks. Charlemagne, by charter, in 790 gave to the abbots and monks of Sithin, an unlimited right of hunting, in order that the skins of the deer should be used in making covers for their books. The prodigious number of volumes frequently composed by one writer in the middle ages, is constantly a subject of astonishment to those who visit libraries. The works of Albert the Great form twenty-two folio volumes! But one might account for this in the same manner as that in which Cicero explains the wonderful dispatch with which Pompey accomplished his naval projects, when he says, "Whence had he this incredible celerity? For he possessed no extraordinary power of impelling ships, no unheard-of art of navigation, no new winds; but the things which generally delay others did not detain him: no avarice diverting his course for objects of plunder, no lust carried him away to pleasure, no love of ease to delights, no fear of labour to repose."† It is to be remembered also, that the chief of a convent had often as many as fifty young men who studied under him, and wrote out extracts for him. St. Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny, in the twelfth century, employed learned men to translate certain books from the Arabic. St. Raymond of Pennafort procured the Arabic and Hebrew tongues to be taught in several convents of his order; in the abbey of Tavistock, of which so many of the abbots were learned men, a regular course of lectures on the Saxon tongue used to be given, which was continued until the dissolution by Henry VIII.

It has not been sufficiently remarked with what care the monastic philosophers endeavoured to cultivate the barbarous idioms which arose upon the cessation of the Latin tongue. The only grammar of the Romance language was composed by Basil Maier of Baldegg, a monk of Einseidelin.‡ During the conquests of the Teutonic order in the North, it is the bishops who were found insisting upon the importance of cultivating the national

* Voigt. Geschichte Preuss. II. 491.
† Pro Lege Manilia, 14.
‡ Tschudi Einseid. Chronic. 172.

idiom, in order to instruct the people in the precepts of the orthodox faith.* In Italy, the professed champions of the vulgar tongue went so far as to condemn the study of Greek and Latin, as the dialogues of Speroni the Paduan, in the sixteenth century, can testify.† But probably, while poets and fine writers were condemning the clergy for the importance which they attached to the ancient languages, they would have been found, under many circumstances, as in Ireland, perfectly willing that the national tongue of one country should be sacrificed to that of another, which, however, would have been not the less preserved without their co-operation, as it was there by bishops, priests, and friars. Mabillon observes, that we owe the histories of England and of many other kingdoms, almost solely to the Benedictine monks.‡ Especial regard was paid by them to the studies connected with history. Matthew Paris says, that in every royal monastery in England there was one learned and diligent scribe, who used to note down all the actions and events of each reign, and that on the death of the king, this account was referred to a general chapter, to be examined, and afterwards it was inserted in the chronicle, which was to transmit them to posterity. We should have been always children in our national history but for the writings of Bede, Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, Matthew of Westminster, and Matthew of Paris. In the same manner we are indebted for the history of France to Odo of Vienne, William of Jumièges, Oderic Vitalis, and other monks; for that of Italy, to Paul the deacon, Erkempert, Leo Marsicanus, and Peter the deacon; and for that of Germany, to the abbot Reginonus, Wilichind, Lambert of Ascenburg, Ditmar, and Herman. "In our schools," says Mabillon, "were taught all branches of learning, but every other study was referred to that of the sacred Scriptures and of the holy Fathers." Whenever the atrocity of wars did not impose silence on the Muses, those ancient academies were schools of eloquence as well as of virtue. The profane authors were studied with the sole limitation of excluding what was immoral. Thus St. Anselm, writing to Maurice, prescribed to Arnulphus, that he should read Virgil and other authors, "exceptis his, in quibus

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, III. 146.
† Dialogo delle Lingue.
‡ De Studiis Monasticis, I. 16.

aliqua turpitudo sonat." Celebrated was the learning of Gerbert at the time when he only taught in the cathedral school of Rheims, where he had for his pupils King Robert and the Emperor Otho III. and Fulbert, who became such a learned priest. Mabillon shows, that the joys and sweets of study might, without scruple, be possessed by monks, who, for the sake of recreation, might read voyages, elegant orations, or heroic poems. The books of Virgil were under the pillow of St. Hugo VI. Abbot of Cluny, though he had a dream which represented the fables of poets as a poison.* Yet his judgment probably outweighed it. St. Augustin makes use of a verse of Virgil to illustrate a mode of expression in the holy Scriptures.†

We find that no branch of learning was disdained by the monks. Among the fathers of Italian literature, Pignotti acknowledges many Tuscan monks of the Dominican order, from whose works he says, even at the present day, the students of the language imbibe the purest draughts of learning, such as Bartholomew of St. Concordio, Beato Giordano, a famous preacher, Dominico Cavalca, equally celebrated for his divine eloquence, and Jacob Passavanti, who, besides being a most admirable preacher, gave lectures upon philosophy and theology in various cities. It was this friar who directed the building of the church of Santa Maria Novella: but his sermons, his theology, and philosophy, have all disappeared, and his Mirror of true Penance alone remains,—an ornament of the language, being written first in Latin and afterwards translated by himself into the vulgar tongue. The works of these theologians enjoy the double advantage of teaching at once Christian truths and elegance of style. The precepts sweetly penetrate the heart with a soft unction: and such is the beauty of the language, that we seem to hear the most eloquent fathers of the church.‡

In the beginning of the ninth century, John Scotus, named Erigenus, from his country Erin, or Ireland, which was then renowned throughout the West for its learning, had travelled as far as Greece through his ardour for philosophic studies. "I did not fail," he says, "to visit every place or temple where the philosophers used to compose and deposit their secret works, and there is not one of the learned men, who had any knowledge of their philosophical writings, that I did not question."* He resided at the court of Charles-le-Chauve, who invited many learned men from Ireland and from the Anglo-Saxons, insomuch, that instead of saying, as before, "schola palatii," men used then to say, "palatium scholæ." John Erigenus, as the chief of this school, used to lecture on Plato and Aristotle, the former of whom he called the greatest of the philosophers of the world, and the latter, the most subtle inquirer among the Greeks as to the diversity of natural things.† He was profoundly versed in Greek, and probably in Hebrew, so that, at least, on the ground of his extensive learning, we may be allowed to mention him. With the same reserve one may also allude to Abailard, though his blessed end may free his memory from every dark association. This extraordinary man was said by his contemporaries to have been ignorant of nothing in heaven or on earth, excepting himself. Peter of Cluny, who used to call him the Socrates of the Gauls, put these words upon his tomb: "Ille sciens, quicquid fuit ulli scibile." Heloisa had studied under him philosophy and theology, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Of Alcuin I shall speak shortly; but there are names less renowned that one ought not to pass over in silence. Leon, of Ostia, who wrote the voluminous Chronicles of Mount Cassino, by order of the Abbot Orderic, in the eleventh century, has merited the highest praise of Baronius and Dupin; Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, Paul, the deacon of Aquilea, whose life was spared when convicted of a conspiracy against the emperor, on consideration of his learning, William, Archbishop of Tyre, and James of Vitri, are historians of whom the most cultivated age might be proud. A German monk, who lived in the middle of the eleventh century, Lambert von Affschenbourg, wrote an admirable history of the wars of Italy against the empire, in a style imitated from the great models of antiquity; he had studied in his convent Livy, Tacitus, and Sallust. At the end of the tenth century, amidst wars and disorders, the monk Gerbert, in the monasteries of Aurillac and of Bobbio, was studying the most precious manuscripts of Latin antiquity, and some even that we possess not; he was studying

* Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 423.
† Enchiridion, cap. 13.
‡ Hist. of Tuscany, II.

* Wood Hist. et Antiquit. Oxon. Lib. 1. 15.
† Jean, Erig. de Divisione Naturæ, I. c. 33. 16.

metaphysics, geometry, history, and literature; he was inventing works of ingenious mechanism, and exchanging them for manuscripts. "We do not send you the sphere," he writes to one of his friends, "it is not a thing that costs little labour amidst so many occupations. If, therefore, you are very earnest in these studies, send us the volume of the Achilleid of Stacius, carefully transcribed; with that present, you will be able to draw this sphere from me, which you can never procure gratis, on account of the difficulty of such a work." The zeal of Lupus, Abbot of Ferriers, in the ninth century, induced him to write to the pope, to request that he would send him a copy of Quintilian, and of a treatise of Cicero. His correspondence with other abbots respecting the loan of manuscripts is highly curious. One friend, having sent to borrow a manuscript, Lupus sends back the messenger without giving it to him, because, though a monk and trustworthy, he was travelling on foot. In the thirteenth century the Dominican and Franciscan orders produced men of most remarkable genius and learning. Baron Cuvier says that it is really astonishing to reflect upon what was written by Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais, though he was of Burgundy, who composed an immense Encyclopædia, St. Thomas Aquinas, that meek master of the sapient throng, and Roger Bacon; for though the latter composed but comparatively small treatises, they are full of genius, and evince a most extraordinary spirit of discovery. It may be well to compare this language of a great modern naturalist with that of some Catholic historians. The learning of the Franciscans was celebrated. Monteil says, that there was justice in the old proverb, "parler Latin devant les Cordeliers."* Dugdale says, that the Franciscan order has yielded so immense a number of men renowned for learning and piety, that it is impossible to mention them;† and he states, that in England many extraordinary men proceeded also from the schools of the Augustinians.‡

Notwithstanding the zeal which was evinced for manuscripts, the monks are accused of neglecting, and, in consequence of the scarceness of parchment, of cancelling them, though it is not probable that the latter was ever done with that reckless disregard for the intrinsic value or rarity of the original, which some modern writers suppose. It does not appear that the publishers of the manuscripts of the classics accused the monks of neglecting them. Petrarch only says to his brother, "If I am dear to you, charge some faithful and learned man to travel through Tuscany, and to search the shelves and chests of the monks, and other men of instruction, in hopes of producing something to allay my thirst." It is true they speak of dark corners and iron clasps, but it is only to give an air of greater importance to their own activity, and not to censure the monks who had them in their possession. The description which Benvenuto da Imola gives of the visit of Boccacio to Monte Cassino, in which he says that the library was left open, that the books were covered with dust, some of them torn and defaced, and that the grass was growing in the windows, besides that the sum of its testimony amounts to little, contains intrinsic evidence of having been written with a hostile mind. "Fast shut and with great care the library of sacred books is to be preserved," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "from all defilement of dust, from fire and from damp, from thieves and from the sound of clamour, from clay off the feet and the corrosion of worms, from all stain and rent of leaves. He is not worthy to read a sacred book who knows not how to take care of it, and who neglects to put it back in its proper place. Thus must be preserved the treasury of the church, made and edited by holy doctors, written and collected by good writers, and provided by God for the consolations of many."* That only one copy of Tacitus should have been found in an old chest in the monastery of St. Gall, is no proof that the ancient learning would soon have perished through culpable neglect, since manuscripts of that author were always scarce, and one instance of carelessness will not justify an universal charge, not to remark that the searchers for manuscripts, like hunters, were no doubt often guilty of exaggerating their difficulties. Chateaubriand says he does not remember to have found in any catalogue of the ancient monasteries of France a single copy of Tacitus. The Benedictine monks of Corby possessed the five first books of his Annals.† The only manuscript of Phedrus that existed was in the library of the cathedral of Rheims. It appears even that the condition of the copies of manuscripts in one monastery would be known to monks living in another. Peter

* Hist. des Français, Tom. III. 395.
† Monast. Anglic. Vol. II. 6.
‡ Ib. Vol. II. 224.

* Thom. de Kempis Doctrinale Juvenum, cap. 5.
† Mabil. Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Bened. § 4.

the venerable abbot of Cluny, writing to Guigo, prior of a Carthusian monastery, and sending him some books, assigns as his reason for not sending with them the tract of St. Hilary upon the Psalms, that he had found in his own copy the same corrosions as existed in that of the Carthusians.* In erasing Cicero's book, De Republica, to write upon the parchment St. Augustin's Commentary on the Psalms, it may be conceived how naturally they might conclude, that they were substituting a work of incomparably superior value, and they would hardly have supposed that the former would not come down to posterity, since so much of it was preserved even in the writings of Lactantius and other Fathers. On the invention of printing, the monks were the first to appreciate its value and importance. In the year 1474, a book was printed by the Augustin monks of a convent in the Rhingau. The first patrons of Caxton were Thomas Milling, Bishop of Hereford, and Abbot of Westminster, in which abbey he established his printing-office. The first printing press in Italy was in the monastery of St. Scholastica at Subiaco, the productions of which are sought after with such avidity on account of their extraordinary beauty. It was the Bishop of Holun who enabled Mathison to introduce printing into Iceland. In the year 1480 a printing press was established in the Benedictine monastery of St. Alban, of which William Wallingford was the prior, John Whethamstede, abbot of that house, was celebrated for his love of learning. Soon after the introduction of printing, another press was established in the abbey of Tavistock, where the printer was a monk, Thomas Ryehard. Along with this prodigious discovery for the propagation of learning, appeared that admirable society of fervent disciples of our Lord, who demonstrated the art of combining the interests of piety with those of learning, not only exercising, but even teaching it, as in the incomparable work of Father Jouvency, the Ratio discendi et docendi. Among the first fathers of the society, Salmeron, at the age of twenty-one, Laynez at twenty-four, and Bobadilla at twenty-six, had acquired such learning, that they were the admiration of the court of Paul III.; and Bellarmin, before the age of thirty, had composed seven learned controversial treatises. Tolet and Vasquez, at the age of twenty-five, began to be the oracles of the universities of Spain. But the services of the Jesuits in multiplying editions of excellent books have never been appreciated; though independent of all other benefits, that work alone gave them an unquestionable title to the gratitude of Christians in all future ages. Of the love which men bore for learning during the middle ages, we have many curious and memorable instances. The Abbot Lupus, in a letter to Einard, says, "The love of letters is innate in me almost from the first days of boyhood." His love of learning induced him to travel into Germany to Fulda, not in order to learn the German language, but "that he might feed his soul with sacred study and erudition."* St. Lindger, when a child, used to make imitations of books with the bark of trees, and with them to form a little library. When a youth he travelled to many countries for the sake of attending the lectures of learned men; and on his return from York into Saxony he carried with him a quantity of books. John of Salisbury, in a letter to Count Henry, says, "that in his late interview with Peter, Abbot of St. Remy, that holy man had affirmed that nothing was sweeter to him in life than to converse with men of letters upon subjects of learning."† Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham, in the thirteenth century, was celebrated for his love and encouragement of literature. Besides having libraries in all his palaces, it is related that the floor of his common apartment used to be covered with books, so that it was no easy matter to approach him. St. Bonaventura on account of his singular virtues and most admirable learning, having been offered the archbishopric of York and England, begged of the pope, Clement IV., to permit him to continue in his evangelical poverty to serve the holy church by his studies of holy Scripture and divinity. Let us be satisfied, without demanding further evidence, and confess that we have no reason to accuse the middle ages on the ground of their neglect of learning. Is it for the present race of men to boast of being the first to appreciate the value of books, when their type of a great sovereign exhibited one, who for a mere political and commercial trick exported from the coast of France the contents of some of the richest libraries in the world, consisting of superb Benedictine editions, and of vast treasures of ancient books, which had been plundered from the monasteries during the revolution, and then piled up in churches till they reached the very roof, for the ex-

* S. Petri ven. Epist. Lib. I. 24.

* Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 8.
† Joan. Saresberiensis, Epist. CLXXII.

press purpose of casting them into the sea, in order that the ship might take in coffee and sugar in their place?* Who now loves learning on its own account? May not this age, notwithstanding all its pretended freedom, supply posterity with matter for another treatise, like that of Lucian, on men of learning in pay of the great? what writer is not now, at least, in pay of the public? and when was learning more independent than during the middle ages? Of how many branches of learning might we not say, what one of the greatest natural philosophers of the present age affirmed of science, that "there are very few persons in England who pursue it with true dignity: it is followed as connected with objects of profit."† The writers of Catholic times were never drudges for vain man's applause, or for base lucre. Not for the world's sake, for which now they toil who send forth lying books, but for the real manna grew they mighty in learning. Letters are, indeed, professedly cultivated, and spoken of with admiration; but where are they seen to act upon minds with that real power which they exercised during the ages of faith? where is there now a student, like St. Edmund, or a master, like Bede, who used to be so excited by his reading and moved to compunction, that often while he was reading and teaching he used to burst into tears?

"Consider the happiness and content of a scholar's life," says the author of the meditations which were compiled for the English College at Lisbon; "The pleasure of learning is most pure and etherial, most constant, gathering strength with her increase; finally most secure and honourable without any danger of foul wretchedness, blemish of fame, or breach of friendship; whereas all other pleasures are gross, tumultuous, and sordid. In point of dignity too scholars have the pre-eminence; for there is no man but laughs at a fool how rich soever, and in his heart respects a scholar though never so poor."‡ Thus wrote these holy men whose pathetic statement of the prospects which then awaited their students on their return to England where so many were martyred, cannot be read without the deepest emotion. "None," say they, "but those who have had the experience can truly conceive the conditions and difficulties of this state." But who in our days of comparative facility in the pursuit of letters is found to speak with the same reverence and love for learning? Turn to whatever side we will, the utmost we can expect to hear is the language of Callicles. "I love to see a youth devoted to philosophy, but when a man continues to cultivate it, I deem him worthy of stripes; for however ingenuous he may be by nature, he becomes servile through study. For he flies from the centre of political affairs, and all the custom of forensic assemblies, hiding himself and whispering in some corner with three or four boys all his life; and never coming forward to sound forth any thing liberal or magnificent. Truly, O Socrates, I love you; and therefore I say to you that you are neglecting what you ought to meditate, and that you are moulding that generous excellence of your mind to a certain boyish form, and disqualifying yourself for all active and public affairs of life, and neglecting to exercise yourself in matters which would make you seem to be wise, and procure you fame and riches, and many other good things."* With what effect do we suppose such persuasions would have been addressed to the studious inhabitants of cloisters and colleges in the middle ages when it was known that a Divine blessing was on the man who had borne the yoke from his youth, who should sit solitary and hold his peace? But it will be said, these were all men separate to the Church. The laity during this time were in a state of deplorable ignorance. No greater error than to suppose that they were. The evidence which has been already adduced of the wide diffusion of learning, might be still further strengthened, if we were to visit the places where one might least expect to find it; for we should frequently discover even in the feudal castle, men of great erudition. It is said, that a single book often formed its library, which had the appearance of a piece of furniture, being enclosed within boards, locked up, and opened as a kind of sanctuary, from which during the long evenings of winter men used to read without ceasing: but one book then contained a great deal of matter, if we may judge from the compilations which have come down to us, and this is after all but an exaggerated picture of the little encouragement afforded to study by the habits of feudal life. Little favourable as they may have been to a constant fortuitous and desultory reading, which St. Bonaventura says, does not edify because it renders the mind still more rambling and unstable,†

* In the year 1809.
† Sir H. Davy's Consolations in Travel, 1830.
‡ Part IV. c. 3.

* Plato Gorgias.
† S. Bonav. Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 15.

still there were some points in which they were more in accordance with the interests of real learning than those of the modern society; for as letters have in them something generous they inspire an aversion for exercises which the mind does not participate; they render men, as Don Savedra says, solemn and melancholy, lovers of retirement, and averse to public employments, and such a disposition found many circumstances of feudal life as if peculiarly accommodated to its state. We are told, indeed, in the Lay of the last Minstrel, that Lord Cranstoun's elfin page was surprised to find Michael Scot's book on the person of the wounded Sir William of Deloraine.

"Much he marvell'd a knight of pride,
Like a book-bosom'd priest should ride."

But the fact is, that great numbers of nobles and princes in the middle ages were men of considerable learning, fond of books; and many who were themselves without it, respected and encouraged it in others, like Theodoric, who was so passionately fond of learned men, though he could not even write his own name. Gaston Phebus, that celebrated knight and feudal prince, was so attached to learning that he formed a collection of Greek, Latin, and Italian authors, and it is to the education which she received at his court, that historians ascribe the admirable beauty of the writings of Clotilde de Surville, which have been lately restored to light. De la Barre, the historian of Corbeil, says, "that Anthony Seigneur de Carnazet exalted the honour of his house by adding to the lustre of chivalry the glory of learning, and produced the fruits of his noble mind, in his discourses on morals to be the instruction of his children, having the courage to proclaim this truth, that science is more estimable than nobility, riches, strength, or valour." The Secretary of Anthony de Gingins, President of Savoy under Duke Charles II, composed his Mironer du Monde, while residing in the castle of that old nobleman in the country of Gex, at the foot of the Jura, where he found a library containing, as he says, many beautiful and exquisite books, such as Strabo, Ptolomy, l'Especule Naturel of Vincent of Beauvais, Pliny, Albumasar, and others, from which he made extracts, and composed in the Gothic and French language this present book, entitled, Le Mironer du Monde.* François de Malherbe, on his return to Caen, from his travels during which he had resided at Heidelberg and at Basle for the sake of attending the lectures of professors, delivered discourses in the public schools of the University of Caen, with his sword at his side, of which practice Huet gives other examples. Nicholas Vauquelin sieur des Iveteaux, author of the poem on the Institution of a Prince, delivered discourses publicly in the same university in the dress of a cavalier.* Even a gentleman of Gastine, in Poitou, who had no other theme but hunting, and the recollections of his youth, became distinguished as a writer in prose and verse, as in the instances of Jacques de Fouilloux, whom Gouget inserts in his history of French authors.† Gaufridus Bellus, the fourteenth Count of Angers, is described as admirable for probity and justice, and though engaged in the profession of arms, excellently learned and most eloquent among the clergy and laity.‡ Fulco the good, Count of Anjou, is said by the same historian to have been very learned, and a profound master of learning among brave soldiers. St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, relates that his father used to know by heart the histories of the ancients and the novels of Justinian, and that the evangelical words were constantly heard at his table.§ What learned nobles did England possess in Catholic times? how did the true sentiments of a Christian gentleman breathe in every line of the works of Antony Woodville, Earl of Rivers, as remarkable for goodness as for erudition! John Tiptoft, the learned and accomplished Earl of Worcester, was so great an orator, that at Rome he was said to have drawn tears from the eyes of Pope Pius II. On the flight of Edward IV. he was taken prisoner and beheaded. Caxton exclaims on this event, "O good blessed Lord God! what grete loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well disposed Lord, and what worship had he at Rome in the presence of our holy fader the Pope, and so in all other places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that was there might lern to die and take his deth patiently." The learning of many of the Italians in the middle ages, has never been exceeded. Giannozo Manetti, the Florentine, was one of the most learned men that Europe ever possessed: he spoke Latin, Greek, and Hebrew: he translated the whole of the Psalms from the original, and he wrote a book in confutation of Judaism, exposing

* Gouget, Bibliotheque Française, Tom. IX. 226.

* Id. Tom. XVI. 111. † Id. XVI. 34.
‡ Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.
§ Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 15.

their misinterpretations of the holy Scriptures. These sacred studies and the reading of the works of St. Augustin made him a theologian; he considered St. Augustin and Aristotle as the greatest men the world had ever seen: he had the whole work De Civitate Dei by heart, as also the ethics of Aristotle, and the Epistles of St. Paul; and he asserted that theology ought to be the principal science of mankind. Raphael Maffei was another learned Tuscan of the fifteenth century: he passed the latter part of his life as a hermit in a cell covered with boards, sleeping upon straw, feeding upon bread and water, and a few vegetables: he finally renounced all profane erudition, and wrote only the lives of saints. He founded and endowed a monastery of nuns, under the title of St. Lino, and was himself regarded as a saint. The convents could bear testimony to the love of learning which animated numbers of noble laymen. It was in the spirit of that age, when Cosmo de Medicis enriched with a library the magnificent Abbey of St. Bartholomew, near Fiesole, and presented another collection of books to the convent of St. Francesco, which was not far distant from his Caffaggiolo, situated in a picturesque wood in the pleasing valley of the Mugello, resembling those delightful groves which the poetic imagination has ascribed to Arcadia. In an early age, Cassiodorus, who was blessed, as Gibbon says, with thirty years of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace, carried with him to the monastery of Monte Cassino, his own extensive library. An Italian author remarks, that flattery has had no share in the elegant representation which adorns the hall of the palace Pitti, from the pencil of John Mannozzi, where the Muses are painted as exiled from Greece, and meeting a courteous reception from that house; for the government of Florence was distinguished by the hospitable reception which it gave to the illustrious fugitives. When Raymonde Sebonde came into France, from learned and philosophic Spain, with the intention of visiting the University of Paris, he was stopped on his way by the city of Toulouse; for such was the enthusiastic admiration excited there by his renown, that the inhabitants forced him to remain, and absolutely detained him against his will. In the middle ages, were seen many kings who were men of learning and ardent admirers of all wisdom. What an admirable instance is that of Charlemagne surrounded by the eminent scholars whom he had collected from all nations. What a zeal did he evince for learning! "Oh! I wish," he exclaimed one day while conversing with Alcuin, "that I had twelve clerks as learned and instructed in all wisdom as were Jerome and Augustin!" when Alcuin replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth had not any more like them, and you wish to have twelve!" Such was the esteem in which letters continued to be held at the imperial court under another monarch, that the present of a book was received as an equivalent for a tax due to the crown. The abbot of Corby, in the year 847, wrote as follows to the king. "Instead of a present of gold or silver for this festival, I send a book on the Eucharist, which although small in bulk, is great in consideration of the subject. I composed it for my dear disciple the Abbot Placide de Varin." No sovereigns encouraged learning with greater zeal than Louis-le-Jeune and Philippe-Augustus. King John of France in that feudal age, evinced a great love for learning, and to his orders the French owed their first translation of Livy, Sallust, Lucan, and Cæsar. Christine de Pisan, writing the life of King Charles V. in which she adheres most rigidly to truth, divides the work into three parts, which are entitled, on the Nobleness of Courage, of Chivalry, and of Wisdom, for learning entered then into the ideal of an excellent prince, and offered them titles which they valued more than those of their royal birth, as in the instance of Henry of England. By order of King Charles V. some of the finest treatises of St. Augustin, as well as the whole Bible, the greatest part of the works of Aristotle, Cicero, and many other authors, were translated into French: and this king gave immense pensions to the learned men who were employed in these labours. Speaking of John the brother of Charles V. then Duc de Berry, Christine says, "Se délicte et aime gens soubtilz, soyent clercs ou autres, beaulx livres des sciences morales et histoires notables, moult aime et voulentiers en oit tous ouvrages soubtilment fais."* Of his brother, Lewis, Duc d'Anjou, she says, "il amoit les chevalereux et les sages clercs;"† and of his fourth brother, Lewis, Duc de Bourbon, "aime et secuert les bons chevaliers et les clercs sages‡ en toutes choses bonnes soubtilles et belles se délicte; livres de moralitez, de la sainte Escripture et d'enseignement moult luy plaisent, et voulentiers en ot, et luy mesmes par notables maistres en theo-

* Livre des Fais du Sage Roy Charles V. II. chap. xii. † Id. II. 11. ‡ Id. II. c. 14.

logie en a fait translater de moult beaulx." Of Louis, Duc d'Orleans, son of King Charles V. she says, "that often there used to be before him many disputations of great congregations of wise doctors and solemn clerks, when many cases would be proposed and put in terms of diverse things, and that the memory and eloquence be used to evince on these occasions were wonderful, as he replied to each of the arguments, not in a high and fierce style of language, but mildly and all in peace, so that it was beautiful to witness it."* King Charles V. was told on one occasion, that some persons had murmured against him for paying such honour to clerks, but he replied, "One cannot too greatly honour clerks who have wisdom: for so long as wisdom shall be honoured in this kingdom, it will continue in prosperity, but if wisdom should be ever thrust out it will fall away."† The old writer, who collected the very joyous history of Bayart gives this testimony, that the Duke of Ferrara is a gentle and wise prince, "qui scet quasy tous les sept ars liberaulx et plusieurs autres choses mécaniques;"‡ and that the duchess is a most triumphant princess, being beautiful, good, sweet, and courteous to all kinds of people, and so learned that she speaks Spanish, Greek, Italian, French, and a little very good Latin, in all which languages she can compose.§ The Duke of Nemours, he relates, passing through a little town named Carpy, remained there with his knights two days, and was very well received by the seigneur of the town, who was a man of great learning in Greek and Latin literature: he was cousin-german of Picus of Mirandula, and was styled Albertus Mirandula, Count of Carpy.‖ Picus of Mirandula at the age of twenty-three, maintained at Rome certain theses, containing nine hundred propositions, drawn from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic authors. The emperor Ferdinand III. spoke a great number of languages, and could answer every ambassador in his own tongue.¶ The learning of these high princes was indeed not always scholastic. It was sometimes acquired solely by intercourse with learned men. Thus the King Don Alonso of Naples used to retire after his repasts in the company of learned men, in order, as be used to say, to feed his mind after refreshing his body, and even Francis I. King of France, whose reign beheld a suspension of learning, without having studied in his youth, made himself, by means of similar conversation, qualified to speak on all subjects of importance. Christine de Pisan, mentions that King Charles V. did not neglect this method, for being circumspect in all things, as she says, in order to adorn his conscience, it pleased him often to hear at his collations masters in theology and divinity of all orders of the Church, having them around him and honouring them greatly, having in the utmost reverence every spiritual father or wise person, of just and salutary instruction.* It would be hazardous to affirm that the chivalrous lords of feudal towers, like the modern sons of nobility, could always boast of having possessed a Phenix for their governor, but unquestionably in Catholic times, the cloister supplied true sages, whose conversation was able to form great and good men to administer justice, and govern their dependants with benignity and firmness. It remains to speak of the character of the learning which was thus diffused and ardently pursued during the ages of faith.

A modern French writer, treating on the fifth century, says, that not only did literature become wholly religious, but being religious, it ceased to be what is generally styled literature. In the ancient times of Greece and Rome, men studied and wrote for the sole pleasure of studying, and of knowing how to procure for themselves and others intellectual enjoyment. Literature was devoted to the search of truth; and so, he might have added, it has again become, professedly, at least, in the modern societies in which men write and study, precisely as if no such fact as that of the Christian revelation had ever occurred; but during the ages of faith it was quite otherwise. Within the sphere of divinity and morals, men studied no more in order to search for truth, and acquire knowledge; they wrote no more for the sake of writing. Writings and studies assumed a practical character. Men only sought to convert and regulate the purely speculative character of philosophy; as, independent of religion, poetry, letters, and arts had disappeared. From not having well seized this character of the period, a false idea of it has been generally formed, men have concluded that it was a time of apathy and moral sterility, without any development of intelligences. But it is an error to suppose, that there was then no intellectual activity. On the contrary,

* Id. II. c. 16. † Id. Part III. c. 14.
‡ Chap. XLII. § Id. chap. XLV.
‖ Id. chap. XLVII.
¶ Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 51.

* Part. I. c. 15.

adds this writer, there was much; only it was under a different form, and tended to different results. It was an activity of application. One is astonished at regarding a world of writings which attest the ardour and fecundity of those ages, and which still constitute a real and rich literature.* The leaves of modern books are exactly like a Protestant country, or some barbarous region where the light of Christianity has never shone; where all is secularized, and every image of religion effaced, excepting what belongs to the idolizing of nature. The old books introduce us, as it were, into a Catholic country, where amidst beautiful woods and wild mountains, we find monasteries, and crosses, and holy images of saints, constantly reminding us of our heavenly country. Men talk of literature becoming religious, as if that was an indication of its decline; and yet without the sanctifying influence of religion, when has learning ever assumed an amiable or even a dignified character? "Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desinunt," said Seneca,† and Petrus Cellensis explains the invariable phenomenon connected with the manners of the learned, when he says, "Literatura sæcularis inflat, si illam caritas non reprimat."‡ But what a gracious tone did that charity impart to learning in the ages of faith? It is recorded of James, abbot of Villemoustier, in the eighth century, that if he ever heard one of his monks in reading place the accent on a wrong syllable, to spare the modesty of the reader, he never reprehended him at the time.§ But not merely the style, the whole object and motives of learning were changed. "Quid tota series literarum aliud indicat, quam te ea quæ sursum sunt sapere, non quæ super terram?" says Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny, writing to his dearest brother Odo.‖ Mabillon shows that learning was to be cultivated with no other view but to render men more humble and charitable, more hidden to the eyes of men, and more sensible to the knowledge of God; more fervent to love him, and more diligent to serve him.¶ One was to study, but never in order to seem to be wiser or more learned than others.** One was to write, but not for the sake of being always able to boast like Demosthenes, that he came forward in literature and science, in politics and theology, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος. It was often necessary to use much persuasion to induce men to publish their works. There is a letter from the Monk Petrus Pictaviensis to Peter the venerable abbot of Cluni, exhorting him to this effect. "I know that I am very bold in daring thus to advise you, but I trust in your piety that it will pardon me. For beloved father, I fear not a little lest from declining all vanity in study you should wish too much to remain concealed under this intention. You ought to take care, most discreet man, lest by avoiding the praise of men with too much caution, you omit those things for which the faithful servant in the Gospel deserved to be praised by the good householder. Consider, I beseech you, that if the holy fathers had written nothing formerly, but had only passed a good life in silence, they would not have gained such a multitude of people to God, nor would they have left with us such a sweet and celebrated memory. The study of writing has always distinguished the abbots of Cluny from ancient times, so that if they do not write they have reason to blush for themselves as being degenerate and unworthy of their predecessors."* St. Anselm uses stronger language to encourage literary exertion. "There are some men," he observes, "ignorant sinfully, who say, what use to retain this little? I shall never become wise from so small a thing. All who are not learned will not perish. There are enough of wise men in the world, enough of learned writers. There is no need for me to fatigue myself: thus he speaks to his mind, and does not perceive that the ancient enemy suggests these things to him, that he may never study to be useful, that he may live in torpor and negligence, and so perish."† These men had but one object in their studies, "In doctrinis glorificate Dominum,"‡ the supremacy of which continued to be recognised till the last; for the first efforts of engraving and printing were employed to aid religion, of which we see examples in the Biblia Pauperum, and the Speculum Salutis, and the editions of the Latin Bible by Fust. All the learning, even of the laity, during the middle ages, partook of this sacred character. Fleury

* Guizot, Cours d'Hist. Mod. Tom. II.
† Epist. II.
‡ Petri Abb. Cellens. Epist. Lib. IX. 7.
§ Historia Monasterii Villariensis, Lib. I. cap. 12, apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.
‖ Epist. Lib. I. 13.
¶ Tractat. de Studiis Monasticis Præfat.
** De Imit. Lib. III. 53.

* Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 620.
† S. Anselmi de Similitudinibus, cap. 54.
‡ Isa. xxiv. 19.

mentions that the young Emperor Theodosius had a good library of ecclesiastical books, and used to converse with bishops, almost as if he had been one of their order:* and Christine de Pisan says, that King Charles V. of France was really a philosopher, that is, a lover of wisdom. He was a true inquirer after high primary things, that is, of high theology, which is the term of wisdom, which is nothing else but the knowledge of God and of his high celestial virtues; he desired to be instructed in this by wise masters, and he caused many books of wise theologians to be translated, "et de théologie souvent vouloit oyr."†

The modern sophists condemn such learning in a prince, and require on the contrary that he should be instructed in the sciences of natural philosophy, as if a knowledge of botany or mineralogy were more conducive to perfect the art of wise government, than that of ethics and divinity, which would teach the end of all good government, the true interests of mankind, and what belongs to the various relations of men on the stage of the present life. How should the natural sciences constitute the proper learning for rulers, or legislators, or magistrates? Society is not in a better or worse condition for their opinion on physics being true or false; there are always men whom they may consult on such questions, but their error in religion or morals may involve whole generations in incalculable evils. The example of King Don Alonzo is adduced by Savedra to prove the inutility of science in a prince, for he knew how to correct the disorders of the heavens, but not those in his state; he who, by the force of his genius, could ascend to the height of the celestial orbs, was not able to preserve a kingdom and an hereditary crown. The Sultan of Egypt, ravished at so glorious a renown, sent ambassadors to him loaded with presents, and almost all the cities of Castille, in the heart of his kingdom, refused to obey him. The religious studies of the middle ages taught men how to govern themselves, and therefore enabled them to rule over others. Men would not have deemed it possible during the ages of faith, that the fact of a religious direction having been given to the studies of the laity, could be adduced in subsequent times in evidence of their having been barbarians. They would have shrunk in contempt, as well as in displeasure, from any learning which was otherwise directed. Hæc et a pueritia legimus et discimus, they would have confidently replied to any objectors who should have proposed a different kind of learning. Hanc eruditionem liberalem et doctrinam putamus. This was the learning, not for the priest alone, but for all Christians in time past, who, while they occupy themselves with learning, "hanc amplissimam omnium artium benè vivendi disciplinam vitâ magis quam litteris persecuti sunt."* This was the learning of those masters of religion whom our ancestors revered, of whom we might justly say, in the words of the Roman orator, "that their wisdom seems to us so great, that those men are more than sufficiently prudent, who, we do not say follow their prudence, but who are able to perceive how great it was." Do men at present forget, that the reason, even of the ancient philosophers, would have dictated similar language? "Let us inquire what say the priests: for I confess that I am vehemently moved by the gravity of their answers, and by their one and constant voice. Neither am I that man who, if he should seem to be more than others versed in the study of letters would take delight in or make any use whatever of such letters as would tend to withdraw our minds from religion." This, you reply, is the language of some bigoted disciple, when education was the monopoly of the priesthood during the dark ages. Nay, most profound critic, they are the words of Cicero.†

But, even in a mere literary point of view, what was the character of the learning of the middle ages? Truly I do not see on what grounds the men of later times have reason to despise it. Philosophers enumerate three distempers of learning; the first fantastical learning, the second contentious learning, and the last delicate learning: vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affections. Now I would ask these disparagers of the Christian school, whether, if we exclude these three kinds of learning, will there be found remaining such prodigious stores for the moderns to boast of, as to warrant their contempt for past ages? It is infinitely remarkable that Lord Bacon should have noticed this perversion of learning, as having been consequent upon what he

* Mœurs des Chrest. 307.
† Livre des Fais, &c. Part III. c. 3.

* Cicer. Tuscul. Liv. IV. 3.
† Orat. de Haruspicum Respons. 9.

calls the reformation: he admits that learning then became characterised by an affectionate study of eloquence: men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be despised as barbarous; then were Cicero and Demosthenes almost deified, and young men allured unto that delicate and polished kind of learning, which induced Erasmus to make the scoffing echo, "Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone," and the echo answered in Greek "ὀνε—ass."* Now whatever may have been the faults of the ancient learning, it at least never evinced the spirit or the tricks of the sophist or the pedant. "A good reader or student," says Vincent of Beauvais, "ought to be humble and mild, and ready to learn from all, and he never should presume on the ground of his knowledge, and he ought not to wish to seem to be wise before the time, pretending to be what he is not, and ashamed to appear what he is. He ought not to condemn instantly whatever he does not understand. This should be the discipline of readers.† There are some," he continues, "who wish to read all things, but the number of books is infinite. Be not desirous of following where there is no end or rest, and therefore no peace; and where there is no peace God cannot dwell. Philosophy rejects a fastidious stomach, and invites the cheerful guest to a simple supper of few but good meats. There is a great difference between seeing the thing itself, and only the books; for books are only poor monuments of knowledge, and contain only the principles for inquiry, which are to be pursued afterwards, and for that very purpose books are to be laid aside."‡ Mere book-learning distinguishes no great writer of the middle ages. "Some things which I have not found in books," says John of Salisbury, "from daily use and experience of things, as if from a certain history of manners, I have gathered."§ The learning of the middle ages was Homeric, indicating personal acquaintance with men and things. Many of their great writers were themselves wanderers. Trithemius mentions a certain priest of Ireland, named Sedulius, a disciple from childhood of the Archbishop Hildebert, who might be said to represent them all, for he was a man exercised in the divine Scriptures, and most learned in literature, excelling in verses and prose, who left Ireland, passed into France and Italy, thence into Asia, and lastly, after visiting the shores of Achaia, returned to Rome, where he shone in admirable learning.* In the schools, indeed, were distinguished the superseminati, or those who were superficial, the pannosi, or those whose learning was all in scraps and collections of sentences, and the massati, or those who were solidly learned;† but even to the two former belonged the grace of humility, and the merit of a sound judgment, of which the proof may yet be witnessed in the collections made by them which have come down to us, as well as in works of their own composition. The admirable Phillipe de Comines confesses that he is a man "who has no literature, mais quelque peu d'expérience et sens naturel," which the Abbé Gouget justly remarks, is worth far more than learning. A certain tone of noble simplicity, not unconnected with those manners of the feudal hearth, to which I before alluded, was observable in the writings of such men. It is this which seems so admirable in Joinville, and Froissart, and Olivier de la Marche, and a multitude of others, to whom the following distich of the poet Panormita, addressed to Leon Batista the Florentine, might with justice be applied by every judicious reader,

> "Cum placeas cunctis, raris pro dotibus, idem
> Tu mihi pro verâ simplicitate places."

One is struck also in all their compositions with that characteristic, which a distinguished critic of our times praises in Dante, that lively and respectful faith, that laical docility which reigns amidst the magnificent inventions of his imagination, and the boldest flights of genius. In general, the learning and style of the middle ages had a certain deep mysterious tone, unobtrusive, symbolical, and at an infinite distance from the pert familiarity and vulgar display which is so characteristic of modern literature. "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard," says Hippolita of the play, to whom Theseus replies in words that ex-

* Advancement of learning.
† Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. cap. 28.
‡ Id. Lib. I. cap. 33.
§ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. VII. Prologo.

* In Lib. II. de Scriptoribus Eccles.
† Heuffel, Hist. Scholarum, 376.

press the genuine spirit of all their beautiful and profound compositions:

> "The best in this kind are but shadows:
> And the worst are no worse, if imagination amend them."*

But what could imagination do for the popular literature of the present age? Men in these days would have disdained the domestic familiar muse of Euripides, who, it was said, never wrote any thing but what all the world could understand and perceive at the first instant, and from whose dramas men could learn better skill even in the commonest matters of household economy. The muse of the middle ages was that of Æschylus, and critics, like him described by Aristophanes, might object to their style, "that it was not sufficiently clear and continuous, but that its expressions were only scamandars or trenches, or the insignia of shields, and broken words, which it were not easy to put together," like crosses and holy sepulchres, and hooded heads, shrines, vigils, dirges, nocturns, templars, and chivalry. The wise poet of antiquity, however, leaves the clear popular writer in the shades, and brings back the dark and solemn Æschylus, to save his country by the maxims of his wisdom.† With respect to books intended for general circulation, many historical works, of the most solid and practical philosophy, were composed in the middle ages, in a simple but condensed style, that united the brevity of Tacitus with the clearness of Livy. Such, for instance, was that history of the English schism, transferred to the Italian, with a truly Roman gravity, by Bernardo Davanzati, in the sixteenth century. That profound thinker and parsimonious speaker, who received from the academy of the Alterati the name of the Silent, was the first to show, in this curious history, that the language of Florence need yield to no other in brevity and weight. A most remarkable monument, though of a different kind, is the work which was composed by Paschasius Radbert, on the deeds of Wala, the Abbot of Corby, which, being written while the enemies of that holy man were alive, and during the reign of Charles the Bald, when it was dangerous to treat upon such a subject, fictitious names are employed, and the truth of history explained in the form of a dialogue, after the manner of Plato. Mabillon, who discovered this work, which he justly styles golden, in the library of St. Martin des Champs at Paris, inserted it in his Acts of the Benedictine Saints, where it stands an imperishable monument of the profound wisdom, the learning, the judgment, and the accurate knowledge of all human duties, combined with the deepest piety, which were possessed in the ninth century. Assuredly the author of this work stood in need of no useful knowledge that the men of our times could give him. Indeed, of the literary excellence of many writers of the middle ages some modern critics have had the courage to speak with justice. Guizot, for instance, concludes his review of Alcuin's writings in these words: "I regret that I cannot enter more fully into the examination of these monuments of so active and distinguished a mind. I seem as if I had but taken a glance at them, and if they were made the subject of our profound study, we should reap, without doubt, pleasure and advantage. In fine, this appears to me to be the general character of Alcuin and his works. He is a theologian by profession; the atmosphere in which he lives, and the public to whom he addresses himself, are essentially theological; and yet the theological spirit does not alone reign in him: it is also towards philosophy and ancient literature that his thoughts and works are directed. These also he desires to study, to teach, and to revive. St. Jerome and St. Augustin are familiar to him, but Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristippus, Diogenes, Plato, Homer, Virgil, Seneca and Pliny, are also in his memory. The greatest part of his writings is theological, but mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, and rhetoric occupy him habitually. It is a monk, a deacon, the light of the contemporary church, but at the same time it is a scholar, and a classical scholar. We see united in him an admiration, a taste, or rather a regret for the ancient literature, and the sincerity of Christian faith, the ardour to illustrate its mysteries and to defend its power." Of what learned and profound men might not the universities have boasted at their very commencement? What erudition appeared in the works of Gerson, John Raulin, Biel, Clavasius, and of innumerable others at Paris? in other universities, what great Platonists were beheld in Marsilius Ficinus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Picus of Mirandula? What great astronomers in the Cardinal Cusa, George Purbach, Regio Montanus, and Walter? What Grecians and poets

* Midsummer Night's Dream, V. 1.
† Aristoph. Ranæ.

in Merula, the two Strozzas, the two Philelphes? What Latinists and poets in Mapheus Vegius, whom some compared to Virgil, Andrelinus, who composed such beautiful eclogues, Ugolinus, who celebrated the victories of Charlemagne, Ravisius Textor, the author of that fine dialogue between the Pilgrim and Death, Collatius, who sung the calamities of Jerusalem? What sacred orators in Maillard and Menot, the Franciscan friar, who declaimed in French against the scandals of their age? What profane orators in Jean Lefevre, who so eloquently defended an unfortunate prince? What historians in Paulus Emilius, the canon, who wrote a history of France in Latin, Robert Gagnin, who wrote a Latin history of the French monarchy, the two Chartiers, John and Alain, Froissart, and Monstrellet, Juvenal des Ursins, Mathieu Coucy, Le Bonvier, Nicole Gilles, Jehan de Troyes? What philologists in Annius, Urceus-Codrus, Angelo Politien, Beroaldus Brant, Alexander Min, respecting whose birth-place noble cities disputed? What lexicographers in Ambrose Calepin and Stephens? What grammarians in Valla, Lully, Niger, Sulpitius Perotus, Tiphernes, Hermonius, Lascaris, Chrisoloras, Capnion, Andronicus, Dalmata, for whom kings and republics contended? What civilians in Alciatus, Chopinus, Corvinus, Marculfus? In fine, what universal geniuses, of whom Alphonso Tostatus, the Spanish divine, was so eminent an example, that he merited the epitaph,—

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile, discutit omne."

Examine the literature of these ages during any period, and take, for example, that which was produced in France alone from the fifth to the tenth century, and, as far as relates to the choice of subjects, it will be found more noble and philosophic, more conformable to the idea of literature, in the sense of Plato and Cicero, and of the ancients generally, than even that of the nineteenth, with its libraries of novels, memorials of robbers and of persons of profligate renown, and catechisms to teach children political economy and arithmetic. In the fifth century there flourished in France, Sulpicius Severus, who wrote the life of St. Martin of Tours, a sacred history, and dialogues respecting the monks of the East; Evargrus, who wrote disputations between Theophilus, a Christian, and Simon a Jew, and a dialogue between Zachæus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher; St. Paulin, Bishop of Nola, who wrote epistles and poems, and a discourse upon alms; Cassien, of Provence, who wrote a treatise upon monastic institutions, and conferences upon the monastic life; Palladius, of Poitiers, who wrote a poem upon agriculture; St. Prosper, of Aquitaine, who wrote a poem upon grace, and a chronicle or universal history; Mamert Claudien, of Vienne, who wrote a treatise on the nature of the soul, the hymn of the Passion, Pange lingua; Salvien, who wrote a treatise against avarice, and another on the government of God; Sidonius Apollinarus, Bishop of Clermont, who wrote poems and epistles; Faustus, who wrote a treatise on grace, and letters on points of philosophy and theology; Gennade, of Provence, who wrote a catalogue of illustrious men, and a treatise on ecclesiastical doctrines; Pomœrius, of Arles, who wrote a treatise on the contemplative life, and a treatise on the nature of the soul; St. Ennodius, of Arles, who wrote a panegyric of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, a life of St. Epiphanius, letters, poems, and theological tracts; St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, who composed two sublime religious poems, besides epistles and sermons; St. Cæsarius, of Arles, who wrote a treatise on grace and free-will, and sermons; St. Cyprian, of Arles, who wrote the life of St. Cæsarius; St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who wrote the ecclesiastical history of the Francs, on the glory of the martyrs, on the glory of confessors, lives of the fathers, and many theological works; Marius, of Autun, who wrote a chronicle; Josephus, of Touraine, who wrote a history of the Jews; St. Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who composed sacred and profane poems, and lives of the saints; St. Columban, Abbot of Luxeuil, who composed poems, homilies, letters, and theological tracts; Marculfus, who wrote a collection of formula or models of public acts; Fredegaire, of Burgundy, who wrote a chronicle; Jonas, Abbot of St. Amand, who wrote the life of St. Columban; St. Ouen, Archbishop of Rouen, who wrote the life of St. Eloi; St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, who wrote theological works, sermons, and letters; Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, who wrote commentaries upon the Scriptures, philosophical and literary works, poems, and letters; Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier, who composed poems, and a history of his monastery; Leidrade, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote theological works and letters;

Smaragdus, Abbot of St. Michael, who wrote treatises on morals, commentaries on the New Testament, and a great grammar; St. Benet, Abbot of Aniane, who wrote the code of monastic rules, and theological works; Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote instructions on the schools, poems, and theological tracts; Adalhard, who wrote the Statutes of Corbie, letters, and a treatise, De ordine Palatii; Dungal, of Ireland, a recluse of St. Denis and a poet, who wrote upon Eclipses; Halitgaire, who wrote a penitential, and a treatise on the life and duties of priests; Ansegisus, Abbot of Fontenelle, who collected the capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis-le-Debonnaire, in four books; Friedgres, Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, who wrote a philosophic treatise upon nothingness and darkness, and poems; Ermold the Black, Abbot of Aniane, who wrote a poem on the life and deeds of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Amalaire, of Metz, who wrote a rule for canons, and a treatise on ecclesiastical offices; Eginhard, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, annals, and letters; Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote poems and theological treatises; Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denis, who wrote upon the patron of that abbey; Doane, Duchess of Septimania, who wrote a manual of counsels to her son; Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote a treatise on the institution of Laics, and on the institution of a king; St. Ardon Smaragdus, who wrote the life of St. Benet; Theganus, of Treves, who wrote the life of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Walfried Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau, who wrote a commentary on the whole Bible, the life of St. Gall, poems, one of which was descriptive, entitled, Hortulus, and several theological treatises; Freculfus, Bishop of Lisieux, who wrote a history of the world; Angelome, monk of Luxeuil, who wrote commentaries on the Bible; Raban-Maur, Archbishop of Mayence, who wrote fifty-one works of theology, philosophy, philology, chronology, and letters; Nithard, Duke of Maratime France, and monk of St. Riquier, who wrote the history of the dissensions of the sons of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Florus, of Lyons, who wrote theological treatises on grace, poems, and a complaint on the dismemberment of the empire after Louis-le-Debonnaire; St. Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, who wrote on grace; Loup, Abbot of Ferriers, who wrote on the same, and also a history of the emperors; Paschasius Radbert, Abbot of Corbie, who wrote upon the Eucharist, and composed the lives of Wala and Adalhard; Ratramnus, who wrote on the Eucharist and on grace; Gottschalk, who wrote on grace; Otfried, monk at Weisembourg, who wrote a paraphrase on the Gospels in verse; Milon, monk at St. Armand, who wrote poems, one upon sobriety, and a pastoral entitled, the Combat of Winter and Spring; John Scot Erigenus, who wrote upon philosophy and upon grace, and the division of nature; Usuard, monk of St. Germain-des-Pres, who wrote a martyrology; St. Remi, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote upon grace and free-will; St. Adon, Archbishop of Vienne, who wrote upon religion, and a universal history; Isaac, Bishop of Langres, who made a collection of canons; Hery, who wrote the life of St. Germain of Auxerre, in verse; Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who wrote theological treatises, and political works; the Monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne; Remi, monk of St. Germain of Auxerre, who wrote a commentary on the Bible, and commentaries on the ancient grammarians and orators; Abbon, monk of St. Germain-des-Pres, who composed a poem on the siege of Paris by the Normans in 885; Hucbald, monk of St. Amand, who wrote poems and lives of the saints; St. Odon, Abbot of Cluny, who wrote theological treatises, poems, and a life of St. Gregory of Tours; Frodoard, who wrote poems, and a history of the church of Rheims; Helperic, who wrote a treatise on the computation of time in relation to the ecclesiastical calendar; John, Abbot of St. Arnoul at Metz, who wrote lives of saints, and the history of John of Verdière, Abbot of Gorze, in which he relates his embassy into Spain to Abderam, Caliph of Cordova; Adson, Abbot of Montier-en-Der, who wrote the treatise on Anti-Christ, which was so celebrated; Arnoul, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote De Cartilagine, being an essay on anatomical studies; Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II. who wrote works on mathematics and philosophy, on theology, poems, and epistles, which showed that the activity of men of learning was not abated by the prevailing opinion that the world was then about to perish, as the tenth century drew to its close.

Literature has been said to be the expression of society: that of the ages of faith was thus holy and historical. Has it, on moral and philosophical grounds, any reason to fear a comparison with our own? Men may have wanted the critical sagacity

that could always detect imposture, and disengage the real facts of a narrative from what credulity and exaggeration had superinduced; but insincerity can never be laid to their charge. They wrote, in regard to truth, like Fleury, of whom Chateaubriand says, he would rather die than be guilty of a falsehood. What Montaigne says of himself, applies perhaps to every author,—that he does not more make his book than his book makes him: and on this principle, an acquaintance with the books of the middle ages would lead us to conclude, that those who wrote them were amongst the holiest and the wisest men that ever lived in the tide of times. Besides these original works, the collections which were made during the middle ages, and the choice of authors, which we find invariably to have been formed with the soundest judgment, and in which the men of greatest science in our days have nothing to change, prove them to have possessed judicious and solid, as well as extensive learning. Such were those vast compilations of which the Margarita Philosophica, by an anonymous author, and the Speculum Naturale and Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, are examples, forming an abridgment of all the branches of human knowledge. The compilation of moral and theological sentences, like those of the Abbot Eugipius and Louis of Blois, indicate prodigious research, and a true perception of literary beauty. That spiritual and affecting book, which was published at one time as the manual of St. Augustin, and at another as that of St. Anselm, or of Hugues de Saint-Victor, was, in fact, composed by some writer of the middle ages, whose name is unknown. The same is true respecting the book entitled the Soliloquies of St. Augustin, which was written subsequent to the year 1198, as is inferred from the author having inserted in it sentences from the first chapter of the fourth Council of Lateran, held in that year. We have seen in a former place that the ascetical writers of the middle age wrote only to edify the faithful, and had no ambition to win the glory of writing well. "The rumour prevalent here," says Louis of Blois, "that the number of the heretics is daily increasing, has compelled me to treat on these matters more at length. Henceforth I have determined on writing and publishing nothing, since I have to prepare myself for a salutary death: the world is already full of books."* Concealing their names as well as their lives, they made no scruple of availing themselves of what others had said before them, when they judged that it was better than what they could themselves say, seeking in every thing only the greater glory of God. The author of the Manuel, indeed, in his Preface declares, that it is only a collection of remarkable sentences from the holy Fathers.

Even on scientific subjects, men made a right choice of ancient authors, and had the no small merit of being able to distinguish what writers possessed the greatest merit. In the middle ages, Dioscorides and Pliny were the only authors consulted for botany and the composition of medicines, and Galen was the great authority and guide of physicians, insomuch that Cardan advises his pupil, when asked any irrelevant question by a patient, to reply, that Galen forbids him to answer that question,—as if the weight of his name was quite sufficient to put any one to silence. Now Baron Cuvier says, that Galen is the only natural philosopher of antiquity who deserves to be placed at the side of Aristotle. In ages of faith it was not overlooked, that the anatomical and physiological writings of this great man are composed in a spirit of profound piety, that he begins by invoking the Creator, and never loses an occasion of leading his reader to consider the final Cause in the wonderful construction of the human frame. What penetration did men evince in revering Plato for having taught that the soul was an emanation from the divinity! How little reason have the moderns to ridicule them for so admiring Aristotle, that they would always lift their cap when he was named! Baron Cuvier declares, that he never reads the Natural History of that philosopher without being filled with astonishment at his genius and observation. The first complete Latin translation of Aristotle was given in the thirteenth century by Michael Scot, who had studied in Spain with the Arabs. It is not to be denied, however, but that of the phantastic learning there were unhappily some examples, in the very ages when it was most clearly denounced, and therefore, when it ought to have been regarded with the greatest aversion. Who has not read somewhat of those strange retired old men, who thought that in Nature's infinite book of secrecy a little they could read,—who, in subterraneous vaults, worked incessantly at what was called the great work, those blowers and alchemists,—among whom poor Nicolas Flamel was unjustly reckoned by

* Ludovic Blosius, Epist. ad Florentium.

posterity,—and who, notwithstanding all their follies, used to be supported by the alms of some devout though weak persons? or of those mysterious inhabitants of the cloister, like that clerk of fame who had studied in Padua, far beyond the sea, regarded on his return with such dubious reverence,—

> "As when in studious mood he paced
> St. Andrew's cloistered hall?"

Gillebert, Abbot of St. Bertin's at St. Omer, was accused, by a proud disobedient prior whom he had deposed, of being an alchemist. John of Ypres, who wrote the chronicle of that abbey, says, that he has been present when the Abbot Alelmus proved the metal, of which certain candelabras and vases were composed that had been made and given by Abbot Gillebert, and that they were found to be of alchemic silver. Gillebert used to be called the golden abbot, from the splendour of his works. "And since I have alluded to alchemy," says John of Ypres, "I entreat all and each one never to apply their mind to this art. For this art promises beautiful things, and gives few: it strongly attracts and facinates men, and many are deceived by it. Trust one who has experience,—for I who write this was deceived by it, and I have seen many similarly deceived. Nor have I ever seen any one who has attained to the true work which is of itself probable, for the principles of this art do not agree with the principles of nature. Also, its end is plainly defective, nor does a metal become good by it: witness Albert, in his book entitled Semita Recta, which he composed on this art, in which he says, 'By this mode gold is made better than all that which is extracted from the mines of the earth, in weight, and colour, and fusibility, ductability, and malleability; excepting that, as alchemic iron is not attracted by the loadstone, so alchemic gold does not cure the leprosy, nor by means of it is the heart of man made glad, and the wound which it makes swells, because it is not the gold of God.' These are the words of Albert."* Christine de Pisan mentions, that "the wise King Charles, who singularly delighted in all men of science, heard that, towards Avignon, there was a speculative clerk who led a life of philosophy, and worked with great subtilty in the art of alchemie, in which it was said he had already attained to many fine and notable points. The said clerk had been a disciple of Master Arnault de Villeneuve, who was a very solemn man in science, and who, it was said by some, had attained to the philosopher's stone. The king, who desired to see all subtil things, wrote to him that he wished him to come to him, and that he would reward him well. The clerk in his letters, written in very fine Latin, thanked the king humbly for the honour which he paid to him unworthy; but in sooth, as he was a solitary man, speculative, and of strange manners, he was not fit to appear at court: he had no flattering accents on his tongue; he was too much at ease in repose, in leading a poor life, eating roots and leaves, and speculating in philosophy: as he was not covetous of others' riches, there was no delight or wealth which could induce him to lose the repose and pleasure of speculation. The king sent him a message to say, that he did not wish to deprive him of his repose, but to increase it if he could; and that, although God had given to him the charge of the office of temporal rule, his inclination and his desires were not bent upon hearing lying flatteries which are thus offered to princes, but to search into the points of truth and virtue. The clerk, seeing the benignity of the king, came to Paris, where the king received him with great honours, and heard him speak. He remained a short time, and then returned with many fine gifts."*

Modern science is indebted for the knowledge of many important facts to these indefatigable and mysterious inquirers of the middle age. Though employed in occult, and therefore in sinful occupations, they were not without some influence, from the devout spirit of their times. "The chemical philosopher," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "should resemble the modern geometricians in the greatness of his views and the profoundness of his researches, and the ancient alchemists in industry and piety, in keeping his mind awake to devotional feelings, that in becoming wiser, he may become better." If I did not fear to tire and offend the reader, I could relate some strange discoveries or professed inventions connected with these forbidden studies. Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Petrus Loyerus, Renodeus, Gregorius Tholosanus, Cardan, Capocchio, and many others, who thought that men might ape

* Chronicon S. Bertini, cap. 49, Pars X. apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Livre des Fais, &c. III. c. 22.

creative nature by a subtil art, recal sad examples of misdirected study. But it sufficeth to name them: we shall have occasion in a future place to speak of the superstitions of those ages, when there will be more excuse for citing Arbatell. For the present, let us follow the example of the Lady of Branksome, and send back the book to Michael's grave.

It must be admitted that the sciences formed not the most favourite branch of study during the middle ages. As with the Spartans of old, the teacher who won most admiration, was not one who lectured upon the stars and the movements of the heavens, upon geometry, or the science of numbers, npon the power of letters and syllables, rythms and harmony of accent,—but it was one fond of antiquity like Virgil, who spake of the generation of heroes and men, of the founding of colonies, and of the first establishment of cities, and in general, as Plato adds, πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.* Religion gave to history and to moral philosophy a charm and an importance which the natural sciences could never possess; and that is one reason why Catholic studies are generally so mnch more occupied with the former than with the latter, while those who pnrsne their opposite, having comparatively no interest in Christian history, which they are incapable of understanding in consequence of their false position, and finding but little encouragement from the ancient philosophers of the Socratic or Pythagorean school, who, with the original traditions of mankind, are all against them, naturally direct their genius to the pursuit of the exact sciences, in which they find nothing contrary to the state of mind in which it is convenient for them to continue. The mind of man, as Aristotle says, is naturally formed to embrace truth;† so that when that which is more immediately divine as theological, is denied or rendered unattainable, it endeavours to supply the deficiency by scientific truth, by research into the causes and nature of material things. The heretics and schismatics in early ages, were known to apply with diligence to the natural sciences, as was witnessed in the Nestorians, who first propagated the science of the Greeks among the Persians, and other oriental nations. In later ages they have not been wanting in similar application to the study of the sciences; and in cultivating the Greek and Roman literature their efforts have been unwearied. The Church, from the first ages, has been accustomed to see genius and learning in the ranks opposed to her. Even after Christianity had acquired a complete victory, among the Greeks at least, the heathen party was still distinguished by the most commanding talents: it could boast of men worthy of very high admiration, whether we regard the extent of their learning or the elegance of their compositions. With respect to the witnesses, whose profession would lead us to suppose that they now, as formerly, came forward to accuse the wisdom of the ages of faith, I would not involve all in one similar sentence. There are in that number many learned and humane men, who would shrink from such charges, and gladly suppose themselves Catholics without the supposed humiliation of a Palinode, many impndent, illiterate, light men, who come forward as in the days of Luther and the Puritans, to sustain them. But this I do say of all kinds of protestors,—I ascribe science and classical learning to them: I concede the discipline of many arts: I do not deny them elegance of language, the sentiments that belong to noble birth, penetration of genius, and abundant eloquence. Finally, if they claim many other merits, I do not object;—but the learning of Christian antiquity, and the humility which casts down all high thoughts, and brings them in captivity to faith,—that race never cultivated. They cannot have the same encouragement to pnrsue Christian learning; for their labours must be intended to serve a party, or at the most, some one nation, whose theologico-political system they defend: whereas, the Catholic student had the infinite satisfaction of being able to consider himself one of an immense army spread over the entire earth, consisting of men who, without having ever seen each other, were all directing their respective abilities to serve, not any particular sect, or government, or nation, or rank of society, but the sacred cause of the universal Church. Moreover, learning in them would only serve to develope more strikingly the inconsistency of their system; for they could not but admire the writings of the men with whom it would make them acquainted; and how painful would it be to imitate the inconsistency of those who eulogize Thomas à Kempis, and Fenelon, and St. Bernard, and others, without withdrawing the charge against

* Hippias Major.
† Arist. Metaphysic. Lib. I. cap. 1.

the Church to which they belonged! Unhappily, some of their number have been tempted to claim possession of such men with consistency, by means of altering or diminishing the truths which they deliver, publishing St. Francis de Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life, corrected, as they say, from the errors of the Popish edition,—as if he had been originally one of their authors,—and cutting off the fourth book, of the Imitation of Christ, not perceiving that without that last part the three former are, in a theological, and even philosophic sense, inexplicable. Famous in the annals of literary deceit was the crime of Hiobns, a Lutheran, who, in the year 1528, published an edition of the book of Paschasius, Abbot of Corby, on the Eucharist, not only omitting whole chapters, but also adding and foisting in words and sentences of his own, in order to make that holy writer appear to speak his sentiments; but his perfidy was exposed by Nicolas Mameranus, who published, in 1550, at Cologne, an edition of the real work.* "They who contrive how to propagate heresy under another name," says Vincent of Lerins, "choose generally the writings of some ancient man, more obscurely set forth, which, by the very obscurity of its doctrine, may seem to agree with their own, so that whatever they propound, it may appear as if they were neither the first nor the only persons who think so; whose wickedness I deem worthy of double hatred, both because they do not fear to give the heretical poison to others to drink, and also because they fan, with a profane hand, as it were, the quiet ashes of some holy man, defaming his memory, and perpetuating, by revived publicity, what ought to be buried in silence."† In some instances indeed, this conduct may have arisen merely from a weakness which attaches itself to human nature, such as led the Turks formerly to maintain that Orlando was a Turk, from his renown having passed into Colchus, where it is more known than that of Jason and the Argonauts.‡ But this mode of appropriating intellectual riches, is foreign from the inheritance of the meek, and can have no security; while on the other hand, imperfect or ambiguous sentences were not a sufficient ground for them to abandon their claims to great writers as having been in error, but, according to the advice of Facundus, they were warranted in interpreting, in a better sense, the writings of all learned men who were gone before in the peace of the Church.* Even without literary fraud, the learning of these proud choosers was often employed in self-deception and in misleading others; for "he only reads with profit," says St. Hilary, "who expects the sense of the things said from the words, and does not impose it upon them,—who does not force that to seem to be contained in the words, which before reading he had presumed was to be understood."† In attempting to explain what was the doctrine of the Church, they worked at hazard, and without any judgment: respecting the Trinity, they would as soon have consulted the writers who had opposed Pelagius as they would have studied St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustin, and St. Fulgentius, for the doctrine of grace, forgetting that, although the anti-Nicene or the Greek Fathers did not think differently from the Catholic Church, still, not being obliged by circumstances to treat upon those questions, they only allude to them in passing, and with less precision. In describing the doctrines and customs of Catholics, these modern historians wrote with as much knowledge as Tacitus evinced respecting those of the Jews, which he designates as sordid, detestable, and absurd.‡ They were betrayed into the most palpable inconsistencies, so as to speak in admiration of the solid piety of the founders of their ancient colleges in times of what they termed Popish superstition. Wondrous is the force of truth, cries Petrus Cellensis, which takes captive the adversaries unwilling and unaware, and drives them on to the snares of an unavoidable conclusion, when they are taken and entangled in their own words, speaking truth unintentionally, and expressing with their lips what they do not feel in their heart.§ Indeed, their endless concessions and panegyrics, in the same breath with the most unjust and horrible imputations, seem so like a total loss of intellectual conscience, that one ought to be less shocked at the old catalogue of epithets in use with the illiterate, or with the raving Burtons of old, than at these eulogiums. Meanwhile, the more noble adversaries of the Church, who scorn

* Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. Pars II.

† Vincent. Lerinens. Com. cap. 40.

‡ Huet, de l'Origine des Romans, 37.

* Facundus Hermianensis, Lib. IX. de tribus Capitulis 5.

† S. Hilar. Lib. I. de Trinitate.

‡ Hist. Lib. V.

§ Epist. Lib. VI. 23.

all dishonourable methods of appropriating intellectual glories, feeling such a sense of their poverty in respect to theological studies, are induced to substitute opinions and speculations for a study of tradition.

Truly, in their histories of the Church, it is curious to see how soon they find themselves painfully struggling amidst rocks and sands, and with what signs of pleasure they escape to the passes where a heathen's discourse would flow as smoothly as their own. These modern philosophic historians of the Church insensibly fall into a style as ridiculous as that of the pedant in Molière, who says, "You ought not to say I beg your advice, but I seem to beg it." With them there is never any thing, but, it would seem, as if all their confidence were reserved for repeating the detected falsifications of a Robertson.* Even those who have a tone of sincerity, dwell only on the reasons for doubt, and conceal all the proof of truth, and thus reconcile themselves to clear and certain falsehood. Lord Bacon himself remarked, that "when a doubt is once received, men labour rather how to keep it a doubt still than how to solve it, and accordingly bend their wits. But that use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful."† To combat these wilful doubters is the task prescribed to Bellerophon, to destroy Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμακέτην.‡ There is more of unfolding the sails of an oration with them than of labouring at the oars of dialectics. Even the sententious Tacitus becomes loquacious when an occasion offers of calumniating the Christians. They will always have the last word, and charity need not render the meek anxious to deprive them of this melancholy privilege. It belongs to the nature of man's reasoning faculty, that he should be able to protract disputation without end, and this ability is unopposed when there are no fixed principles, or when those which have been produced as fixed may be changed and dissolved in a moment, as the success of those who produced them may require. In general, the learning of the adversaries only furnishes them with negations. Do they seem at length to take up a position? On your advance, they involve it in a mist of unintelligible phraseology, and you will hear them singing the pæon of victory. Methinks, like the old symbolical knight, who encounters the magical adversaries, the Catholic should only make the sign of the cross and pass on. Nor is it even necessary to have learning to remain unmoved at their bold propositions. They may appear to have an exact knowledge of an infinite number of minute facts, so as to know the shepherd better than if they were of the fold, for men in ignorance always affect to be very particular, like the traveller in Plautus, who, while pretending to come from Asia, where he had never been, replies to one who asked whether Arabia is in Pontus,—

"Est: non illæc, ubi thus gignitur,
Sed ubi absinthium fit, atque cunila Gallinacea."*

These graphic triflers light upon a false date, or a hasty and ambiguous word, and instantly rejoice like a hungry lion, who stumbles upon some great carcase of a stag or goat, and he will fasten upon it although the swift dogs and keen hunters are close to him: and so does the sectarian critic rejoice when he sees with his eyes something that will satisfy his appetite for censure and for doubt. This discovery, he thinks, will justify the schism of his ancestors; this inference will prove that the Church has fallen. "Quis illas conclusiunculas non rideat, quibus literatihomines se simul et alios fatigant?" As Tertullian says of the demon in pagan times, who employed against Christians both truth and falsehood, "Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt."† These polemic and historic compositions resemble those which Glaucus describes, being formed of sentences exactly balanced and symmetrical, in harmony with each other, and having the same tone, according to the art of the sophists in accumulating genitive and other accordant sounds.‡ Plausible books men may compose from ancient writings, by committing faults against the letter and sense of the text, by the addition, suppression, and change of words, by the change of punctuation, by suppression of phrases in the text, such as conceal what is necessary for understanding the author, which leave only a part known, suppression of explanations, limitations, and essential exceptions, by extracts which make an author say what he never said,

* Library of Useful Knowledge. Hist. of the Church.
† Advancement of Learning.
‡ Hom. Il. VI. 179.

* Trinum. IV. 2.
† Apolog.
‡ Plato de Repub. VI.

hnt the contrary to what he said hy extracts which unite what ought to be separate, and which separate what onght to be united, hy nnfaithful statements, essential omissions in the recital of facts, hy assertions which are false, or hazarded withont proof, hy acts giveu falsely as authentic, hy extracts which have no relation to the title, hy translations in violation of grammar, hy alterations of sense in words, by addition, omission, transposition, and change, hy treacherous expressions, contradictory to sense, redundant, deficient, inapplicahle, malignant. By these and other kinds of falsification they may maintain the system of the moderns, and so still repeating their despiteful song, condemn and vilify catholic writers, hut as Louis of Blois ohserves, in his mild and penetrating style, "though they may say a great deal, and persnade many with specious words and vain eloquence, yet those who are truly humble, that is, who are hnmhle in heart, they cannot sednce."* Meanwhile, there is nothing in the success of such labonrs to be compared to the pure and tranquil recompence of the meek; there is nothing to conciliate esteem for the writer, even from the gentler spirits of his own party; he may have evinced sagacity, quickness, and diligence, hut the muse of every clime rejects him; he is not an enemy, like Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself gave his bow.† Those on his side may feel often tempted to entreat him, in the words which Bacchus addresses to the frogs, of whose monotonons chorus he is weary,

"ἀλλ', ὦ φιλῳδὸν γένος, παύσασθε."‡

confined and fettered at every step in the career of letters, he is deprived of the enjoyment of books that are most venerable and admirahle, and compelled to resign to the meek the rich inheritance of the ancient Christian literature. At the same time, he may not be ignorant of any event in ecclesiastical history, for the most insensihle and destitnte may have read every thing. King Assuerius, having ordered Mardochæus to be fixed to the cross, and being unahle to sleep that night, ordered that histories and the annals of former times should be read to him.§ What history or book of annals have not the modern adversaries of the Catholic church read, while crucifying the Son of God afresh? Let it be remarked too, that an acquaintance with the literary productions of the adversaries is unqnestionably far from being essential to a learned Catholic, bnt that the converse does not hold with regard to their interest in Catholic literature. Mihi quidem, I might reasonahly say, in the words of Cicero, "nulli satis eruditi videntur, qnihus nostra ignota sunt;"* or, as he remarks of Plato and other Socratic philosophers, that they are read hy all persons, even by those who do not assent to them, whereas no one ever takes in his hands Epicurus and Metrodorus, nnless it be one of their immediate disciples,† we also may appeal to the fact that all persons read the Catholic philosophers, while no one ever hears of Taylor or Jewell, unless it be within the immediate circle of their sect. I omit to speak of the ignohle crew, whose learning consists in the ridicule of holy things, in holding them up to eyes of flesh, and concealing their relation to faith and to a supernatural existence. Ah, that nohle spirits should be joined to such a rout! Where licence of that description is permitted, there is nothing so easy as to write books that will seem to indicate imagination, sagacity, and genius; and the temptation is too strong for modern authors, to whom therefore the chronicles of the ages of faith are a mine of inestimahle valne, which they are incessantly working, with a diligence commensurate with their vanity or their avarice. To refrain from examining such productions is no real diminution of the inheritance of the meek, and certainly they should refrain. "It seems to me," says St. Augustin, "that studious and ingennous yonths, fearing God and seeking the happy life, shonld never dare to approach and follow confidently any doctrines which are exercised without the church of Christ, hnt should learn to judge them soberly and diligently, and that they should reject utterly and detest some things throngh suspicion of those who are in error, and that they should keep their studies separate, at a distance from the superfluous and lnxurious institntions of men."‡ Who is ignorant that a new and most dangerous crew of writers has arisen in those professed historians and antiqnarians of the French school, who have succeeded to the Ducanges, Mabillons, and Martenes, meu who are Catholics in name and here-

* Epist. ad Florentium.
† Il. II. 27. ‡ Aristoph. Ran. 240.
§ Liv. Esther, cap. VI.

* De finibus, I. † Tuscul. Lib. II. 3.
‡ De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. 39.

tics in spirit, solemn libertines, followers of Epicurus, who with the body make the spirit die, of whose writings there is not a page that would not have served to Plato as a specimen of the sophist's style, so far poetical that it would entitle them to use the language which Hesiod ascribes to the muses.

"Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα"

though not perhaps to complete the sentence,

"Ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι."*

The superficial and frivolous nature of these compositions is illustrative of the justice of Aristotle's sentence, that "it is the breast which makes men learned;" but the effects, which are produced continually by their diffusion, might make men sigh for the comparative security from imposition which readers formerly possessed, when even the wisest and most learned men, like Mabillon, would not have presumed to publish any writing without the consent of superiors, and when other means were placed at every one's disposal of knowing the real value of particular works, besides what might be inferred from the authority of a company of traders, whose sole estimation of the excellence of a book depended on the supply of money which it would bring them. Books formerly, as well as persons, were canonised, that is, were admitted into the class of approved and authentic works. This usage of the word seems more ancient with the Greeks, for we find in St. Athanasius and others, the expression τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία. In the year 1308, the pope replied to the Friar Minors who desired a change in their rule, "that the rule of St. Francis was canonized, and that he did not wish to violate it." Infamous books were burned by the Apostles. It would be strange if they who were not to receive into their houses any one who brought not apostolic doctrine,† were allowed by the same law to accept their serpent books. St. Isidore says, "that to read impious books is the same thing as to offer incense to the demon; and theologians demonstrate from history that the holy Church in every age has exercised jurisdiction in prohibiting their perusal."‡ Hence the books of the Arians, Manichæans, Priscillians, Pelagians, and Albigenses are no longer to be found, because they did not contain those doubtful things which men were to prove by inquiry. The liberty of St. Jerome was compatible with his own maxim, "that it was better to be ignorant of some things than to learn with danger;"* and where the error and danger were self-evident, Muratori says that it was due to the republic to pronounce sentence against books intrepidly, without further hearing.† But to return to the learning of the avowed and less dangerous adversaries of the Church.

Having substituted speculation for the knowledge of facts, there is no longer occasion for the erudition which would be employed in explaining the latter. They are sufficiently skilful to be able to invent explanations for most difficulties, that would be only rendered more embarrassing by a greater portion of learning. When the Catholics appeal to history and to tradition for the truth of faith, the objector may feel for a moment at a loss, but he soon recovers himself, without the aid of learning, and replies in words, like those of the sophist of old to Socrates, "It is not difficult to find the solution of what you demand. I know very well, that if I were to be alone for a short time, and to look into myself, I could explain this to you, I could speak on this point to you clearer than all clearness." "I am convinced, indeed," replies Socrates, "that you will find this easily when you are alone." "It is just so: not at this present moment, but as I have said, when I shall have considered the point, I know well that I shall find the proper answer."‡ A question, however, more important would be, will it seem satisfactory to him when on death-bed laid? for that is the moment which gives a value to all learning and to all pains. Will it be found a judicious reply when called upon to answer, not in a school of men, but before God's tribunal, before him who gave so clear a command, and who vouchsafed so infallible a guide to truth? At present, who does not mark that even worldly interests enter to increase his difficulties, and Demosthenes says, "In deliberations when money is added to either side, as if placed in one scale of a balance, it sinks that down, and drags

* Theogon. † 1 Joan. I. 10.
‡ Ligorio Theolog. append. III. de prohibitione libror. Joan. Devoti Insuit. Canon. Lib. IV. 7.

* S. Hier. Reg. Monach.
† De Ingen. Moder. Lib. II. c. 5.
‡ Plato, Hippias Major.

reason along with it; and he who does this is then capable of reasoning soundly and justly upon any question."* Hereafter we must all, for one great day at least, become good logicians.

But we have wandered too far upon the domains of this modern literature, and mine art with warning bridle checks me. We have been drawn on to behold the nakedness of that desolated region, and we may well weep on leaving it. Yet, not in order wantonly to offend and afflict those among whom are many a spirit allied to innocence and joy, did we pass beyond the stretch of promise; for some of these whom we have now, perhaps, with weak words grieved, are gentle and humane writers, whose instinctive reverence, and I know not what kind of poetic affection, for all that pertains to the holy Catholic church, which they view from a distance only, should render them, even without reference to diviner motives, the object of our tenderest sympathy, and sincerest love; but if honour be due to their genius, and affection to their noble capacities, truth and sincerity are no less a sacred debt which we should render to them, heedless of the loss and injury, and multiplied sorrow, which may result too surely to ourselves.

Returning now to the learning of the middle ages, we may observe that, in every sense of the term, this was Catholic, for it comprised all branches of human knowledge, although the divisions were few. The first mention of the division of the seven liberal arts into the trivium and the quadrivium, the three of grammar, and the four of physics, the knowledge of which formed the qualification for the degree of master of arts, occurs in the work of Martianus Capella, an African, who lived before the time of Justinian. The monastic studies embraced the study of the holy Scriptures, of the holy Fathers, that of the councils, of the canon and civil law, of positive and scholastic theology, and moral theology, that of sacred and profane history, that of philosophy, that of what is termed humanities, including the study of manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. Notwithstanding the predominance of theological and moral studies, we must not suppose that in every other men were mere children, and incapable of distinguishing popular errors, as some would conclude, from the city of Lucerne having mistaken some huge fossil bones for those of a giant, which it caused to be borne on its shield as such. The Carmelite friar Nicholas, who describes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1486, was shown, when at Jaffa, one of the ribs of the giant Andromadus, which measured 40 feet in length; "but I am of opinion," he adds, "that it is the rib of a whale."* The map of the world, by Father Mauro of Camaldoli, in the convent of St. Michael in Murano, drawn in the year 1460, had anticipated, or at least predicted, the discoveries of the moderns in the old world. Assuredly, even in a scientific point of view, the learning of the middle ages is most remarkable. The great doctors of the school appear also in the capacity of naturalists. We observe in the writings of Albert the Great, all the subtilty of the Arabic philosophers. In his books on physics, he gives all the hypotheses that are still produced to account for the formation of the stones which fall from the sky: he has a work, which Cuvier esteemed interesting, in twenty-six books, on animals, written in the scholastic style, first considering them in general, then descending to particular species, and describing their anatomical and physiological and historical character. In this he enlarges on Aristotle's work, and gives many new descriptions. His catalogue of animals is taken from Aristotle, Pliny, the Arabic authors, and his own observation. By means of the commerce of furs, he had seen many northern animals. Here occurs the first notice of the fish of the north seas, whales and herrings; he describes the shoals of herrings, so that it is an error to suppose that these shoals first began in the fourteenth century, for in the thirteenth he describes them. He speaks of birds also, and of falconry. Besides this great work, he composed a number of little treatises on anatomy and medicine, chiefly extracted from Aristotle. He has one in five books, on minerals, in which are many things relative to alchemy. St. Thomas Aquinas, the principal disciple of Albert, having studied with him at Padua, and in the same Dominican convent, appears also in the capacity of a naturalist. He wrote a commentary on the physics of Aristotle, in which alchemy plays a great part. He speaks of mercury as that which gave metallic qualities to metal, just as sulphur was considered the principle of combustibility in bodies. In philosophy he had an antagonist in Dun Scotus, a Franciscan, who was a realist.

* Orat. pro pace.

* F. XIII.

Each order continued to maintain the favourite theory of their great respective doctors. Vincent de Beauvais, the Dominican, wrote Speculum Magis, or great mirror, in four parts, the first was Speculum Naturale, the second Speculum Doctrinale, the third Speculum Morale, and the fourth Speculum Historiale, in which last are found many curious facts of considerable importance in the study of history. The whole is a vast collection in four enormous folios, that would form twelve such folios as the men of our days make, composed of extracts from all sources, and containing many translations from the Greek. The first part is a universal treatise on natural philosophy, in the order of the six days of the creation, like the hexameron of St. Ambrose. It treats on animals, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, on geography, on agriculture, on mining, on alchemy, on precious stones, which were then in great request for churches, where, as we have already shown, are still preserved the most rare and valuable specimens. The details and the style of this great work are richer than in the work of Albert the Great: he treats also on dreams, on prophecy,—in short, it shows that he embraced all parts of visible nature, and that he viewed them with penetration and judgment. Roger Bacon was a Franciscan, a native of Somersetshire. From Oxford he removed to Paris, where he met Grossetête, with whom he returned to England. He was the first to teach experimental philosophy, in the pursuit of which, by means of the liberality of his pupils and others, he expended two thousand pounds. His books, however, contained expressions that gave offence, and he was persecuted by the general of his order, but Pope Clement IV., hearing of his merit, ordered him to be delivered, and desired to see his books. On the death of this pope, the general renewed his attacks, but being raised to the popedom, he finally restored Bacon to full liberty, and bestowed on him the title of Doctor Mirabilis. Bacon in his writings treats on reading glasses, on the microscope, on the telescope, on concave and convex mirrors: he called for the reformation of the calendar, which was afterwards made by Pope Gregory, and he showed the proper method, which was afterwards pursued in effecting it. He understood the steam engine and steam vessels. His alchemy was learned from the Arabians, and he professed, like all the other alchemists of the thirteenth century, the theory which has of late been supported by Stahl. He speaks also of gunpowder. It appears that in his time children used it commonly for their amusements by means of different little instruments. It was employed in the mines of Germany as early as in the twelfth century. In the beginning of the thirteenth, in the third crusade, it was first employed for the purposes of war, against the castle of Thiers. Friar Bacon was one of the many religious men who, amidst the pursuit of science, retained all the spirit of his blessed order. Another example was seen in Father Alexander Spina, who was one of the first to develope the discovery of convex glasses to assist the sight. In the very ancient chronicle of St. Catharine of Pisa, he is called "a humble and good man, who used to write down whatever he saw or heard, and who was the first to make known the use of glasses for the eyes." In another chronicle of the same convent, it is said that he learned to make them without having any teacher. Some of the great mathematicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were friars. Such was Friar Lucas Pacioli of Borgo, a St. Sepolcro, of the order of the Minors, who had no rival in his age. It was he who was the author of the first book of algebra known to Europe. William Becchi, an Augustin and Bishop of Fiesole, and Friar Leonard, a Dominican, were illustrious in the fifteenth century, both in astronomy and mathematics. But in the science of these men we still trace the holy monk. If they cultivate the physical sciences, the master was to attend more to the utility than to the curiosity of the matter. "Denique mente teneat id semper nobis præferendum esse quo prodesse possimus rurestri populo, cujus curæ et ministerio constitui solemns," say the statutes of the order of Præmonstré.* If Roger Bacon studies astronomy, it is in order that the calendar may be well arranged, to determine the festivals of the Church; if he treat on the magnifying glass, it is to rejoice in the consolation and assistance which will result to aged priests for reading the books of their holy office. In like manner the old author of the poem entitled the Mirouer du Monde, which is a mixture of cosmography and natural history, as also a history of the inventions of arts, says that Ptolomy the astronomer was of great service to monks, in furnishing them with the means of assembling

* Statuta ord. Præmonstratensis, cap 9. art. 4.

together at the exact hour to repeat the office of matins. "Let not the study of natural philosophy," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "delight you more than that of theology: quid enim prodest cognitio creaturarum sine dilectione ac debita veneratione Creatoris?"* To the ancient philosophers such views would not have appeared unworthy or ridiculous. The advantage which Plato ascribes to the study of astronomy is that it induces the soul to look upwards to the Primal Being and to what is invisible.† No one conversant with his writings need be told of the care which he takes to show that learning or study should not be pursued for any object of commerce or traffic, but in order to strengthen the soul and to convert it from things that are born to that which has existence in itself, for this, with him, is the great object of all learning and all science.

Proceeding now to the sacred studies of the middle ages, there is much that demands our attention; but I can only glance at their order. Positive theology consisted in the study of the holy Scriptures, of councils, and tradition, but scholastic theology embraced a wider field, and admitted the illustrations of philosophy and other learning. Tayon, a priest of Sarragozza, was the first who composed a sum of theology: he lived in the middle of the seventh century. In the first book of this compilation, which has never been printed, he treats on God and his attributes; in the second on the incarnation, the evangelic preaching, the pastors of the Church and their flock; in the third on the various orders of the Church, on virtues and vices; in the fourth on the judgments of God, on temptations and sins; in the fifth on the reprobate, on the general judgment, and on the resurrection of the dead. St. John Damascenus was the first among the Greeks who published a sum of theology, which is entitled on the orthodox faith. St. Anselm was the first among the Latins who treated theological questions in a scholastic manner, and Mabillon admits that his writings, with the four books of Peter Lombard, can never be studied without deriving considerable advantage. A clear description and an admirable defence of the scholastic theology is given by Melchior Canus.‡ It consists, he says, in reasoning learnedly concerning God and divine things, from the sacred writings and institutions. The proud subtilties, and contentious disputations, morose and tedious, of some doctors, are to be ascribed to the manners of evil men, not to the school, for it is a calumny to affirm that the majority were guilty of such childish trifling. The heretics, though they always affected to despise the school, rose up in arms against the scholastic theology. But they naturally regarded it with displeasure, because it restrained their licence in disputation. It was the office of scholastics to illustrate and also to confirm, as far as possible, from human studies, the doctrine of the Church of Christ, to spoil the Egyptians, to take the weapon from the hands of the enemy, and to smite off with his own sword the head of the proud Goliah, having an example of learning in St. Paul, and of wisdom in Moses and Daniel.

A theologian, says an ancient writer, professes science from God, but whatever he meets with in reading or observing relative to jurisprudence and medicine, and especially such things as have an affinity with theology, he gladly learns. For it is with wisdom as with virtues, all are branches of one stock, according to the concordant sentiments of all noble theologians.* "I confess," says the blessed Dionysius the Carthusian, "that as far as I am able to discern after self-examination, I am not conscious of having undertaken these works through any vanity or for any vile end, for the sake of fame, or of temporal advantage; but I engaged in them in order that by occupying myself daily in the Scriptures, I might become able to live according to them, acquiring true humility, meekness, and patience, which I greatly need. From my heart I return thanks to God that I entered religion so young, in about my twenty-first year, since which I have now during forty-six years applied myself to study. I have read St. Thomas, Albert, Alexander de Hales, Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentum, Ægidius, Richard de Media Villa, Durandus, St. Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Dionysius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyrill, Basil, Chrysostom, Damascen, Bœtius, Anselm, Bernard, Bede, Hugo, Gerson, William of Paris, besides all the vulgar sums and chronickles, all the canon and civil law, many commentaries on both Testaments, and as many of

* De Arcta Via Sal. I. † De Repub. Lib. VII.
‡ De auctoritate Doctorum Scholasticorum.

* Instructio Novitiorum, cap. 22. auct. P. Joan. à Jesu Maria.

the natural philosophers as I could obtain, Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Avicen, Algasen, Anaxagoras, Averroes, Alexander, Aphorahius, Abuhather, Evenpote, Theophrastus, Themistius, and others; and, although the Scripture is clearly and copiously expounded by great doctors, and holy fathers, yet as St. Jerome saith, in the house of the Lord every oue should bring what he can."* The scholastic theology emhraced the three ends of all true theology, the knowledge of God, the knowledge of celestial things, the prudence and the use of human things; and so far was it from retarding the study of the holy Scriptures that it invited and excited men to prosecute that study.† But I shall have occasion to return to this learning in a future place, when it will be necessary to speak of the philosophy of the middle ages. At present, let us return to matters more immediately connected with literature, though we have not been wandering far from the subject; for we must remember that after all it was Dante the scholastic theologian, who became the monarch of poets. And in fact the scholastic divines, in consequence of their sublime apprehensions of truth, frequently furnish lines that would be worthy of his highest song, of which circumstances poets were well aware. We find Tasso complaining to his friend Aldus, that he had not sent him the sum of theology of St. Thomas, and asking for the works of St. Gregory Nyssen; and, in a letter to Vincenzo Malpiglio, expressing his intention to commence the correction of his Jerusalem Delivered in the spring, he says, "I want a treatise of Pope St. Gregory, on the Hierarchy of the Angels,‡ which I have not yet read, and a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, respecting the armour of light, for I hope to render my whole relation more solemn and venerahle by means of allegory."§ To speak with contempt of the style and language of the ancient Christian writers, who give us in such abundance, the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge, has been a favourite artifice of modern writers who endeavoured to win the renown of a more liberal erudition; but persons of solid instruction may naturally feel the necessity for much caution in admitting the justice of their charges. It is not always so easy to determine respecting style. Origen maintained that a certain chapter was in the highest and most excellent style of Daniel, and Julian Africanus denied that it was worthy of him. Men complain that some historians of the middle age should have written in the style of hards, such as the monk of St. Gall and Ermold the black, who wrote a work on chivalry, and a poem on Louis the Pius; hut Aristotle says, that the style of the first prose writers of Greece was entirely poetical, as that of the noblest authors in all ages has been in a great degree. It is true the priest of the Teutonic order Nicholas Jeroschin in the fourteenth century, found no subject fitter for a poem than the contents of the old chronickle of the order by Peter of Dushurg which he accordingly versified; but modern critics are compelled to admire the spirit in which that work is composed. "With what diligent circumspection," says Dusburg, "the ancients and holy fathers committed to writing the wonderful works of our Lord Jesus Christ which were wrought by them or by their ministers is known to all; for they attended to the words of Tobias, 'quod opera Dei revelare honorificum est,' whose footsteps I follow, lest like the useless servant who hid his Lord's talent, I should be cast into outward darkness; therefore, I have written the wars which have been carried on by the knights of the Teutonic order." Voigt remarks, that this passage, as also the very title of another work, Gesta Dei per Francos, indicates that constant regard to Providence, which gave such a unity to their historical narratives, which are nothing but a wonderful relation of the combat between the good and the evil principle. Dushurg traces all enmities and seditions to the malice of the ancient serpent, the enemy of the human race, who envies the growing prosperity of a Christian community, and incessantly labours to interrupt the peace of the church; so that his whole history is the combat between God and the enemy of light and truth.* The natural flow of their narrative often indicates the simple means which had been employed in collecting it. In the life of St. Lindger by Altfrid, there is mention of an old hlind man named Bernlef, who was greatly loved by the whole country because he was affable and knew how to sing the acts and contests of the ancient kings.† And Adam of Bremen,

* B. Dionysii Carthusiani de Arcta Via Salutis. Protest. ad Superiorem.
† Melchior Canus, c. 1, 2.
‡ Homil. Lib. II. 34.
§ Prosatori del Sec. XVI. p. 468.

* Geschichte Preussens, III. 613.
† Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. P. I.

one of the old historians of Prussia, says, that the Danish king Sweno, had retained in memory all the deeds of the barbarians, as if he had them in writing, and that he used to relate them to him when he was compiling his annals. Wernbert, the celebrated abbot of St. Gall, the son of Adalbert, who had followed his lord to the war against the Huns, used to be forced when a little boy to sit and listen to the tales of his father, and it was the conversation of this Adalbert, which afterwards supplied the monk of St. Gall with the materials for his history. These old humble chronicles of days gone by, need not have been so despised by the pretenders to classical propriety, who nevertheless committed an error in their title page, and wrote histories of their own times.* With respect to the great learned works of the monastic and other Catholic writers, it may be remarked, that one is never shocked by the breaking out of personal vanity adding weight to trifles, and of secret private spite, suggesting malignant observations, and that while they analyse ancient traditions, they do not employ imaginations to destroy former opinions, nor do they insult the reader with a tone of wanton defiance drawn from the pride of scholarship. They never wound the pious ear by a profane application of the most sacred words of Christ and his apostles to their own subject. That detestable abuse introduced by heretics which has passed into an example with modern authors, whose hearts are little alive to the holy delicacy of the faith, was absolutely condemned by the fathers of the Council of Trent. They never offer for literature personal contests like those fierce academic squabbles of an Annibal Caro and a Castelvetro, who, as Varro would say, "volsellis non gladiis pugnant." They have not the air of being in love with their own works, as if they could not survive the loss of them, like Terence, who is said to have died of grief because some of his translations from Menander perished at sea, when he was returning from Greece; nor can one find in them any trace of that jealousy which Petrus Crinitus detects in Plato and Xenophon, who never make mention of each other in their writings, though both disciples of Socrates.† Their style may have been unpolished, but it was not like that of a literature which seems made by machinery. It was living, and often endued with a force that astonishes, as when the fathers describe the last moments of Julian, and say, "he died in the disgrace of God and men." In all their writings they evince that modesty and reverence which appears so remarkably in Dionysius, who though an antiquarian, and writing a most learned work on the antiquities of history, yet refused to enrich his work with information which religion forbade him to disclose, saying, it is not proper that I should write down those things which it is not permitted every one to see or hear of from those who have seen them.* Not that the same motives could have existed with Christians, but still there were many things which they would never expose to the common gaze of inquisitive men through respect for religion and humanity, through regard to private friendship, to the rights of hospitality, and to the initiations of their course in the schools. On the other hand, as was before remarked, they insert as well as omit some things on account of their writings being intended for the eye of friends alone, on whose particular genius or experience they may have depended, for the needful application or correction. "Remember," says St. Avitus, in sending his poem of consolation to his sister, "that this little book is only to be trusted to the reading of those who are bound to us by the ties of relationship or of religious vow. Scarcely, though constrained by orders, do I commit it even into your hands; when or how should I wish it to pass into those of strangers?"† Another contrast which their writings present to those of later ages, consists in the absence of all anxiety to draw at every step political reflections from history. Mabillon cites the words of a learned author, who says, there is no more visible effect of that wicked glory with which men are enamoured, than the vanity which they derive from the knowledge of politics. This disposition of mind which betrays their secret admiration for grandeur of rank, is one of the greatest obstacles to true wisdom: it perverts the understanding, and makes the mind irrational. They wish to know princes before they know men; whereas they must first know men before they can understand princes.‡ How injurious to their own intellectual character

* Historia est res gesta sed ab ætatis nostræ memoria remota. Cicero ad Heren. Lib. I. 8.

† De Honesta Disciplina, Lib. I. c. 7.

* Antiq. Roman. Lib. I. cap. 68.

† In Libellum de Consolatoria Castitatis Laude Præfat.

‡ De Studiis Monasticis, P. II. c. 8.

is the neglect of this maxim by those great modern writers with whom political opinions are the highest test of virtue, in whose eyes Plato is a bad citizen, and Demosthenes a saint? In another respect also their idea of learning was well conceived; for it did not consist like that of many modern solitary writers, in knowing the titles of innumerable books and in quoting from them at random, without having ever heard their history or known what were the author's life and actions, his particular genius, his object in writing, and the circumstances of the time in which he wrote.* This is the erudition of our young contributors to the libraries that are gradually to eradicate Catholicism and impart pure light to men, although to a scholar of the ancient learning, it is all but mere drawing-room display. "Circulatoriæ vere jactationis est." Unquestionably the great critics of antiquity might have found matter to censure and ridicule in some of the monastic compositions; but it does not appear exactly reasonable in the moderns to affect their right of judgment, considering the little correspondence between the greater part of their own literature, and the models by which they would attempt to try them. The praise which Caxton bestows upon Chaucer might be extended to many authors of the middle ages; for in fact he only evinced a characteristic feature of their whole literature in "comprehending his matter in short, quick, and high sentences, eschewing perplexity; casting away the chaff of superfluity, and showing the picked grain of sentence, uttered by crafty and sugared eloquence, in writing no void words, but having all his matter full of high and quick sentence." But it will be asked, was not the language of these old writers barbarous and their Latinity execrable? Many distinctions are necessary before we ought to subscribe to such an opinion. On the rise of Christianity some innovations in language were unavoidable; much indifference to its refinement was natural, and almost of necessary consequence. The Pagan rhetoricians complained that the Christian religion was effecting a revolution in grammar, and introducing many alterations into the Latin tongue. St. Augustin, who studied Cicero and Virgil with such care, though he showed the insignificance of their objections, was anxious to preserve the purity of the Latin language; but Arnobius altogether disdained the scruples of the grammarians, and confessed that in fact Christianity ought to introduce changes into the language, since it had changed the sentiments and views of men. Yet assuredly many writers of the middle ages, like St. Leo the Great, and St. Bernard, attained to an admirable grace and harmony of style. There were still men who could write treatises which have been mistaken for the composition of St. Augustin, and beauty of stylo was not excluded by that impressive unction which belonged to the ascetical writers, whose sweet and honied sentences disarm the severity of high crested thoughts. Nicholas of Clairvaux imitated the style of St. Bernard, so that it was almost impossible to distinguish it. Schlegel even asserts that the Latin language was written with the same elegance in the eleventh century, as in the golden age of Augustus. The schoolmen, indeed, may have used new words in treating of new things or rather of things new to the Latin tongue; but the Roman authors themselves had taken similar liberties. Cicero used the words Appiitatem and Lentulitatem. The mania for substituting classical Latinity in place of the terms consecrated by Christian usage characterized the learning of the period immediately previous to the pseudo reformation, when new versions were published of the Psalms, and even of some ascetical works, as the Imitation of Christ. Some wished to change Salvator into Servator, because the former does not occur in the writings of the heathens. This was an old idea, and St. Augustin had made the just reply, "Let the grammarians bark what they will about Salvator not being a Latin word: to Christians it is sufficiently Latin, provided it express rightly the truth of that article which they believe. I admit that the words Salvare and Salvator were not Latin before the Saviour came, but when he came to the Latins he made them Latin."* With respect to the Latin which was known in secular society, there is no reason to conclude that it was wholly void of classical grace. The judgments at which presided the Viscountess of Béziers, and which were collected under a famous title, are said to have been pronounced in very good Latin. We have already seen on what grounds the holy fathers without hesitation made use of the heathen writings to explain or illustrate to the Gentiles the true religion, but we have not sufficiently shown what an influence this Catholic view of learning which

* Mabillon de Studiis Monast. Pars II. c. III. § 3.

* S. Augustini Serm. 299.

allowed men to claim as their own every intellectual good, continued to produce upon the literature of the ages of faith. When it was argued by some that the fathers had only quoted pagan authors in consequence of their living among pagans, but that in subsequent ages Christians had no occasion to consult them, the objection was refuted by showing that the faithful still lived among men who extolled reason, and that on that account an acquaintance with the writings of the pagans continued to be of the greatest importance.* The observation of Minucius Felix on this point was equally just in all times, when speaking of men who being aware of what they deserve, wish rather than believe that every thing will perish with their bodies, being hardened in their error by remarking the liberty which they enjoy in this life, and the incomparable patience of God, he adds, "and yet nevertheless, they cannot open the books of any distinguished man, they cannot even read the poets, without finding salutary warnings on this head; so profoundly graven is this thought in the heart of all men, that a day will come when the different disorders which at present reign will be repaired, and when Divine justice will reward every man according to his works."† St. Clemens of Alexandria recognized the fundamental principle of Christianity that the testimony of God is the basis of faith, in that passage of the Timæus of Plato, where he says, that there is one only way to understand truth fully, which is, by being instructed by God himself, or by those who are born of God.‡ "O man, magnificently humble and exalted by humility," cries Petrarch, speaking of St. Augustin, "who adorned with the plumes of others, dost not insult over them, but while guiding the vessel of the Christian religion amidst the rocks of heresy, conscious to himself without arrogance of his own greatness, commemorates the rudiments of his youth, and though so great a doctor of the church, yet does not blush to have been led by the man of Arpinum who was tending to another end."§ St. Jerome, indeed, alluding to the day of judgment, says, in a rhetorical style, "foolish Plato with his disciples,"‖ but he admits the principle on which the ancient learning was still studied, in citing some verses from the Æneid, adding, "these things we take from a Gentile poet, that he who does not keep the peace of Christ may learn peace at least from a heathen."* It was only when alluding to some strange conceits of Abailard respecting the procession of the holy Spirit, which he spoke of as being the soul of the world, that St. Bernard used that famous expression, that endeavouring to make Plato a Christian, he proved himself a heathen,† which will not justify our concluding that St. Bernard generally was insensible to the sublimity of Plato, or to the advantage of studying his writings; in fact, the passages adduced by Abailard from his works are the last that would give an idea of the excellence of his philosophy. Petavius says, in his book on the Trinity, that if we examine the more ancient heresies of which there is mention in Epiphanius, Philastrius, and others, we shall find that of almost all the doctrines which were contrary to the Catholic faith, but especially those concerning the Trinity, the foundation and author was Plato;‡ but, perhaps, it would have been more correct to trace them to the men who abused Plato by endeavouring to prove that he had anticipated Christianity. Fleury, in his manners of the Christians, makes the distinction between Plato with the old academicians and the Platonists of the age of Julian, who had little in common with the disciple of Socrates but the name; and he observes that when Christianity arose there were some true philosophers who faithfully sought to discover truth and to practise virtue. In the ages of faith, before men had experience of an attempt to revive the heathen philosophy within the Church, we find them speaking with greater respect of the ancient sages, and inheriting with greater abundance and security the intellectual treasures of ancient times. "This we ought to do," says Raban Maur, and his authority is decisive as to the opinion of these ages, "when we read the Gentile poets, or when the books of secular wisdom come into our hands, if we find any thing useful in them we should convert it to our doctrine; but if there be any thing superfluous, concerning idols or love, or the care of temporal things, that we should pass over."§ When Jerome Savonerela warned some learned men sitting in the Marcian academy at Florence, from the study of the ancient philosophers, saying that Plato tended to inspire insolence of mind and Aristotle impiety, Petrus Crinitus relates that Picus of Mirandula smiled, and

* Jamin, Traité de la Lecture Chrétienne.
† Cap. 35. ‡ Stromat. VI.
§ Epist. Famil. Lib. II. 69. ‖ Epist. V.

* Epist. XV. † Epist. CXC.
‡ De Trinitate, cap. 6.
§ Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum, Lib. III. cap. 18.

said in reply that his own studies convinced him that the Mosaic writings, and the Christian religion, in a great measure agreed with the ancient philosophy as contained in the works of Pythagoras, Mercurius, Zoroastre, and Solon.* After the sixteenth century, the insane arrogance of pedants and the errors of heretics naturally inspired the faithful with greater timidity and induced them to abandon many associations which they had formerly cherished with innocence and enjoyed with meekness. A tone of gloom and severity which belonged rather to the porch of the stoics than to the meek and joyous family of the Church, infused itself even into the privileged fold, insomuch that Villani the historian complains that the taste for graver studies which occupied his age made the productions of their most celebrated poets appear frivolous. Before that era faith was too firm to fear any concession which did not compromise its principles, and men never supposed it possible that truth could be confounded with exploded errors or endangered by recognizing the voice of primary traditions in the monuments of ancient learning. They enjoyed and honoured genius and every testimony to truth, so that if a poet, like that Athenian of old, had described them visiting the shades, he would have shown them like Sophocles approaching and kissing Æschylus and Plato, and giving them in their capacity of poets and sincere lovers of truth, the first place, and never questioning their right to it, but that same poet would represent the moderns like Euripides, who began to cry out and contend for it, appealing to the judgment of the vile majority, of the rabble shades.† With what noble affection does St. Jerome speak of the great Origen, extolling the beauty of his immortal genius, and the depth of his researches, and at the same time acknowledging, though in a style that might move one to tears, that there were so many points on which he had erred.‡ The learning of antiquity harmonizes far more with that of the middle ages than with our own. When a youth at present leaves the schools where he has been familiarized with the sentiments of Socrates and Cicero, and the older sages, and on entering the world finds himself in the midst of what is called society, he perceives an abrupt transition which fills him with astonishment. His studies of heathen literature had not prepared him for this insolent contempt for all that is holy, this audacious mockery of goodness, this undisguised egotism: he finds in literature itself, a total contrast to every thing in the writings of the sages of antiquity, high and mysterious, generous and inspiring, to all that refined intellectual beauty which had so often exalted his imagination to rapture in solitude, and shed such a grace and sweetness upon those evening walks with early friends to which he looks back with such affection: he finds himself now among impious, ignorant triflers, centaurically vociferating, men whose philosopher is Voltaire, whose temple is the exchange or the tribune, whose festivals are a horse race or a review of the civic guard, whose reading is confined to journals, and whose highest boast is to be one of the majority. But to return to the learning of the middle ages. "All things," says John of Salisbury, "offer themselves for the use of the wise man, who finds matter for exercising virtue in whatever is said or done: "nam et otia ejus negotia sunt:" he proceeds rightly in his own actions, and he philosophizes upon the vanities of other men.* His own work, a monument of the wisdom and learning of the eleventh century, is an example of this in its vast and curious erudition, and in the excellent judgment with which classical passages are quoted; for besides all the known classics it contains extracts from a multitude of other books. More than one hundred and twenty ancient authors are there cited. Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, in the twelfth century, cites passages from Aristotle, Boethius, Cato, Cicero, Tacitus, Frontinus, Galen, Gellius, Hippocrates, Horace, Justin, Juvenal, Lucan, Macrobius, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Plato, Plautus, Curtius, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Statius, Suetonius, Terence, Theophrastus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Virgil, and Vegetius. He had become a priest only in his old age. Christine de Pisan had read Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and all the Greek and Latin poets, though her chief study had been the writings of St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose. In the ninth century, Paschasius Radbert, who wrote the life of St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby, applies a passage from the republic of Plato to his own subject, and makes with exquisite taste many quotations from the classical authors.† "Though the Gentile without Christ," says John of Salis-

* De Honesta Disciplina, Lib. III.
† Aristoph. Ranæ, 788.
‡ Epist. XXXVI. et Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles.

* De Nugis Curialium. Lib. II. Prolog.
† Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Bened. Secul. IV. P. I.

bury, "had not laid hold of the fruit of beatitude, yet we see in them the shadows of virtues, as in the diligence of Themistocles, the gravity of Fronto, the continence of Socrates, the fidelity of Fabricius, the innocence of Numa, the modesty of Scipio, the patience of Ulysses, the abstemiousness of Cato, the piety of Titus.* He shows that even the ancient poets convey lessons of salutary wisdom. Homer, he observes, chooses that his hero Ulysses should never be without Minerva, who signified prudence. Therefore, he underwent all horrible things without perishing; for he entered the cave of the Cyclops and escaped from it; he beheld the oxen of the sun and abstained; he passed into the infernal regions, and ascended from them; he sailed by Scylla, and was not seized; he touched Charybdis and was not retained, he drank the cup of Circe, and was not transformed; he visited the Lothophagi, and was not confined; he came to the Sirens and passed on his way.†

If I am not deceived, it will be interesting to a scholar to take, in this manner, an occasional glance at the great writers of classical antiquity, as if from the cloisters of the middle age. The monks and holy men who wrote books in those times, are very fond of applying the beautiful sentences of Cicero and Plato to their own subject; but then they contrive to give them a tone essentially Christian, so as to be homogeneous with their whole composition, and they effect this by connecting or completing them with sentences out of the holy Scriptures, so that the entire page is made to express the simple unadulterated faith of Christ. In this way the classical student learned to associate the brightest gems of the ancient learning with the wisdom of Christians. If their lustre did not confer additional beauty on the thoughts, the practice will at least show with what innocence and piety the classical learning was cultivated in these ages of faith. An instance of this kind occurs in the old Life of Lietbertus, Bishop of Cambray, where the author describes the last discourse of that holy man in language taken from the Treatise de Senectute, by Cicero, and from the Apology of Plato: but he does not allow his reader to depart without hearing still higher wisdom, for the concluding words are these—"Unde ne censeas lugendam mortem quam immortalitas consequitur: si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo."* In this respect, the influence of classical learning upon literature, was widely different from that which it exercised in a subsequent age, when men lost sight of the Christian character in their admiration of the writings of antiquity. In many writers of the sixteenth century there are two characters—the Christian and the Philosopher. Led away by enthusiasm, for classical learning, they sometimes wrote like heathens and at others like devout Christians. In the same chapter and page of Montaigne, this separation is perceptible. Let antiquity appear, and he revives all its errors; let Christianity show itself, and he falls upon his knees. Cardan is another writer of this kind, yet in heart so Catholic, that he refused the offer of great advantages rather than reside in a Protestant country. This accounts too for the contradictory opinions which have been held respecting them. Generally, through Heaven's mercy, grace was given to these men, enabling them to die penitent and Catholically, like Cardan, Polydore Virgil, and Montaigne. But they were not examples of the evil in its greatest extent. By degrees the classical spirit predominated to such a degree as to form the very character of men, and to impart that uniform odour of Paganism which is so perceptible in the modern literature. During the ages of faith, men did not cultivate classical learning with an indifference to its errors. Julian said that the Christians might persist in teaching the books of Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, and others, if they would persuade their disciples that there was nothing of impiety in these authors, and that they should imitate their worship,—an indulgence which was only regarded as the addition of insult to injustice. But no exercise of ingenuity was more agreeable to them than the art with which they made use of the beauties of classical learning, without ever confounding its errors with the simplicity of Christian truth. Chateaubriand in his Martyrs, has shown himself in this respect a true Christian poet; for though he employs Pagan Mythology, and all that is most severe and holy, in the true religion, yet he never mixes them, or speaks of the former otherwise than as a Christian: yet his work was harshly criticised, on the ground of its combining irreconcileable elements, because his contemporaries were ignorant of

* De Nugis Cur. Lib. III. cap. 9.
† Id. VI. cap. 28.

* Vita Leitberti, Episcop. Cameracens. cap. 63, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX.

the legitimate use of heathen erudition. Had that work appeared in the middle ages, it would have been received with enthusiasm, because men were then accustomed to use heathen and Christian learning without confounding either. In fact, to the inheritance of the earth was attached much that was gracious and innocent in the manners as well as in the learning of the ancients. Christianity sanctioned no superstitious separations or distinction. The names of adults were not even changed in baptism, so that many saints retained the titles which came from false gods, as Donis, Martin, Demetrius; and on the sepulchres of the martyrs may be seen traced the ancient symbol of the heart. A holy Franciscan, Father John of Bordeaux, in his book entitled the Christian Epictetus, speaks of weak persons who, not comprehending how grace corrects the faults of nature, blame the alliance which he seems to make in that book between the maxims of a philosopher and those of the Son of God. Knowing that heaven is not farther removed from the earth than human philosophy from evangelical wisdom, they cannot persuade themselves that there may be a union between these two sciences. "They are deceived," continues the wise friar. "That is not impossible: for holy souls in Christianity have an admirable secret to unite them, which is the miracle of charity." The Church, in her solemn offices, reads from the works of one whom she names not in consequence of his fall. The books of Wisdom are for her use, and she reads from them; but she is not authorized to claim their author, and therefore she declines pronouncing his name.* "All things are to be read," says John of Salisbury, "in order that some, when read, may be neglected, some reprobated, some seen in transitu, and others to be more studied, as those which relate to political life, or to jurisprudence, or to ethics, or which conduce to the health of the body or soul. Nothing," he continues, "should arrest the mind which does not tend to make man better. Even those things of which the use is necessary, if pursued immoderately, become most pernicious. Who doubts that poets, historians, orators, and mathematicians should be read, since without them men are ignorant and illiterate; yet when they claim possession of the mind as of right, although they promise the knowledge of things, they withdraw men from virtue and from devotion. Witness the vanity of Cicero! What darkness covers minds that are lifted up like his by praise! What fear comes upon them, what cupidity inflames them! These palliate adulteries, teach injustice, and propose examples of evil to the multitude. What fires from heaven, or inundation from the sea, or opening of the earth, cause such destruction of people as these occasion of manners! For reading alone, without the co-operation of grace, can never make man wise.* But with grace assisting him, all things are food to him, because, in all creatures, the Lord speaks to him the words of his salvation. All edification of manners is from the Lord, and all instruction of safety is, in a certain manner, the Word of God; and from whatever part truth is offered, it should be accepted, because it is always incorrupt and incorruptible. Therefore all things may be read if vice be avoided. What is even the odour of death to some may be profitable to life in others: all are more or less useful; and hardly can any writing be found, from which, if not from the sense or words, there may not still be drawn something by a prudent reader. The Catholic books are read with more safety, but it is still very useful to be acquainted also with those of the Gentiles. Wisdom is a certain fountain, from which all the rivers flow that water the whole earth, which not only form the garden of delights of the divine page, but also pass to the nations, and enrich those flowery regions with beauty and fragrance."† In this admirable passage the danger of such studies to some minds is admitted, to which we find allusion also in many other works; for the scholar of the middle ages sometimes found by experience, that the reading of the heathen poets was injurious to the purity of his soul. Such an instance is related in the chronicle of Centulensis, and the young man is said to have renounced secular learning even afterwards, and to have devoted himself wholly to what was divine.‡

It remains only to notice briefly the character of learning, during those ages, in its application to secular objects.

In early times, medicine was studied by monks. Those of Monte Cassino employed the time that remained to them after their devout prayers, in the relief of

* Durandi Rationalis, Lib. VI. 1.

* De Nugis Curialium, cap. 9.

† De Nugis Curialium, cap. 10.

‡ Chronicon Centulensis, Lib. IV. cap. 13.

afflicted humanity. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Faricio, a monk of Arezzo, was illustrious in medicine. Passing into Scotland, he became abbot of the monastery of Aberdeen, and was held in great repute for his medical knowledge by the monarchs of that kingdom. We have already remarked the excellent judgment which was shown in the choice of Galen for the chief authority. Carden says, that there had been in ancient times a distinction between herbalists and physicians.* It was chiefly in the former capacity that the monks practised. Their motive was wholly religious, and the influence of piety, appeared in this as in all their other sciences. An example occurs in the chronicle of Sens, of which the author speaks as follows:—"When I was in Argentine following the schools, there was a certain Master Henry with St. Thomas who was imbued with the art of medicine. He being made prior at Trouthenhouze, related to me, that a certain soldier named Rambald being attacked with a grievous sickness, sent to invite the prior to come to prescribe for him. On his arrival he found the soldier dangerously ill; so the prior said to him, 'My lord, if you believe me, you will first confess your sins, and receive the body of Christ, before I attempt to cure you, because that will be a more important remedy for you.'"† However, as the study of medicine was found to interfere with more important duties, a decree of the Council of Rheims, in the year 1131, prohibited monks and canons from pursuing it; and in that of Tours, in the year 1163, Pope Alexander III. declared, that those who left their cloister to learn the art of healing or to pursue the study of law, would incur excommunication.

Many of the most learned laymen, in the thirteenth century, were physicians. They studied with the Arabs, to which education may perhaps be ascribed the errors of Arnold de Villeneuve in matters of faith. He too had studied with the Moors in Spain, from whom he learned the art of making brandy, which they regarded as a medicine, being prevented by their law from using it for any other purpose, and which he was the first to introduce into Europe. His heretical tenets on points of faith caused his books to be burnt, and it was with difficulty that the Pope succeeded in saving those which had

* Prudent. Civ. c. 92.

† Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. IV. cap. 34, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.

only relation to medical science. In the same age flourished Raymund Lulle, a man of noble race, senechal of the King of Arragon. He was a warrior, a poet, an alchemist, and a theologian: he passed into Africa to convert the Mahometans, and was rescued when about to suffer martyrdom. He was supposed to have succeeded as an alchemist in his labours to accomplish the great work. Even the muse of Tasso, like that of Pindar, does not disdain to mention such men "as the heroes who repelled all kinds of diseases;"* for after treating how Godfrey was wounded at the first assault of Jerusalem, we are told,

"Erotimus, born on the banks of Po,
Was he that undertook to cure the knight
All what green herbs or waters pure could do:
He knew their power, their virtue, and their might:
A noble poet was the man also;
But in this science he had more delight;
He could restore to health death-wounded men,
And make their names immortal with his pen."†

Bartholomew de Granville was another learned and noble layman of that age, who composed a work from the writings of Albert the Great and Vincent de Beauvais, which was entitled De Rerum Proprietate. Symphorien Champier, in later times, was another example of an excellent theologian and philosopher, a renowned poet, and an experienced physician, versed in all kinds of learning. We find the two-fold character of these men generally recognised on their tombs, as in the inscription on that of Neri, in the Neri chapel at the convent of St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi, at Florence, in which the terms "medico ac philosopho" are applied to him.—Celebrated in the middle ages were Fracastor, a physician, astronomer, and great poet, and also Speroni of Padua, a physician and philosopher, who was so loved by St. Charles Borromeo as to be admitted to his Notti Vaticane. In later times, the influence of piety ceased to distinguish the learning of the physicians, so that a striking contrast to the meek spirit of the theological and monastic disputants was seen in the writings of these lay cultivators of medical science of the sixteenth century, who resembled the classical critics of modern times in making the margin of books their field of battle. The furious and ignoble combats of the anatomists arose when Vesalius, from the schools of

* Pyth. Od. III. † XI. 70.

Padua and Bologna, sent forth a book to prove that Galen had described the anatomy of animals alone, and not of men, and Sylvius replied to him in terms of such outrage and insult. Veselius, the celebrated anatomist, physician of the Emperor Charles V. was known when at Madrid to have opened the body of a gentleman whose heart was found to palpitate, he having probably been only in a trance. The horror inspired by this event was so great, that it was generally believed he had been guilty of dissecting a living man. He was condemned to make a pilgrimage to Palestine, and he died at Zante while on his return.

The study of law was in an early age cultivated by the clergy. In the twelfth century, that of the Roman law, at Bologna, was instrumental to the diffusion of learning. Gratian, who made the celebrated compilation, was a Benedictine monk, who lived there in the middle of that century. Many clerks studied the civil law. St. Philogonus, who succeeded Vital in the See of Antioch, in the year 318, had been an eminent lawyer, celebrated for his eloquence and learning, as well as for the holiness of his life. However, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, masters of law were not desired in the University of Padua. Innocent IV. found it necessary to issue decrees to check the ardour for this study, lest the Church should suffer injury, and he prohibited any professor of laws to be admitted to an ecclesiastical dignity. Matthew Paris, writing in the year 1254, laments the prevalence of such studies, and says, "Almost all scholars now, forsaking grammarians and philosophers, turn to laws; quas constat non esse de numero artium liberalium: artes enim liberales propter se appetuntur, leges autem ut salaria acquirantur," an opinion very comformable with what was said in a later age of lawyers by the chancellor D'Aguesau, that with them to make one's fortune and to do one's duty, meant the same thing. Hugues de Bercy, a poet who lived in the days of Philippe-Augustus, is still more severe against lawyers, and says, "Les loix apprennent tromperie." The Church commemorates the action of St. Andrew Avellin, who when a young man at Naples studying jurisprudence, and engaged in pleading for private clients, finding himself in a moment of excitement guilty of uttering some trivial falsehood, and soon after coming by chance to the words of the sacred Scripture, "Os quod mentitur occidit animam," was seized with such compunction, that immediately from that hour he renounced all such engagements, and gave himself up wholly to the divine service. In consequence of the prescript of Honorius III. there were no professors of law in the University of Paris. In the Complutensian, Ximenes the founder took care, by a severe enactment, that there should be no place for such professors in after times. The same prohibition was maintained in Hiedelberg, Prague, and other ancient academies of Germany.

Without taking any side in this question, one may observe that, in all countries where the modern philosophy prevails, the importance with which this profession is invested, is certainly not a little remarkable. At the same time it would be unjust to overlook the noble character which judical learniug and manners assumed in the ages of faith. History records of Anthony Roselli, that learned and eloquent lawyer of Arezzo, that he was never induced to defend a cause which even appeared to him unjust. In the chronicles of the middle age, lawyers sometimes appear invested with almost a saintly character. They are even assisted by visions. William Lydyngton being employed by the monks of Crowland to support some cause of theirs which was pending, saw in a vision by night, as he lay restless and concerned in reflecting upon the case, a certain reverend hero, clad in the garb of an anchorite, who desired him to take the refreshment of sleep, and added, that he would succeed in course of time. He concluded that it was St. Guthlake who had appeared to him, the patron of that abbey, who having been a great soldier, renounced the world and lived as a hermit in the fens.* It is impossible to regard, without awe and reverence, the solemn figure of Gothardus, rector of the law students, as he is represented on his tomb in the cloisters of the University of Pavia. Ranulphus, Bishop of Durham, in the days of the Conqueror, wrote a book entitled De Legibus Angliæ, which constitutes him the father of English lawyers. The clergy read in their office a sentence from St. Basil, that "fasting makes wise legislators."† We have seen, that in the time of Charlemagne it was imposed upon those who administered the law. When the Catholic archbishops and bishops, and mitred abbets, sat in parlia-

* Hist. Croylandensis in Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I. 502.
† Homil. I. de Jejun.

ment, men like Chancellor Morton, who had studied the canon law and the law of God, who were spiritually wise, and when the nobles who assisted them,—some of whom, perhaps, could only set their cross for their signature,—legislated for England in conformity to their principles, there were acts of parliament passed and laws enacted, which have stood, and will for ever stand to all posterity, as models of legislative wisdom. The men of our age imagine that it would be well to change them: they attempt it, fall into pitiable mistakes, involve things in confusion, and become justly objects of public derision for their pains.

Such is the general idea of the learning of the ages of faith which will result from a reference to their works. In the next chapter, the constitution and manners of schools, and the history of the rise of Universities, will still further develope it, and can hardly fail to prove interesting and instructive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE institution of schools supported by public authority, in places secured and set apart for instruction, was unknown to the ancient Greeks; and with the Romans, military glory for many ages excluded all study of the liberal arts, so that it was not till the end of the first century of the Christian era that public schools began to be maintained in Rome at the expense of the state. The school of Alexandria, in Egypt, was indeed of great antiquity. From the time of the Ptolemies it had been a seat of learning, boasting of that renowned museum founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, which contained an ambulacrum, a place for disputation, and a house in which the sophists and grammarians were lodged. Among the primitive Christians, it had become very celebrated. St. Jerome says, that from the time of St. Mark the Evangelist it had possessed ecclesiastical doctors. There the mathematics were also studied by the Christians, in order to assist the Church in the computation of the festivals. The Pagans themselves were induced to attend the lectures in the Christian school at Rome, near the baths of Titus. It was to a school of this description that the stoic Pantænus was indebted for his knowledge of the Christian religion, and afterwards he was placed at the head of the very school that had instructed him. St. Clemens of Alexandria used to boast that he had been a disciple of St. Pantenus, which he deemed a greater honour than to be a master himself. In the school of Alexandria flourished Origen, Heraclas, Dionysius, John φιλόπονος, and other learned Christian doctors. This celebrated school was destroyed about the end of the fifth century by the invasion of the Mahometans. The school of Cæsarea-Palestina was also celebrated among the Christians. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Basil the Great, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, who studied and taught there, rendered it illustrious: but of its duration we have no certain evidence. St. Basil, departing from Cæsarea to Constantinople, the school of the second Rome, soon became renowned, and here it is supposed was founded by Constantine a seat of letters, furnishing the first instance of a public academy endowed and instituted by authority. That of Rome was equally celebrated as was also that of Berytus, which three cities had the exclusive privilege of having lectures upon the Roman law. The college of Bangor in Britain was established by monks before the time of Constantine. Shortly after the death of Justinian, Berytus was overthrown by an earthquake, and a fire destroyed what had been saved from that ruin. The school of Constantinople lasted till the beginning of the eighth century, when it was extinguished by Leo the Isaurian. The school of Carthage also was spoken of by St. Augustin as the rival of that of Rome. That of Milan is celebrated for its library, and from St. Augustin having gone to it to teach rhetoric. In the fourth century a number of schools were founded in Gaul by the

edict of Valens and Gratian. That in the town of Cleves was eminent, which it appears had existed in the third century, where an Athenian had taught. Marseilles retained its academy, which was so grandly described by Strabo and Cicero. The schools of Bourdeaux, Tholouse, Narbonne, and Treves, are expressly mentioned from the epoch of the fourth century; but the professors were only grammarians, both Greek and Latin, and rhetoricians, for no philosophers or professors of law were yet in Gaul.

Of ecclesiastical schools, the earliest that are mentioned are those of Rome, Alexandria, and Nisibe. Such schools were either public or conventual. In the beginning of the sixth century, Cassiodorus, who from a Roman senator had become a monk, lamented the deficiency of these, compared with the secular schools,* and ascribed it to the wars, which raged in Italy. Edessa was soon after celebrated for its ecclesiastical school. The conventual schools were episcopal and monastic. Of these the first instance is that of Hippo, founded by St. Augustin for the education of young clerics, as a seminary to supply priests to the Church. Muratori describes the desolation of Italy, in consequence of the ravages of the barbarous Goths and Longebards, who nearly destroyed all learning, excepting at Rome and Pavia. As a remedy for this evil, the parochial schools by the clergy became general throughout Italy in the fifth century, which institutions thence passed into Gall. Thus a council in Narbonese Gall, in 443, decreed as follows: "It pleases us that all priests, constituted over parishes, according to the custom which is so beneficially established in Italy, should have junior readers unmarried in their houses, whom they shall spiritually nourish, instructing them in the psalms and divine lessons, and in the law of God, that they may provide worthy successors for themselves, and receive from the Lord an eternal recompence."† In Spain first arose the schools of cathedral churches. This was in the beginning of the sixth century. Children offered by their parents were here to be instructed under the eye of the bishop,‡ and to dwell under one roof.§ Yet the first Christian schools were always adjoining the cathedral, where was also the hospital for the sick and for pilgrims, and there science and mercy met together, justice and peace kissed each other. The first schools of Paris were opposite Nôtre Dame, and adjoining the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. In the time of King Robert, the Palatine schools, so called from their being near the palace of Thermes, were on the ascent of the hill of St. Geneviève. The schools of Rheims, under Hincmar, in the ninth century, were celebrated. Young men flocked there from all parts. These schools produced great bishops, abbots, and chancellors of France. His successor Foulques excited emulation by his example, for he did not disdain to study with the youngest clerks.* In the year 970, the famous monk of Aurillac in Auvergne, Gerbert, was placed at the head of these schools, and king Robert, son of Hugues Capet, was sent to study under him by his mother Adelaide. Under Guy de Chatillon the youth of the city were also instructed, by the masters of the cathedral school, in the holy scriptures and in the ecclesiastical computation. At Lyons I saw, adjoining the cathedral, a very ancient building, called the manécanterie. It was the cathedral school, erected by Leydrade the archbishop in the eighth century. The name is derived from mane cantare, to sing matins, for it was here that boys were instructed in the chaunt. In the eleventh century we find St. Maiolus, a young ecclesiastical student, repairing to Lyons as to the most eminent school, the mother and nurse of philosophy, as St. Odilo calls it.† It was king Ina who founded the English school at Rome. We read in the Saxon chronicle, that in the year 816 the school of the English nation at Rome was destroyed by fire. Alfred was a great benefactor to it. The title of one of the great hospitals at Rome is derived from its proximity to this school of the Saxons. In the time of St. Bernard it was usual for some, even of monastic students, to be sent to Rome. St. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni in the twelfth century, sent some of his disciples to Pope Lucius, to whom he wrote in these remarkable terms: "According to the will and command of your eminence, we direct from the bosom of Cluny's cloister these beloved brethren and sons to the common father, yea to our and their especial father; we commend them to apostolic piety. For

* Præfat. ad lib. divinæ et humanæ lection.
† 1 Can. Concil. Vasionensis, II.
‡ Concil. Toletano, II. Can. I.
§ Id. IV.

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, I. 152.
† Bibliothec. Cluniac. 282.

the cause of God and by virtue of obedience they leave their native soil, repair to a foreign land, and seek not to fly from death itself, which the Roman air is accustomed to inflict so quickly upon our countrymen; so that like lambs they go to the sacrifice."* In the sixth century also arose the schools of the new family of the Benedictines, which spread themselves over the whole western church. Of these the school of the monastery in the island of Lerins became first most celebrated. This was founded by St. Honoratus, and it produced Maximus, Faustus, Hilary, Cæsarius, Vincent, Eucherius, Salvius, and many others. The school of Seville in Spain was also renowned for having produced the great St. Isidore. Of this school Mariana says, "that as if from a citadel of wisdom many came forth illustrious both for probity of manners, and for learning."† Isidore gave this precept for all similar schools in Spain: "Cura nutriendorum parvulorum pertinebit ad virum, quem elegerit pater, sanctum sapientemque atque ætate gravem, informantem parvulos non solum studiis, litterarum sed etiam documentis magisterioque virtutum." Until the time of Charlemagne letters found an asylum in England, and especially in Ireland in the monasteries. Henry of Auxerre, in the life of St. Germain, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald, says, that the Anglo-Saxons used to resort unto the monks of Ireland, for the sake of learning, and that they received from them the manner of forming their letters; and Bede is a witness that in the year 664 "many of the noble and middle classes of England left their country and passed into Ireland, for the sake of divine reading, or of a more continent life, and some within the monasteries, others going about from cell to cell, delighted in receiving instruction from masters, all whom the Irish liberally received, giving them daily food without price, as also books and instructors gratuitously."‡ Then returning home, they enriched their own country with learning. Renowned schools and colleges were in the abbeys of Louth, of St. Ibar in the island of Beg Eri, on the coast of Wexford, in the fifth century, in the abbey of Clonard in Eastmeath, and of Rathene, in those of Lismore, Ross, and Bangor, of St. Mary at Clonfert, and in that of St. Ninnidius in the island of Dam-Inis in the Lake of Erne, and in the abbey of the isle of Immay on the coast of Galway.* At this time Theodorus, a Roman monk, sent by Pope Vitalianus, came to Canterbury, where he was made archbishop, having for companion the abbot Adrian. These were both learned in the Greek and Latin. When Alcuin presided in the school of York, a crowd of scholars resorted thither from France and even from the farthest parts of Germany. St. Lindger was sent from Saxony to York to study under him, and remained there three years and six months. Tanner admits that the English monasteries, till the moment of their destruction, were schools of learning and education, and that all the neighbours who desired it might have their children taught grammar and church music without any expence to them.† In the abbey of Jumièges, where our Edward the Confessor was educated, there were many schools for the monks and for seculars, in which rich and poor were alike received, and the poor could send their children, because they were nourished at the expence of the monastery.‡ In the monastery of St. Benedict on the Loire, there were at one time five thousand scholars. Two descriptions of colleges flourished within all the Benedictine monasteries, of which one was for lay youths.§ The Scholasticus was the master of the school, who not only excelled in the science of the divine scriptures, but also in secular learning, in mathematics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music, rhetoric, and poetry. Trithemius adds, that whenever an abbot found no monk in his abbey competent to discharge this office, it was no subject of shame to apply to some other monastery for a monk to fill it.|| No college in these ages was more celebrated than that of Fulda, of which Raban was preceptor. Even bishops did not disdain to study in the schools of learned abbots. Thus we read of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who followed the instructions of Olbert, Abbot of Jumiège, "a noble and powerful bishop did not disdain to submit himself to the form of a disciple: and a humble and foreign monk did not fear to assume the part of a master over such a man."¶ In the Benedictine monasteries were always

* S. Petri ven. Epist. Lib. IV. 24.
† Lib. VI. Rer. Hispan. cap. 7.
‡ Hist. Anglic. Lib. III. cap. 27.

* Monast. Hibernic. 410.
† Notitia Monastica, Pref.
‡ Hist. de Jumièges par Deshayes.
§ Mabillon de Studiis Monast. I. cap. 11.
|| Withem. in Chron. Hirsan. ad an. 890.
¶ Mabillon, Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Bened. § 3.

two divisions of boys for learning, forming the interior or claustral and the exterior or canonical schools; the former for those that were dedicated to religion, the latter for seculars. The care which was expended upon all these boys is described by Udalricus, in the third book of his customs of Cluny, where he concludes that it would be difficult for any son of a king to be nourished with greater diligence in a palace than was the least boy of the lowest rank in Cluny. Many sons of kings were educated with the children of the poor in monasteries of Benedictines. Lothaire, son of Charles the Bald, was educated in the abbey of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, Theodoric III. at Kala, Louis VI., Pepin, parent of the great Charles, and Robert, the second king of the third race, in the abbey of St. Denis. Even the exterior schools were under strong monastic discipline. Ekkehard the younger says, in the sixth chapter of his book on the monastery of St. Gall, that there were places of strict discipline, not only in the cloisteral but also in the external schools, from which, besides clerks, who were often there nourished, there came out many illustrious bishops. Joachim Vadianus, though an adversary, bears testimony that in the masters of these schools were required piety and erudition, the former being estimated by innocence of life and love of the divine worship, the latter by the judgment and excellence of the learning which was possessed. Preceptors were often chosen from the monasteries for the episcopal schools. "And in all these offices," says Mabillon, "if they ever received any thing as a gift from the munificence of their disciples, they used to spend it in pious uses." Thus we read of Sigebert, that he applied many things to the use and ornament of the church of Jumièges, which he had received as voluntary presents from the liberality of those whom he instructed.—With Charlemagne arose the Palatine school, which was held in the palace, of which the scholars were in the court. This was so far ambulatory, that wherever the emperor went to reside it established itself in the imperial palace. Louis-le-Debonnaire and Charles the Bald continued to maintain the school in their palaces, in which had always presided from the time of Charlemagne the most learned monks, Alcuin, Peter of Pisa, Clemens, Claudius a Spaniard, Amalarius, the Deacon, Angelomus the Monk of Luxeuil, and Scotus, who gave lessons on the holy scriptures, on tradition, and on the liberal arts.* The zeal of Charlemagne for learning is finely evinced in his admirable letter to Baugolf, Abbot of Fulda, and to other abbots. By means of Alcuin, it was said, that a new Athens had arisen in France. It is not denied that there had been as we have shown schools in Gaul before his time: for Bede speaks of Sigebercht, King of the East Saxons, having fled to France, and says, that when he returned to his kingdom, he instituted a school in imitation of what he had seen in France, in which boys were instructed in letters, Bishop Felix himself assisting.† But the wars and troubles of the eighth century were a great obstacle to the progress of learning. The Council of Valence in the year 855, recommends the erection of schools for divine and human sciences, and the ecclesiastical chaunt, because from the long interruption of studies, ignorance of the faith, and the want of all science have invaded many of the churches of God. The exertions of the great Alcuin and other British monks under Charlemagne and his son Lewis, led to the extension and improvement of schools. Alcuin, amidst all his labours of composition, gave public lessons in the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, "I your Flaccus," he says in a letter to Charlemagne, "according to your exhortations and good desire, apply myself to minister to some under the roof of St. Martin the honey of the holy Scriptures. Others I endeavour to inebriate with the old wine of ancient learning, others I begin to nourish with the apples of grammatic subtilty. Some I try to illuminate in the science of the stars, as if of the painted canopy of some great house; I am made many things to many persons that I may edify as many as possible to the advantage of the holy church of God, and to the honour of your imperial kingdom."

In 813, a celebrated synod at Mayence ordered the clergy to admonish the people that parents should send their sons to the school whether in monasteries or in the houses of the parochial clergy, that they might learn there in the vernacular tongue, the symbol and the "our Father," and whatever was necessary for instruction in the Catholic faith.‡ There were parochial catechetical schools which were also

* Mabillon, Præf. in IV. Sæcul. Ben. § 8.
† Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 18.
‡ Concil. Moguntini Can. XLV.

gratuitous, and in another synod in 800, it was ordered that the parochial priests should have schools in the towns and villages, that the little children of all the faithful might learn letters from them; "let them receive and teach these with the utmost charity, that they themselves may shine as the stars for ever. Let them receive no remuneration from their scholars unless what the parents through charity may voluntarily offer."* Indeed, so early as in the fifth century, the clergy had not only cathedral schools, but also others in the country villages. In the year 529, the Council of Vaison strongly recommends the building of these country schools. Yet a late writer of the life of Caxton asserts that parochial grammar schools in villages were first established in the fifteenth century! In the monasteries there were the major and the minor schools. In the latter, boys were taught the symbol, the "our Father," the Psalms, chaunt, arithmetic, and grammar. In the major schools the various branches of learning were cultivated, sacred letters, mathematics, music, poetry, the oriental languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. The most celebrated were in the monasteries of Fulda, St. Gall, Hirsfeld, St. Alban of Mayence, Bec, Corby, Milan, St. Deny at Paris, St. Maximus at Treves, at Rheims, Autun, Tours, Strasburg: but there were many others, a list of which is given by Lannoi, in his book De Scholis celebribus a Carolo Magno in Occidente instauratis. Of Fulda, in the ninth century, Trithemius writes as follows: "There flourished there a most learned body of monks, under the abbot, Raban Maur. Their fame and memory were in great price with emperors, kings, and princes, not only on account of the sanctity of their lives, but also of their incomparable learning." Not only abbots sent their monks to this school, but also from all parts of Germany and Gaul, noblemen used to send their sons to be instructed by Raban Maur; and as he was most mild, he received them all with great care, and instructed them according to the age and disposition of each. The necessity for episcopal schools was inculcated in the celebrated Council at Metz, under Chrodogang, shortly before the time of Charlemagne. The school was to be attached to the cathedral, where the clergy were to live in community under the bishop. The fathers of the sixth Council of Paris in 829, petitioned the Emperor Louis to found three public schools in some three proper places of his empire, that the labour of his father may not by their neglect come to be in vain, that the holy Church of God may gain honour, and the emperor an eternal memory." What was the result is unknown. In 859, another council invokes pious princes and all bishops to provide for the support of schools of the holy Scriptures, and also of human literature, "that on all sides, public schools may be constituted for both kinds of erudition, divine and human."* The writer of the life of Bishop Meinwercus, describes the episcopal school of Paderborn as "flourishing in both divine and human science." Multiplied exercises of study occupied youths of good disposition and boys, all under claustral discipline. There were the trivium and quadrivium, music, dialectics, rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, and geometry. There flourished Homer and the great Virgil, Crispus, Sallust, and Statius. It was a play there to make verses, and sentences, and sweet songs; and of the beauty of writing and painting executed by these students, we see proofs to this day. A Council at Rome in 826, under Eugene II. ordained that there should be three kinds of schools established throughout Christendom, episcopal, parochial, in towns and villages, and others wherever there could be found place and opportunity. In 823, Lothaire I. promulgated a decree, to establish eight public schools in some of the principal cities of Italy, "in order that opportunity may be given to all, and that there may be no excuse drawn from poverty and the difficulty of repairing to remote places." Among these were Pavia, Cremona, Florence, Verona, and Vicenza. In the tenth century, St. Gerard, Bishop of Toul, drew into his diocese several learned monks from Greece and from Ireland, who opened schools which produced some eminent men. At the same time, the fame of the school of Magdeburg, under Otheric, was spread through all Germany. It was here that St. Adelbert, the apostle of Prussia, was educated, a beautiful account of whose holy youth, and of the affectionate diligence of his masters, is given in the ancient chronicles of that city.† The Teutonic knights in Prussia used to send boys of talent into Germany, and especially to that

* Synod. Aurelianensis, anno 800, Can. XX.

* Concil. Saponar. Can. X.

† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. I. B. 4. c.

school, to be educated in Christian learning, and alms for their support used to be collected in Germany.* Van Espen supposes that, from the eleventh century till the Council of Trent, the episcopal schools had fallen into decay.† Alexander III. by various constitutions, had endeavoured to obviate this evil. The third Council of Lateran, in 1179, says, "Since the Church of God, as a pious mother, is bound to provide that opportunity for learning should not be withdrawn from the poor, who are without help from patrimonial riches, be it ordained, that in every cathedral there should be a master to teach both clerks and poor scholars gratis."‡ This decree was enlarged and again enforced by Innocent III. in the year 1215. Hence, in all colleges of canons, one bore the title of the scholastic canon. Pope Innocent III. who with Honorius III. was most zealous for the increase of schools, extended the law to other churches besides cathedrals, that there might be a master to teach gratis.

The formal establishment of the universities, dates from the thirteenth century; but celebrated schools had existed long before, in the places where they were instituted. Joffridus, Abbot of Crowland, who succeeded Ingulphus, sent monks to his manor of Cotenham, near Cambridge, who used to walk to Cambridge every day to give lectures in a barn, and in a short time they collected a crowd of disciples, so that soon the studies were regularly pursued as follows: Brother Odo, early in the morning, taught grammar to the younger boys: at prime, brother Terricus delivered to youths the logic of Aristotle, with the commentaries of Porphyry and Averoes: at tierce, brother William read the rhetoric of Tully and Quinctilian: master Gislebertus, on every Sunday and Saint's day, preached the word of God to the people, and on all week days he expounded before sext the text of the sacred page to learned men and priests.§ Similar details might be discovered relative to the commencement of studies in the other great universities of Naples, Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which were all established about the same time; for Europe then forming almost but one country, institutions and manners followed every where the same impulses contemporaneously. However, the univerities of Padua and Perugia did not arise till a century later. In Spain, the three greater universities were those of Salamanca, which was founded by Alphonzo el Sabio, and afterwards favoured by the especial patronage of Queen Isabella, of Alcala, which was instituted by Cardinal Cisnero, and of Valladolid, which, through the patronage of the Austrian dynasty, rose to great eminence. The most distinguished of the other twenty-four lesser universities of Spain, were at Sarragossa, Valencia, Seville, Grenada, Itruria, Cervera, Toledo, and Santiago. The word Universitas, signified corporation, and did not necessarily imply universality of the subjects of study. At Montpellier and Salerno there were universities of medicine solely. The beginning of the fourteenth century was distinguished by the multitude of colleges which were founded. There were forty-two in the university of Paris alone. The schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans were now found every where. At Paris, the ancient episcopal school in the Island adjoining the cathedral, was transferred to the Mountain of St. Geneviève.

The universities were rendered illustrious by the lectures of the great monastic doctors, most of whom were of noble and even of royal blood. Albert the Great studied successively at Padua in his father's house, and at Paris, where he gave public lectures on Aristotle in the year 1219. The Place Maubert, is so called from this Magister Albert; for he was obliged to lecture in the open air, there being no hall large enough to contain his audience. In one of the courts of Magdalen College, in Oxford, may be seen the stone pulpit projecting from the wall, from which lectures or sermons were delivered in the open air. At Paris, a street in the quarter of the university mentioned by Dante, is still called the Rue du Fouarre, where the hay or straw used to be distributed to the scholars to furnish seats. Albert then retired to Cologne, as general of the Dominican order, and afterwards became Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome; he also assisted at the Council of Lyons; wearied with his labours he returned to his convent at Cologne, where he died in the year 1280. The number of scholars at these universities was prodigious. Nearly ten thousand foreigners of every nation, and many of them very illustrious, were at the University of Bologna in an early age. St. Thomas of Canterbury and Peter of Blois, were

* Id. II. 293.
† De Jure Eccles. Part ii. Til. XI. § 6.
‡ Cap. I. X.
§ Petri Blesensis Continuatio ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I.

students there. Pope Alexander III. was the Professor of Sacred Scripture, when exalted to the Pontificate. The masters and students at the University of Paris were so numerous, that when they went in procession to St. Denis, the first ranks were entered into the church of the abbey when the last were leaving the church of the Mathurins in Paris. The university on one occasion promised to send twenty-five thousand scholars to increase the pomp of a funeral. It was usual to study at more than one university. The great Pope Innocent III. had studied at Rome, Bologna, and Paris; and Alexander V. shone both at Paris and Oxford. Men were students till the age of thirty or forty. Guillaume de Champeaux after having taught philosophy at Paris with great applause where Hugues and Richard de Saint-Victor were his disciples, became himself, at an advanced age, the disciple of Anselm of Laon, in order to study theology under him, after which he returned to Paris, where he was the first to establish a double school of theology, one in Paris itself, and the other in the abbey of St. Victor which he founded. On those ancient tombs of doctors in the cloisters of Pavia, the master, like Nazario, is represented instructing scholars who are themselves bearded men; and at the college of the Jesuits at Rome, shortly after its foundation, Dr. Martin Gregory, says, that prelates and bishops, and other honourable personages used to sit out of the press at lattice windows looking into the school, hearing and writing down the lessons of divinity. The church commemorates a trait in the life of St. Camillus de Lellis, that in his thirty-second year, feeling the advantage that learning would yield him in consoling the sick and dying, to which work of charity he devoted himself, he was not ashamed to enter into the first class of grammar with little boys and thence proceeded to study for the priesthood. The same is related of St. Ignatius Loyola. Sometimes the whole life even of a poet was cloistral through his anxiety to benefit men by his writings, as was said of "gentle Champier."

Tout ton vivant tu n'as fait aultre chose
Que ta personne tenir tousjours enclose,
Pour profiter quelque chose aux humains
Tant que des livres tu as composé maints,
Tu as parlé des sainctes et des saincts;
Et au dernier, comment pour estre crains
Et bien aimé de leurs nobles vassaulx
Les princes doivent vivre soir et mains,
Et supporter bonnement leur villaine,
De tout cecy tu as moult bien parlé
Car le peuple ne doit estre foullé.*

The jurisdiction enjoined by these new academies throughout Europe was drawn from the constitution of Frederick I. Barbarossa. By decree of Pope Clement V. in the Council of Vienne in 1312, the profession of Oriental languages was added to the ancient faculties for the purpose of providing missionaries to the east. At Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, began to be generally taught. Then arose the schools of the Jesuits, and after the Council of Trent, the episcopal seminaries were multiplied, in which it was expressly provided that the students should assist at mass daily. Some councils, chiefly Belgian, prescribed schools on Sundays and festivals after mid-day, that the poor children may be instructed in the rudiments of the faith.†

The favour and indulgence shown by rulers to schools of learning may be traced to the immunity from gifts granted by the Cæsars Augustus, Vespasian, and Adrian to the professors of the liberal arts. Domitian seems to have withdrawn this dispensation, which when restored was restricted to Asia by Antoninus Pius.‡ Constantine the Great confirmed and increased all the privileges of learning, of whom three constitutions in favour of schools are in the thirteenth book of the Theodosian code. This emperor was not the first to appoint salaries for the professors, since Vespasian, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius, are recorded to have set the example, confining their patronage to the four sects of the Stoics, Platonists, Peripatetics, and Epicureans.§ To the multitude of students, who flocked from all parts to Rome in the fourth century, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, gave rules and privileges which may be seen in the code of Theodosius. By this law, the students were forbidden to frequent theatres or taverns, and all whose lives did not correspond to the dignity of liberal things were to be beaten publicly and expelled. No student was to remain after the age of twenty, which prescription Keuffel justly regards as an instance of imperial jealousy most injurious to learning. The discipline and privileges of the aca-

* Gouget, X.
† Espen in Jur. Eccles. P. II. tit. II. cap. 5.
‡ Keuffel, Hist. Originis ac Progress Scholarum inter Christianos, 33.
§ Vide Heineccii Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I. til. 25.

demy of Constantinople were similar. Theodosius raised professors of learning to the dignity of counts of the first order, a title invented by Constantine, and divided into three degrees of honour. For Constantine thought, that all who partook in the labours of governing in a civil or military situation should be styled his companions. They were also raised to the dignity of the spectabiles which placed them next to the first, who enjoyed the chief honours in the empire. Julian decreed that the Christians should neither teach the liberal arts nor be received for instruction in them by pagan professors, with the exception of one whose name was mentioned, but this persecution did not last long. Justinian was illiterate, and no lover of learning; but such was his zeal for building magnificent temples, that he took for that purpose the stipends which had been granted by former kings to the masters of liberal sciences. The Emperor Frederic I. in his famous constitution which is the base of university jurisdiction, gave several privileges to students and professors. At this time the dangers to which solitary students were exposed, travelling, and passing into strange countries, were so great, that by this decree it was made a peculiar crime to touch or wound any student or scholar travelling, or remaining in a foreign land for the sake of learning. All such persons are placed under the especial protection of the emperor, who is most anxious to defend and favour with peculiar love those by whose science the whole world is enlightened and reduced to obedience towards God and to rulers who are his ministers, who make themselves exiles, for the sake of science, and poor from being rich. On occasion of a great sedition at Paris, between the town and the students respecting the price of wine, which led to a great interruption of scholastic exercises, Henry III. of England addressed an invitation signed with his own hand to the masters, and to all the scholars of Paris, in which he says, "Humbly compassionating the straits and tribulation which you suffer at Paris from an unjust law, and wishing piously to assist you in reverence for God, and his holy church; we wish to signify to you, that if it pleased you to pass into our kingdom of England, we will assign for your use whatever city, borough, or town you may choose, and secure you all liberty and tranquillity." More than a thousand in consequence removed to Oxford, and by order of the king the rate of lodging was not to exceed a certain sum. Some French authors suspect that the king of England excited the sedition in order to profit by it in gaining possession of those learned men. To the twelfth century may be traced the origin of theological degrees, but it was not till the year 1562, that the Council of Trent authoritatively established for the whole church degrees in theology and canon law. The degrees of universities were conferred by giving the chair, the book, the cap, the gown, the gold ring, and the kiss, and the profession of faith. The first signified the faculty of teaching others. The book was presented open to signify that the candidate must study with diligence, and then it was given into his hands closed, to signify, that it was not only in books but in the mind that wisdom was to be retained. The cap belonged to the clerical office. The ring given to doctors signified the mystic marriage to science. The kiss was to denote the fellowship which should exist among the learned. The profession of faith was prescribed by Pius IV.* Great honour and pompous ceremonies belonged to universities. Foreign kings would assist as spectators before an assembly of five thousand graduates, which was the number at Paris when there were twenty-five thousand scholars. The grandeur of the purple yielded to the scholastic dignity. In the year 1476, the University of Paris refused to give the degree of doctor to a man for whom the kings of France and of Spain had requested it.† The zeal for these foundations continued in Catholic countries unabated. Lorenzo de Medicis, to facilitate the instruction of youth, opened a college at Pisa, where he assembled the most excellent masters of Italy. There were at least eight universities founded in France during the fifteenth century, while nothing but the work of dissolution proceeded in England, though it had been immediately preceded by Wolsey's foundation at Ipswich. The last instance of the establishment of a university was in the year 1547, when Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, uncle of Mary, queen of Scots, solicited and obtained from Rome the establishment of a university at Rheims, on the model of that at Paris. It became distinguished for the piety as well as the learning of its masters and scholars. But

* Keuffel, Historia Scholarum.
† Historia Universit. Parisiensis a Bulæo.

the schools of the Jesuits were now combining the advantages of a university without its danger. "Hast thou seen in Oxford, written over the school doors, Metaphysica, Astronomia, Dialectica, and so forth? So is it here within one college," says Dr. Martin Gregory, speaking of that at Rome, shortly after its foundation by St. Ignatius.

The literary meetings held in the convent of the Santo Spirito at Florence, were the first embryo of academies in Europe; and the first academy was Platonic. The present Latin translation of Plato, and of the whole works of Aristotle, though defective, evinced the zeal of Cardinal Bessarion its founder for the study of the ancient philosophers. In this convent the monks used to discourse in Greek and even in Hebrew. These meetings originated with the learned friar Louis Marsigli, around whom men of letters used to assemble and enter into disputations.

Such then were the ancient institutions of education for the propagation of learning; for of others which belong to the history of modern foundations I find no trace excepting among the Turks, who were the first to have military colleges, as was natural under a religion which was to be propagated by the sword. The Christian princes had not followed their example even so late as in the age when Savedra wrote.* It would be in vain to look back to ages of charity divine, and honour high, for any institution resembling those schools from which the offices of religion were to be excluded as a doubtful thing, and which men were equally to fill with faith and heretic declension, sanctioning in the eyes of artless and unguarded youth by their intellectual ministry, and perpetuating by the associations of early life arising from it, error as well as truth. No mention here need be made of these, in favour of which philosophy hath no arguments though civil powers may think fit to legislate. At present, I return to the ancient schools and universities, of which we have now seen the rise and progress during ages when the object of education was to render souls innocent, to stand once more beautiful in their Maker's sight. Many interesting characteristics of the former demand our attention: for, in the first place, the situation in monasteries removed from the dissipation that may occasionally at least prevail in great cities,—yielding the healthful air of the country and the beautiful aspect of woods or mountains, where the scholar, in the sweet and silent studies of his youth, learned to associate lessons of piety and devout exercises with the love of nature, was peculiarly favourable for the purpose of education. The evening walk of the students of the Cistercian abbey of St. Urban, is a happy spectacle. The being able to feel at home in its vast halls, and galleries, and peaceful cloisters, and then to range through the noble woods which surround it, might seem almost of itself an education. The importance of these first impressions is quite incalculable, and the wisdom of the middle ages recognised the necessity of attending to them. "Colleges ought to be placed in the country," says Bonald, "that there may be no external pensioners to introduce the corruption of the town within its walls, who might receive instruction, but who could not receive education like those lodged within the college. Salubrity of air, innocence of manners, and habits of a country life, are advantages for which no city could offer compensation. Such were the ancient monasteries for the education of youth."*

Lord Bacon remarks the need of places for learning, all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles. What is termed a character, may indeed be formed in the boisterous stream of the world, but a genius is fostered amidst the stillness and peace which enable the soul to hear the sweet voice of Nature. It was the general opinion of the learned in the middle ages, as of the ancients,† that education could best be administered in a foreign country. John of Salisbury cites the words of an old man of Chartres, describing the keys of learning to unfold truth to philosophers,

> "Mens humilis, studium quærendi, vita quieta,
> Scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
> Hæc reserare solent multis obscura legendo."

And he supplies this comment, "For to the humble God gives illuminating grace, enabling them to understand truth, and they despise not the person of the teacher nor the doctrine, unless opposed to religion; and without this, all capacity of genius, tenacity of memory, and diligence of study, will only serve to lead men into greater error, as the swift horse sooner carries his rider from the way. Simplicity

* Christian Prince, II. 406.

* Legislat. Primit. Liv. III. 63.
† Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita cap. V.

and anxious study to find the sense, attend humility: that a quiet life is necessary to wisdom, even the heathen sages taught; and this cannot be found without the necessaries of life, and on the other hand, without the absence of luxurious delights,—for the abundance of things extinguishes the light of prayer, and therefore joyful poverty is an excellent thing to assist studies, as many of the ancients also found. Philosophy requires a foreign land, and sometimes makes one's own country a foreign one, because it engrosses a man wholly, and prevents him from being engaged in domestic concerns."* And to the same effect speaks Vincent of Beauvais, who says, "A foreign land is one of the helps to learning and philosophy, because it does not suppose the mind to grow forgetful of its end, and it is the first of virtues to learn gradually to withdraw the mind from these visible and transitory things, that afterwards one may be able to relinquish them freely."† To the young scholar in a foreign land, solitude is the mother of tears and piety. Savedra, from the judgment of his chivalrous lore, goes so far as to say, that youth hardly ever succeeds in its own country: friends and relations render it too insolent; but in foreign lands the case is otherwise, for necessity renders it there more circumspect, and obliges it to form its manners to gentleness, to conciliate favour. In his own country a young man feels more free and more assured of receiving pardon; but where he is unknown he fears the rigour of strangers: besides, it is in foreign countries that he loses insensibly that rudeness of manner, that retired humour, that ridiculous vanity, which prevail among those who have not frequented various nations."‡ Methinks now I hear some voice repeat the poet's invitation, and say,

"Revele to me the sacred noursery
Of virtue, which with you doth there remaine,
Where it in silver bowre does hidden ly
From view of men and wicked world's disdaine."§

Where, like that happy race of which an older poet sings, "the children of heaven, nourished with illustrious wisdom, with the fruit of that holy country where it is said celestial Harmony gave birth to the chaste Muses, enjoy for a time that bright pure air, and those sweetly-blowing winds, which refresh the unviolated land, where dwells that Love which was seated by the side of Wisdom, the handmaid of every virtue."* Who, in fact, would not wish to behold the interior of these Catholic colleges, which have left such a sweet and holy memory! "We had loved it with fondness like our native home," says one whose early years were spent in the English college at Douay. "Domestic harmony and mutual confidence had indeed at all times made a college life a happy life; and I will affirm, that many now living in different classes of society, as many before us have done, look back with complacency to Douay, and call the happiest period of their life the years of youth spent there in preparatory studies, with companions and friends who were dear to them?"† It is not thus, we may observe, that the sophists look back to the days of youth, and to the place of their instruction. But the schools of holy Church were not their mother.

Far from the tumult of cities, the young Levites who are destined to bear the holy ark of the new alliance, and those also who are to serve God in the walks of secular occupations, are assembled to enjoy the sweets of solitude, and to animate each other with the love of study and of wisdom, having before their eyes great examples, which always constitute the most perfect school of life. Here they apply to a course of profound learning, which often occupies them till an advanced age. Their religious exercises commence and close each day. The solemn wind of night still sighs in the towers, but the bell has sounded, and every one rises from sleep. The dawn has not yet streaked the sky, but the long corridores give echoes to the passing steps of the student. In the chapel is already collected that throng of devout youths and venerable masters, whom Christ in his own garden chooses to be his helpmates, some of whose devoted lives, perchance, shall be hereafter sung deservedly in heights empyreal. Let England no more boast of those roses of the divided houses which dyed her fields in the blood of her children. Let her remember rather that band of innocents which she sent forth to Liege and Lisbon, to Douay and to Rome, who returned to her bosom each year as the flowers of the martyrs, among which, as the venerable Bede would say, neither roses nor lilies were wanting; for many of them were worthy to receive crowns composed of both, —white for angelic purity, or purple for the

* De Nugis Curialium, Lib. VII. cap. 13.
† Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. cap. 29.
‡ Christian Prince, Lib. II. 208.
§ Spencer, VI. 1.

* Eurip. Medea, 822.
† Narrative of the Seizure of Douay College.—Catholic Magazine.

passion. In their cells and common halls simplicity is everywhere seen, and the humblest offices are imposed upon all in succession, to temper the grandeur of their vocation or the dignity of their state. On the evening of two days every week they walk abroad, either through some magnificent park, under the shade of a darksome wood, or to the summit of some rocks, or in a delicious valley watered hy a stream, which winds among its flowery meadows. These are their pure enjoyments. Far from spending their days in sensuality, under the shade of the altar, a frugal and even austere nourishment, prepares their bodies for a mild and spiritualised, for a long and healthful life. Their minds are tuned to every gracions harmony, are imbued with every grand and solemn truth. Music is the language of their thoughts; while sacramental lore and saintly science form them to wisdom. From time immemorial in these Catholic schools, all over the world, it was the custom to open the classes with a mass to the Holy Ghost,—with the hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita,"—that is, they implored the Divine grace to visit their minds, in order that, whilst they partook of the salutary fruit of the tree of knowledge, they might be strengthened against the enemy of mankind, who might tempt them to plnck the poisonous fruit, which that tree also hears. They sought not glory in their devoted labours; they provided surer means for sweet tranquillity during the rest of life than the reward of superior ability, which the poet vainly boasted could secure it:—

> ὁ νικῶν δὲ, λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον
> Ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν
> Ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν———.*

The triumph of a yonth in the schools of holy Church did never sonnd as a note of mourning to his unsuccessful companions: unlike the conqneror in the ancient games, he did not hy his victory occasion to others,

> Νόστον ἔχθιστον, καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν
> Γλῶσσαν, καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον,

a detested and shameful return home, a mournful silence, and a desire of darkness to cover them.† He did not rob them of a mild welcome, nor of the sweet smile of their mother as they came to her arms; they returned not as through streets full of enemies, fallen from on high, and oppressed with calamity.* These were the cruel victories of heathens, harbarous and delnsive,—hut the crowning of the Christian conqueror was a common joy, and he alone felt humbled. Religion even had in store her own sweet balms, to administer, with kind and cunning hand, to the sorrows of young students, who were depressed with a sense of their own inability to serve and honour the masters of their edncation; for she taught them, that the inferiority of their talents took nothing from them in the eyes of God, and rendered them no less dear and precious to their common mother: she taught them, that failnre and disappointment might he more conducive to their future happiness than the most hrilliant success: she always said, "Give me hnt your will, and I engage to make you wise and happy: I ask not genius, I ask not strength, health, success, crowns, applause,—I ask hut your heart."† True, the discipline of her colleges was strict and watchful; hut how small a part of education is the attainment of knowledge, in which vain sophists now say it all consists! The human character is beheld in the greatest deformity in a man without education, and possessed of immense general knowledge,—who knows much, hut every thing knows ill.—

> πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.‡

Religion did not sanction that system against nature, which takes the infant from its mother's hreast, and leaves the yonth to lament in the words of the Forsaken Ion,—

> ——— χρόνον γὰρ, ὅν μ' ἐχρῆν ἐν ἀγκάλαις
> μητρὸς τρυφῆσαι, καὶ τι τερφθῆναι βίου
> ἀπεστερήθην φιλτάτης μητρὸς τροφῆς.§

Not the planet-like order of her temples, which is to glorify Heaven's mercy, hut the unhallowed mechanism of the factory, which is to enrich commercial tyrants, demands that sacrifice. All that she required of the child was, that on first coming to the use of reason, he should make an act of the love of God, because, if that were omitted, he would he guilty, as St. Thomas Aquinas held, "of mortal sin." But though she imposed no exercises beyond their strength, she knew that they are hlessed who have borne the yoke from their youth; she knew that the source and the root of all goodness

* Pindar, Olymp. X. 1. † Olymp. VIII. 5.

* Pyth. VIII.
† Le Petit Manuel du Pieux Ecolier: Paris, 1898.
‡ Margites. § Eurip. Ion. 1390.

and of all honour, is the having been from youth well instructed. The Spaniards ascribed even the cruelty and savage temper of Don Pedro to the negligence or ignorance of his governor, Don Alonzo Alhuquerque, who, say they, might have tamed him when young.* What a train of evils did the ancient philosopher discern as attendant upon false discipline,—ψευδοπαιδείαν,—ignorance and error, sadness and weeping, avarice and incontinence!† Discipline, therefore, with her, assumed a decided and inflexible organization; but with what love was it imagined? with what benignity was it maintained? "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," said our heavenly master in the school of God. "O sweet Master," continues Thomas de Kempis, "in how few words dost thou enable all men to learn humility! These holy words console the humble and the poor, comfort the simple and the innocent, teach us all to become like children, without malice or guile, that we may be beloved by God and men."‡ Jesus in the Heart of Youth, a Dialogue between Jesus and a Boy,—such are the titles of works composed by the most learned men,—a Bartolommeo dal Monte, a Dionysius, surnamed, through admiration at the depth of his philosophy, the extatic Doctor. "We wish," says the holy Benedict, "to institute a school for the service of the Lord, and we hope that we have not placed any thing sharp or painful in this institution; but if, after the council of equity, there should be found, for the correction of vice and the maintenance of charity, any thing a little too rude, let no one, through fear of that, fly from the way of safety: at the commencement it is always narrow, but by a progress in faith and in a regular life, the heart expands, and we learn to run with an ineffable sweetness in the way of the commandments of God." These are the last lines of the Preface to his Rule, which was for the strongest aspirants to perfection. Less severity was shown to the weak. The master of the monastic schools was not to be hard, clamorous, and reproachful; but putting on the bowels of a mother, he was to be gentle and affectionate, so that whatever the scholars had at heart, they might securely and sincerely trust to him.§ The masters and professors were expressly charged to converse often with the scholars, to take part in their exercises and plays, that no occasion might be lost of useful admonition, and of winning their hearts, by evincing love and benevolence.* "What obedience, and humility, and brotherly love," cries Dr. Martin Gregory, describing the college of the Jesuits at Rome, "when, but for order sake, there is no superior in heart and mind, when the greatest divines in the world, highest in place and dignity, will ask permission that they may serve the youngest students at the table! when the good fathers of our English college wash the feet also of our scholars when they arrive first at Rome! When, in fine, all are fathers and brethren and sons in respect of each other!" Affectionate solicitude was constantly proposed as their duty.† "The master must be full of gentleness and humanity, for his disciples," says St. Bonaventura, "whom he should regard as his children, so as to evince towards them the tenderness of a mother with a father's firmness."‡ "The master," says brother John, a barefooted Carmelite, "should always begin with some prayer like the following: 'Humillime Rex cordium Jesu Christe, per viscera misericordiæ tuæ, in quibus visitasti nos oriens ex alto, obsecro te, creare digneris in me cor humile et purum, cupidissimum secretæ eruditionis tuæ: ut in schola humilium discipulorum tuorum fiam dono tuo sapiens ad regendam sine deceptione novellam prolem, dulcissime genitricis tuæ.'" Like Moses, the meekest of men, like David, the most humble and gentle, like the holy father Benedict, who could not be angry even against those who wished to poison him, the master must be a pattern of the tenderest humanity, showing always a cheerful and mild countenance, to win the hearts of his disciples, never irritated at their faults or moved at their weakness, bearing with the rudeness of some, unconquered by the difficulty of others, so that no one of them may ever fear to approach him by day or by night. This sweetness and affection will render the way of Christian perfection still more delightful to them. This will soften hearts of stone, and give them hearts of flesh. Every day he must remember to offer for his scholars the most holy sacrifice of the altar, imitating the example of him who said, "Lest perchance my sons may have sinned." But if at any time, through their faults, he should feel his love for them to grow cold, he should, with great effort and earnestness of prayer, en-

* Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 16.
† Cebetis Tabula.
‡ Manuale Parvulorum, I.
§ Statuta Ordinis Præmonstratensis, cap. 18.

* Statuta Ordinis Præmonstratensis, cap. ix. art. 2.
† Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, Auct. Joan. à Jesu.
‡ S. Bonaventura, Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 13.

deavour to banish that temptation: he should throw his eyes upon the celestial Master, our most sweet Redeemer, who never despised his poor, rude, abject apostles, obnoxious to so many passions, but loved them bore with them, and instructed them with the sweetest love. On the other hand, he must not evince a partiality for some over the rest, on account of their more eminent sanctity or other graces; but must endear himself to all by studying the good of all. In reproving faults, let him never use harsh words, but as the Apostle says, if any one be tempted so as to commit a fault, we must instruct him in the spirit of gentleness; it is not said he must reproach or insult, or adopt any such mode, but that he must instruct him; he must be ready also to excuse them, and to come forward himself in their behalf, urging their inconsiderate youth; and when it is absolutely necessary to punish the fault, he must show that he separates the person from what he punishes, and he must speak soothingly and affectionately to him, as to something most amiable, and far removed from the turpitude of vice; he must avoid also the words of magisterial authority, and, like one of the disciples, as if he had not himself attained to perfection, he must associate himself with their labours; thus in words and also in deeds he must be kind and loving towards them. For his books, he should have the Holy Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul, the Ascetics and Rule of St. Basil, the Morals and Pastoral Care of St. Gregory, the Confessions and Meditations of St. Augustin, the Opuscule of St. Bernard and of St. Bonaventura, the works of Cassien, Hugo de Saint Victor de Claustro Animæ, Ricardus de Saint Victor, Humbertus de Eruditione Religiosorum, Climacus, Innocent and Gerson, Thomas à Kempis, the treatise of blessed Vincent de Vita Spirituali, the works of Blosius and of Denis the Carthusian, the Institutions of Tauleris, Albertus Magnus de Virtutibus and Landulphus de Vita Christi. In vulgar tongues he should have the works of P. Lewis of Grenada, Avila, Diego Perez, Arias and St. Theresa, and others. And for history he should have St. Gregory of Tours, Eusebius, Theodoret, and the Lives of the Saints. The master should take care to employ his talents well. Spiritual men, to whom education is entrusted, should remember that they perform their duty to God when they commit to memory the fruit of their erudition, along with pleasant and delightful histories; that in walking or sitting with the novices they may be able to exhilarate and entertain them, for their labours must be refreshed with joys. Therefore he should relate histories to them, and order others who have the ability to charm their companions with relations, and he may vary his conversation by a thousand innocent modes of diversion, which may excite a laugh without breach of modesty, instituting little contests to determine who can imagine the most perfect instance of the love of God or of hope, and allowing little plays to be represented on the sacred history, and to this he should add singing of hymns and psalms, to raise their souls to heaven. As for extraordinary recreations he must provide that all games be consistent with modesty and mutual love, conducive to the delight of the mind and the refreshment of the body. He should vary also his mode of instruction, and make use of pictures and emblems, to administer delight, and keep them ever impressed with a sense of true perfection, that they may perform all their actions for the love of God, or on account of God. He must explain to them what they are to hold respecting the mysteries of faith, and he must explain the commands of the Decalogue. Youth being impatient of rest, he must avail himself of that love of acclamation which Plato remarks in them, and give them occasion to make formal acts to inflame their hearts with the love of holiness and the horror of vice. He will therefore cry, "Vivat Jesus Christus Dei altissimi filius," and they will all answer, "Vivat."—"Vivat serenissima Regina cœlorum," and they will answer, "Vivat."—"Convertantur universi homines ad fidem et charitatem Dei ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi," and they will answer, "Convertantur;" and then they may pronounce an anathema against forgetfulness of God, ingratitude, despair, disobedience, luxury, and pride; and this exercise of acclamation and of malediction will conduce to fervour and piety.*

This ideal of discipline passed also to the mind of persons in the world. Christine de Pisan speaks of the poor human fragility in the days of youth, on which every well-ordered sense should have compassion, as on a thing subject to passions, to diverse desires, and natural assaults; and he says that masters ought to correct and form it to good manners by good examples: rather, "que par verbéracions ou bateures maistrisenses."† St. Gregory of Tours says, that all the ecclesiastical colleges in his

* Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, Colon. 1613, cap. 2.

† Livre des Fais, &c. chap. 11.

time were expressly formed to secure that innocence of life which is the distinctive characteristic of the clerical office. A scholastic class was governed so far like the Church itself, that the ultimate object therein was to save souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ.* Well then may we exclaim with the poet, who lived at the moment of the transition, when the education of faith was giving place to that of a new philosophy,—

"Let none then blame them, if in discipline
Of vertue and of civill uses lore
They did not form them to the common line
Of present dayes, which are corrupted sore;
But to the antique use which was of yore
When good was only for itself desyred,
When simple truth did rayne and was of all admyred;
For that which all men then did vertue call
Is now call'd vice, and that which vice was hight,
Is now hight vertue, and so used of all."†

The young were taught to live in a house with little noise. There were to be no commands, troubles, incessant wants, insolence, impatience, or meddling with other people's affairs further than to assist them. The ordinary food of scholars was plain, and generally of one kind;‡ The dress, as may be still traced in some of the old Catholic foundations in England, was modest, and at the same time manly, requiring a hardy exposure of the limbs. Plainness and simplicity marked every object around them. Who does not love to find himself in one of those antique halls, lighted through small high grated windows, pierced in the walls of vast solidity, furnished with hard benches, notched and worn and stained with the ink of centuries, where every thing seems in the same state as in the time of St. Edmund or William of Paris? With what delight does one escape from Turkish Ottomans and the luxurious sickly atmosphere of gaudy dissipation, to collect one's thoughts, and to recover the recollections of sweet and holy study, within the plain unvarnished walls of a monastic college! How do they bring before one's eyes the men of better days! We seem to behold united the bright school: there sit the race who slow their eyes around

"Majestically move, and in their port
Bear eminent authority; they speak
Seldom, but all their words are tuneful sweet."

* P. Judde, Œuvres Spirit. Tom. III. 354.
† Spencer, V. 1.
‡ In France and England the scholar's fare was mutton.

There seems to rise Richard of St. Victor, Richard more than man, as he is styled by Dante, there to stand,

"One, whose spirit, on high musings bent
Rebuk'd the lingering tardiness of death."

He whom Dante beheld in Paradise, as the eternal light of Sigebert,

"Who 'scap'd not envy, when of truth he argued,
Reading in the straw-litter'd street.*

Here would our saintly countryman, Edmund of Abingdon, read lessons upon theology, where many and illustrious men used to be assembled to hear him, and it is related that during these readings, they used often to close their books, not being able to refrain from tears.† Here one is reminded that the labour of education was undertaken solely for the honour of God, and in virtue of holy obedience, without the least inducement, or indeed thought, of remuneration, and here one feels how great was the dignity which the Catholic religion imparted to every stage of the scholastic learning.

But let us return to the studious disciples, the pious sons of the holy Nicholas and Gregory, who are all animated with the innocent ardour to excel in wisdom, and whose conversation is angelic as their looks; whom the ancient poet would have commemorated as walking in the law of their fathers, and reviving their ancestral goodness, collecting riches for their minds, shunning injustice and arrogant youth, and cultivating wisdom in the quiet retreats of the muses, σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων.‡ What a goodly sight is it, cries Dr. Gregory Martin in his description of the college of the Jesuits at Rome, to see in the streets long trains of students, two and two; within the college a whole swarm coming out of divine schools into one court together, while new companies succeed them in new lessons and other readers! Beautiful are the portraits of the Christian student which we discover in the writings of the middle ages. Such as represent the young Meinrad, in the ninth century, receiving his education in the celebrated abbey of Reichenau, on the island in the Lake of Constance,§ and Bruno, who afterwards became one of the

* Parad. X.
† Vita ejus apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III. ‡ Pind. Pyth. VI.
§ Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik. 2.

apostles of Prussia, of whom a friend, who had known him from boyhood, says, "Every morning when going to school, before he left his lodging, he used to be at his prayers, while we were playing."* Lothaire, the son of King Charles the Bald, was committed to the care of Hiericus, Abbot of St. Germain at Auxerre. The abbot speaks of his disciple as follows, in a letter to his father: "In years a boy, in mind a philosopher, I confess to you that in natural disposition and in genius he is estimable beyond others of his age." The language of parents and of guardians was not then directed to undo the work of edncation, and to counteract that of the instructors of youth. Eginhard wrote to his son, who was then at the schools of Fulda, and his letter was to this effect: "My son, study to imitate good manners, and take care that yon never offend him whom I wish you always to follow; but be mindful of your profession, be diligent to obey the commands of him to whom you have wholly committed yourself. Learned in these things, and familiar to their labours, you will want the advantage of no vital science. As I advised you while present to exercise yourself in the study of oratory, so I again exhort you to leave nothing nntouched of that noble science which you may acquire from the genius of the great and most abundant orator; but above all, remember to imitate those good manners in which he excels; for grammar and rhetoric, and all other studies of liberal arts, are vain, and greatly injurions to the servants of God, unless by the Divine grace they know how to be subject to virtue; for science puffeth np, but charity edifies. Melius mihi quidem est ut te mortuum videre contingat, quam inflatum et scatentem vitiis." The preceptor whom this pious parent, the secretary and historian of Charlemagne, desired his son to imitate, was the celebrated Raban Maur.† Let us take another example, "Anselm archbishop, to Anselm, his nephew in the flesh, and in love his dearest son, salutation and the benediction of God. Since I love you especially amongst all my relations, I desire that yon may advance well before God and before all men. Therefore I admonish and exhort you, as my dearest son, that you study diligently to further that for which I have sent you into England, and that you suffer no time to pass in idleness. Apply assiduously to grammar, and exercise yourself more in prose than in verses. But above all things, guard your manners and actions before men, and your heart before God, that when I shall see you, by the favour of God, I may rejoice in your progress, and that you may rejoice in my joy. Farewell, I commend to God your body and soul."* Boleslaus, Duke of Poland, when a boy was sent to Paris to study, and the chronicle of Cluny testifies that he led a most innocent and diligent life, devoting himself with all his heart and affection to love and serve his Creator. It is related also of St. Philip Benitius, a noble Florentine, that when a yonth studying at Paris, he nnited his scholastic application with such piety, that he inflamed many with a desire of the celestial country. The memory of such students made the recollections of a Catholic college like a book of holy instruction, to teach men how to live and die well. Those of St. Acheul, as the little book so entitled demonstrates, were associated with many sweet and affecting examples, both in life and death, of the holiness of youth. St. Joseph Calasanctius, of a noble house of Arragon, gave indications in his tender years of the especial charity which he was to exercise towards poor boys; for while himself a little scholar, he used to assemble them, and give them lessons in the mysteries of the faith and in sacred prayers. It was he who afterwards, on coming to Rome, being divinely admonished that he was destined to train the minds of the young poor to knowledge and piety, founded the order of poor regular clerks of the Mother of God for that purpose, which was approved of by Pope Clement VIII. and Paul V.: though he afterwards applied himself to the assistance of every class, yet his principal instructions were always afforded to poor boys, whose schools he used to superintend, and he would accompany them to their homes, for he beheld in each of them the child Jesus. It is on the day of his office that the church repeats the words of St. John Chrysostom, "What is greater than to train the manners of the young? certainly I esteem as more excellent than any painter or sculptor, or any other artist whatever, the man who knows how to mould the youthful mind." In her office on the 12th of June, she relates of St. John of Sahagun, in Spain, that

* Ditmar Annalista Saxo.
† Mabillon Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § 8.

* S. Anselmi, Lib. IV. Epist. 31.

when a scholar boy he used to lead a most holy life, and that he used often to place himself upon some raised spot, and make a discourse to other boys, exhorting them to virtue and to the worship of God, and that he used to compose all differences among them. In the year 1590, God inspired a young scholar at the university of Douay, with the resolution to found a Carthusian monastery in his own country; this was John Vassour, Seigneur de Rabadingue. The resolution grew with his years and studies, and in the end he fulfilled it at Laboutillerie.* St. Edmund, who was born of poor parents at Abingdon, was sent to Paris to study; such was the ardour and the facility for learning in those ages. His mother gave him a hair shirt, which he was to wear twice or thrice a week. When he used to go out into the fields with other boys, he would withdraw himself, and walk alone to meditate, and every night on going to bed, he used to write the name of Jesus with his finger on his forehead. And the writer of his life says, that he used to be advised by him to do the same. The origin of this practice was thus related: "One day, having as usual left his companions in order to walk alone through the meadows to meditate, he met a beautiful boy, who looked like an angel from heaven. This stranger saluted him familiarly, and when Edmund expressed surprise, he said, 'I wonder that I should be unknown to you, since I always sit by your side in school, and am constantly in your company, and follow you wherever you go.' Edmund perceived him to be our Lord, and he was then told by him to write his name, Jesus Nazarenus, every night upon his forehead, diligently and deliberately, for that this would be a defence to him against sudden death;† and St. Edmund accordingly charged his friend to adopt that exercise." While at college he had a Psalter with a gloss, a book of the twelve Prophets, also glossed, and the decretal Epistles; all which books he sold, and full of compassion gave the price to poor scholars. One scholar, having an infirmity in the hand, Edmund gave a large sum of money to a physician to cure him.

* Hist. des Saints de Lille et Douai, 660.

† A writer in the Quarterly Review, No. LXVIII., translates the words of the vision, "A practice that would secure any person from sudden death," as if there was no distinction between the soul being guarded in the event of sudden death, and the body being secured from death.

The ardour for studies among the saintly disciples, is often mentioned in the annals of monastic schools. The father of Abundus, we read, did not wish that his son should continue as a student. He was a pious youth, and had a face like an angel; his mother privately gave him the habit which scholars wear in the churches, and sent him to another school; and the innocent boy was thus enabled by his mother's affection and firmness to pursue the life which he loved in the church and in the schools.* Guibert de Nogent furnishes another instance, but more remarkable, as he laboured under all the disadvantages of a private education, which from his statement appear to have been grievous. "My mother," he says, "reared me with the most tender care; hardly had I learned the first elements of letters, when she entrusted me to a master of grammar. This master had learned grammar late in life, and therefore he made less proficiency in the art; but what he wanted in knowledge he made up in virtue. From the moment in which I was placed under his direction, he formed me to such purity, he kept me at such a distance from all the vices which often accompany early life, that I was preserved from the usual dangers. However, notwithstanding all my application, I made but little progress under him; though he used to give me a shower of blows, he yet evinced such friendship for me, he occupied himself so much about me, he watched with such assiduity for my safety, that so far from experiencing the fear which is usual in that age, I used to forget all his severity, and I obeyed him with a certain feeling of love. On one occasion, my mother discovered that I had been ill-treated, complained bitterly of my master and said, 'I no longer wish you to become a clerk, if in order to learn letters you must suffer such treatment;' but as for me, when I heard her words, looking at her with all the anger that I was capable of showing, I said, 'though it would be necessary for me to die, I would not cease on that account to learn letters, and to wish to become a clerk.'" Victor Hugo paints the ideal of a student of this kind, amidst the more dangerous companions of the university, "the scholar Frollo," he says, "was early taught Latin, and he grew in stature over the Lexicon. Silent, peaceable, and modest, he was

* Hist. Monasterii Villariensis, Lib. II. cap. 10. apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

never implicated in any of the mutinies of scholars, nor was he ever engaged in quarrels, nor for the cry, 'dare alapas et capillos laniare;' but to make amends, he was assiduous at the greater and lesser schools of the rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais. The first scholar whom the abbot of St. Pierre-de-Val, the moment he began his lecture of canon law, used to perceive, always glued, opposite his chair, to a pillar of the school of Saint-Vendregesile, armed with his ink-horn, chewing his pen, scribbling on his worn knees, and in winter blowing on his fingers, was Claude Frollo. The first auditor whom Messire Miles d'Islien, doctor in decretals, saw arrive every Monday morning, quite out of breath, at the gate of the school of the Chef-Saint-Denis, was Claude Frollo. Hence at sixteen, the young clerk could have made head in mystical theology with a doctor of the church, in canon law with a father of the councils, in scholastic theology with a doctor of Sorbonne."

The young Archduke Leopold of Austria maintained a thesis of philosophy and theology against some fathers of the society of Jesus, in presence of the Emperor Ferdinand II., his father, and the whole council. Where there was not this virtue and zeal for learning in youth, we sometimes find in the writers of the middle ages the reflections of after life, expressed in language of the most affecting piety. Such an instance occurs in the Testament of Lydgate, the monk of Bury, in which he speaks of his youth at the age of fifteen years as follows:

"Voyde of reason, gyven to wylfulnesse,
Frowarde to virtue, of Christ gave lytell hede,
Lothe to lerne, loved no vertuous besynesse,
Save play or myrth, straung to spell or rede,
Folowyng all appetytes longyng to chyldhede,
Lightly tournyng; wylde and selde sadde,
Wepyng for nought, and a none after gladde.

For lytell worth to stryve with my felawe,
As my passyone dyd my bridell lede,
Of the yarde stode I somtyme in awe
To be scoured, that was all my drede,
Loth towarde scole, lost my tyme in dede,
Lyke a yong colt that ranne without bridell,
Made my frendes gyve good to speade in ydell.

I had in custome to come to scole late,
Not for to lerne, but for a countenaunce
With my felowes redy to debate,
To jangle and jape, was set all my pleasaunce,
Whereof rebuked, this was my chevysaunce
To forge a lesyng, and there upon to muse,
When I trespassed, myself to excuse.

To my better dyd no reverence,
Of my soveraynes gave no force at all,
Were obstynate by inobedyence,
Ranne into gardeyns, appels there I stoll,
To gather fruites spared hedge nor wall,
To plucke grapes on other mennes vynes,
Was more redy than for to say mattynes.

Lothe to ryse, lother to bedde at eve,
With unwasshe handes redy to dynere,
My pater noster, my crede, or my beleve
Cast to the cocke; lo this was my manere,
Waved with eche wynde, as dothe a rede spere,
Snubbed of my frendes such tatches ta mende,
Made deffe eare, lyst not to them attende.

My port, my pase, my fote alway unstable,
My loke, myne eyen, unsure and vacabounde,
In all my workes sodenly chaungeable,
To all good thengs contrary I was founde;
Nowe oversad, now mournyng; nowe jocounde,
Wylfull, reckeles, madde; startyng as an hare
To folowe my lust, for nothyng wolde I spare.

Entryng this tyme into relygion,
Unto the ploughe I put forthe my hande,
A yere complete made my professyon,
Consydering lytell change of thylke bande
Of perfectyon, full good example I founde,
The techyng good, in me was all the lacke,
With Lottes wyfe, I loked oft a backe.

Taught of my maisters, by virtuous dysciplyne,
My loke restrayne, and kepe close my syght,
Of blessed Benet to folowe the doctryne,
And bere me lowly to every mener wyht,
By th' advertence of myne inwarde syght,
Cast to God warde of holy affectyon,
To folowe th' emprises of my professyon."

This disposition, even in the most negligent, to recognise the virtue of the masters of their youth, is characteristic of these ages of faith, when religion secured for all persons in authority that filial reverence to which length of days is promised. Even Quintilian admonishes the disciples that they should love their preceptors, no less than the studies themselves, and believe them to be the fathers, not indeed of their bodies but of their minds, and he adds, that this piety conduces much to study.* Dante says, that so long as life endures his tongue shall speak how he did prize the lessons of Brunetto, and when he meets that benign paternal image of his ancient master he says, "I dared not tread on equal ground with him, but held my head bent down, as one who walks in reverent guise." Octavian de Saint-Gelais, who wrote the Séjour d'honneur, in the reign of Charles VIII., describes in an affecting manner, how he met the shade of his old master Magister Martin, when traversing the forest of adventures, whom he styles, Mon feu patron et tres honoré maistre.

* Instit. Orat. Lib. II. 10.

"Interpréteur de la saincte pagine
Aigle d'honneur, philosophe tres-digne,
Ha que moult fut mon mal pesant et grief,
De voir mon maistre et personne honorée,
Hors du siécle,—
A Paris fut jadis mon directeur,
A Sainte Barbe, en son noble collége
Régent fut-il de mes frères et moy,
Puys son sçavoir le logea chez le roy,
Ou il vivant en honneur transitoire,
Fut convaincu par mortelle victoire."*

In the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, the manner of teaching was according to the practice that still prevails in the public schools of Rome and Padua, and of other places. The master delivered his explanation like an harangue; the scholars retained what they could, and often took down short notes to help their memory. "The act of instruction, viva voce," says Vincent of Beauvais, "has I know not what hidden energy, and sounds more forcibly in the ears of a disciple transfused from the mouth of a master."† Quinctilian had made the same remark, proving the superior advantage of oral instruction over every other; and he says, that youths should never be permitted to testify their approbation in a noisy manner, but that they should hang on the judgment of the teacher, and should believe that to be well said which is approved of by him; as for that indecorous, and theatrical, and most vicious custom, of giving applause to each other, it should be never permitted, being contrary to scholastic institution, and the most pernicious enemy of studies; but they should attend to the masters modestly and intensely, and the master ought not to attend to the judgment of the disciples, but the disciples to that of the master. Who would not now suppose that this was written by some scholastic monk of the middle ages? and yet they are the words of Quinctilian;‡ so much farther removed are we than our Catholic forefathers from the wisdom of the ancient civilization. A correct idea of the mode of instruction in monastic schools may be formed from examining the four ancient tombs of doctors, which are in the cloisters of the convent of St. Dominic at Bologna, where each doctor is represented sitting in the midst with a book open before him, which he explains, as is indicated by his hand stretched out, while around or in front is seated a crowd of students in a religious habit, who are placed before desks, on which they are writing down as if from his lecture, or turning round to consult each other. These groups have, indeed, an air of antiquity, which denotes that they refer to days gone by; but yet the venerable aspect of our college halls during an academic discourse, can often revive within one a sense of the ancient dignity of learning, and inspire that noble confidence which the Roman orator desired to feel before his judges; for as everywhere else truth has little support and but little strength, so in these places one feels that false envious prejudice is weak, that while it may prevail in popular assemblies, here it must be prostrate; its force is in the opinions of the unlearned, but it is far from the understanding of the prudent: its sudden and vehement impulses giving place, after a while, to senile lamentations,* can never enter within the walls which hear of universal tradition, Catholic authority, and immutable eternal truth. It is with a feeling of devotion that one enters the school-rooms in the monasteries of Rome and Bologna, in which there is always an image or portrait of our blessed Lady. The world and all its miserable interests, all its fears and commotions, its rumours, and its policies, seem excluded; here youth was placed beyond the hearing of the horrors of political debate; while cities are in a ferment, and chambers of assembly resound to the sanguine declamation of inflammatory orators, the meek and cheerful scholar consorts with his Virgil or his Thomas à Kempis, and enjoys bright and saintly visions. If the rumour of discord should penetrate to their quiet halls, the young will still never put on the visage of the times, and be, like them, to gentle spirits troublesome. Better they would esteem it to be at once compromised, like the children of Mycale, who fell under the murderous sword of Thracians, though that was an event which of all others in the Peloponnesian war, Thucydides thought the most worthy of being lamented and compassionated.† When the English college at Douai was invaded by the agents of the revolution, by spies and guards, it might have been presupposed that no one could then venture to retain his cheerfulness, οὐδὲ μάλ' ἥβῶν. But there was only occasion given to show, as a venerable priest observes, "what college boys can do in the way of generous self-devotion and

* Gouget, Tom. X.
† Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. c. 37.
‡ Instit. Orat. Lib. II. 2.

* Pro A. Cluentio. † Lib. VII. 29.

dauntless enterprise; for every one then was intent upon devising and practising some ingenious plan to rescue various articles of value from the grasp of the plunderers. To carry off a lamp or a sacred vestment some would ascend the funnels of chimneys, and others would descend the external walls by ropes to enter windows of forbidden rooms. Strange as it may appear," continues the narrator, "never do I remember a more cheerful flow of spirits than what was manifested during the whole time. We sang God save the King and Dulce Domum. Such a behaviour astonished every one, friends and enemies wondered alike how we could sing in such circumstances, and sometimes heaved a sigh of concern to tell us we did not know what we had still to expect. Our classical and devotional exercises went on as usual, and continued till the 9th of August, when the message came on Saturday night, which ordered us to leave the college for a prison. The clock had struck eight, and we were waiting for the summons to night prayers. We were soon ready, for we had little to carry away. Some went to take their last farewell of the church, by a short prayer before the altars, which, alas! were soon to be no more." Thus closed the oldest seminary of English Catholics, the mother and nurse of so many martyrs, the bulwark of faith, as Baronius calls it, created by God to protect the Catholics of this land against the blasts of heresy. It was overthrown by French atheists in the frenzy of revolutionary zeal; but it was reserved for the statesmen in our age of that people which of all the world boasts to be the most generous, in the cool deliberation of their cabinet, under the cloak of a zeal for God's unpolluted worship, by a judicial sentence, pronounced in all the solemn forms of equity, to legalize and consummate its ruin.

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps in order to allude to the rise of the universities, which was preparing a new æra in scholastic history, and there were circumstances attendant on this transition which must be noticed. Nothing is more certain than that the purest and noblest motives, and the most enlarged charity, gave birth to these great institutions. At all times it was considered a meritorious application of alms to support poor scholars in the academies of learning, and to contribute to their education. Origen from the age of eighteen exercised himself in the work of instruction, and refused every present that his friends offered him, although he was obliged to sell his books of grammar for four obols, which a man promised to pay him per day for his nourishment. In the tenth century, we read that Wolfgang, afterwards Bishop of Ratisbon, would receive no honours or emoluments from his intimate friend, Otho of Treves, but at length he yielded so far, that scholastic boys and youths should be committed to his care without any remuneration; this was before he had retired to the monastery of Einsedelin, whence he was raised to the see of Ratisbon. The same charitable zeal for the education of youth distinguished the Belgian prelates, of one of whom it is said, such was his solicitude in educating boys, and in instituting scholastic discipline, that even when he went on a journey, whether long or short, he led his young scholars with him, for whom he had also a preceptor and a quantity of books, with the other utensils of scholars.* In the will of Charles de Balzac, Bishop of Noyon, it was ordained that Montlhery, and three other places, should each furnish a boy to be presented by the curate to the Celestines of Marcoucis, from whom he was to receive, during three years, the sum of one hundred livres, to enable him to study at college, while the same sum was to be paid, as a marriage portion, to a maiden of each place.† In many places, as at Rome, education was wholly gratuitous. The Archduke Leopold of Austria, besides repairing deserted or ruined churches, and enriching many episcopal sees, founded for the augmentation of the Catholic faith, numerous classes for young scholars; he established colleges and seminaries, building them in a style of magnificence, and giving the government of them to learned monks. François de la Béraudiere, Bishop of Périgueux, founded a seminary in that city, and placed a versified inscription upon it, stating, that in quitting the world he left to posterity his book, his church rebuilt, second to no other, and a seminary founded at his expense for the nourishment of poor scholars. "May gracious heaven grant," it added, "that posterity may receive great utility, and may God vouchsafe pardon for my past sins."‡ Sometimes these poor scholars were supported by casual charities. In the year 1246,

* Mabillon, Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Benedict. 3.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, X. 184.
‡ Gouget, XVI. 13.

there was established at Rheims the scholastic society of the Good Children, which imposed a rigorous rule of religion, having obtained it from Archbishop Ivelle. These poor scholars were directed occasionally to go out two by two to beg alms for the community.* Sometimes they were indebted for their education to the charity of individuals. Monteil speaks of a note by Pierre Pisgier, a monk of the Augustinian monastery of Tours, respecting an alms of fifty sols tournoys, which the king had given him to support him during his studies in the university of Angiers.† Pope St. Urban V. supported more than a thousand scholars at different academies, and supplied them with books.

Unquestionably, the zeal for learning was fervent at the time when the universities arose: yet it would be a great mistake to imagine that they owed their origin to a mere human ambition for promoting science and literature. It was simply faith and charity which originally led to their foundation; for the will and power of kings would not have sufficed to establish them if religion had not inflamed many of their subjects with a desire to impart to the poor the inestimable advantages of sacred learning. The colleges of the university of Paris were founded by devout persons for poor scholars. That of Navarre was founded by Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philippe-le-Bel, in the year 1304. This was for seventy poor scholars, twenty children students in grammar, thirty students in logic and philosophy, and twenty in theology. The grammarians were to receive four sols per week, the philosophers six, and the theologians eight. The college of Thirty-three, on the mountain of St. Geneviève, was founded by a poor priest for poor students of theology, to the number indicated in the name, corresponding with the years of our Saviour's life. The college of Boncourt was founded in 1357, for eight poor students, who were to have each four sols per week; and the celebrated Scotch college, founded in 1223, by David, Bishop of Murrai, in Scotland, was also for poor Scotch students. Mary Stuart made them legacies at her death.‡ The college of Cornouaille, in Paris, was founded in 1317, by a clerk of Brittany, for poor scholars of the diocese of Cornouaille. The college of the Lombards was founded in 1333, for Italian scholars who should not have more than twenty livres of rent: it was called the House of Poor Italian Scholars of the charity of the Blessed Mary. The college of Montaign was founded in 1314 for eighty-four poor scholars, in honour of the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples. The Sorbonne itself, according to the plan of Robert de Sorbonne, was for the poor: it was a community of poor masters, "pauperes magistri," who were to give lessons gratis. The college of Boissi was for scholars who resembled its humble founder, Etienne Vidé who declared that they must be poor and of low origin, "qui non sint nobiles, sed de humili plebe, et pauperes, sicut nos et prædecessores nostri fuimus." The college of Harcour was founded in 1280, by Raoul de Harcour, a canon of Paris, of an illustrious house of Normandy, for poor scholars of that province.

The same spirit gave rise to all the similar foundations in England, Spain, Germany, and Italy. At Pavia there are gratuitous colleges of a magnificent order, founded and still supported by noble families, the Caccian and Borromeon, the last of which supports thirty-two students. Some colleges were appropriated to particular nations or orders. Such were at Bologna the magnificent college for Spaniards and that of the Belgians, founded by a silversmith of Brussels for youths of that city, who were to be chosen there by the company of silversmiths. But generally, poverty alone had privileges in these places of learning; and if the rich did repair to them, they were admitted only on condition of conforming to the discipline of the poor. In the university of Pisa the scholars were obliged to be dressed in a kind of uniform of a given colour. The cloth was of inferior quality and of a low price, and even the greatest and wealthiest signor, who was inscribed on the roll of scholars, was forbidden to put on a more noble cloth.* In some colleges at Paris the students could only expend one sous per day for their nourishment. The offices each day were terminated with prayer for the souls of the charitable founders.† Not even a state of utter destitution excluded youth from the advantages of a university education. The class of Spanish students who live upon the alms dispensed at the gates of convents, who have no other pro-

* Anquetil. Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III.
† Hist. des Français, IV. 412.
‡ De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. 603.

* Statuta Studii Pisani et Flor. ann. 1479.
† Monteil, Tom. IV.

perty than their class-book and their gown, and some of them no other lodging but the peristyle of some church, may be seen at the present day regularly attending the classes, receiving degrees, and not unfrequently carrying off academical and ecclesiastical honours by their sheer merit, without having any other recommendation. At the end of the annual course they quit the town, and wander about all the summer in bands of four or six, provided with guitars, singing student songs, and begging alms. Many students, who belong to rich and noble families, consider it a refinement of gentility to join these bands, whose manners have created a certain simple and romantic character, that is now almost peculiar to the Spanish student.

In consequence of the advantages afforded to learning in the universities, it became a desirable object for the monks, who inhabited the provinces, to have houses there for the reception of a certain number of their students, who might still dwell in cloisters, so as not to acquire the spirit of the world;* and accordingly other colleges were built for that purpose. So early as in the eighth century, the monasteries of Clairvaux and Villemoustiers, and others, had houses for students in Paris,† but in the thirteenth century the custom became general. The college of Cluni, in Paris, was for students, of that order, who should be sent to Paris to pursue their studies. It was founded in the year 1269. In the time of our Henry IV. the monks of Crowland speak of their scholars studying at Cambridge.‡ John Wysbech, abbot of Crowland, in Edward IV.'s time, built chambers in the college of the monks of Buckingham at Cambridge, for the use of the scholars of Crowland who might be sent there to prosecute their studies.§ The Benedictines of Canterbury, Durham, and Gloucester, had separate colleges under those names for their youth at Oxford. Each convent in Paris had scholars from convents of its order in the distant provinces, and even from those in England and Germany. There was a college there for the students of the abbey of St. Denis.‖ And this was the case at all the other universities of Europe. The provincial Council of Cologne in the year 1536, recommended that some of the junior monks of each monastery should be sent to Catholic universities. Nevertheless, there were evils attending this arrangement which made devout men in those ages lament the preference given to the system of universities over that of the ancient monastic schools, and some will be of opinion, that the experience of centuries has only confirmed the justice of their apprehensions.* We shall see in another place that the abbots were alarmed at sending their students to inhabit cities, and that the young men were themselves unwilling to go. The congregation of the Scholar's Valley arose in the year 1201. Four professors of the university of Paris, preferring solitude to the world, and the life of contemplation to the glory of the schools, retired into a desert valley of Champagne, in the diocese of Langres, where the bishop allowed them to build cells. Some young scholars of the university followed them to this solitude, and this re-union of young disciples constituted the congregation or order of the Vale of Scholars.† The most exact discipline was indeed maintained in the monastic colleges in the universities. The rules for the students of Cluni, when pursuing their studies at Paris, were very strict: they were never to go into the city excepting with leave of the superior, and attended by masters. The utmost sanctity was to reign in the college.‡ But still, amidst such a multitude of scholars from all nations, it was impossible to obviate every evil. St. Augustin removed from Carthage to Rome in consequence of the boisterous manners of the students in the former school. "The chief cause of my going to Rome," he says, "was my hearing that young men studied there more quietly, and that they were kept in order by a better discipline: that they might not break insolently into the school of a master whom they did not follow. At Carthage, the licence of the scholars is odious and intemperate: they burst in furiously, and commit so many injuries with wonderful stupidity; for which laws should punish them unless custom were a patron. They think they do all this with impunity, when in fact they are punished by that very blindness, and suffer incomparably worse

* Mabillon de Stud. Monast. XII.
† Hist. Monasterii Villariensis, I. cap. 8, apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.
‡ Hist. Croylandensis, Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I. § Id. 560.
‖ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, III.

* Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. II. tit. 11.
† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, II. 1214.
‡ Henrici I. Abb. Clun. 29, Statuta Bibliothec. Cluniac.

things than they inflict upon others. So I resolved to remove where such manners were not to prevail."* Jacobus a Vitriacus, in his Historia Occidentale, gives a dark, but no doubt exaggerated picture of the disputes and jealousies among the scholars of different nations in the university of Paris. The French were styled proud and effeminate, the Teutonic nations furious, the English were taxed with being drinkers: though it is to be remarked, that Fuller speaks of drinking and swearing among the lower classes as having begun to grow frequent in his own time, subsequent to the pseudo-reformation,† when Milton, fallen on evil days, had to beseech his Muse to drive far off the barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers;‡ to which epoch also must be traced the testimony of Poggio, where in a letter to Nicholas Niccoli, he says, that the English were more occupied with eating and drinking than with letters. The Normans were styled vain-glorious, the Burgundians senseless and gross, the Britons light and inconstant, to whom the death of Arthur used frequently to be objected, the Lombards were said to be avaricious, the Romans seditious, the Sicilians cruel and tyrannic, the Flemings prodigal and gluttonous. One can detect, however, in this the fertile invention of a satirist, magnifying the peculiarity of national character; neither is it fair to confound the scholars who were receiving their education at the university, with those external pensioners who used to be called Martinets, because not belonging to any college, they flew like swallows from one to another, and staid only at that which suited them the best. After all, though the innocence of monastic students might fear the dissipation of a university, it is probable that the influence of the general manners which they beheld there would be felt in later ages as the aspirations of a better world. The zeal for learning. which imparted somewhat of a wandering and Homeric character to the life of scholars as well as professors, was not unaccompanied with a tender piety. Andrieu du Hecquet speaks of his studies at Paris, at Cologne, and at Louvaine, in these terms,—

"Lettres j'apprins(car homme indocte est vain)
En toi Paris, en Coulogne et Louvain,
Où le tout soit à la gloire de Christ,
Le cueur, le corps, toute l'ame et l'esprit."§

These studies were associated with many sweet recollections of a friendship that was almost angelical, where names were not even mutually known, but only countenances, and what was common between all, the love of learning and the reverence for holy Church; for these friends saw each other only in the schools and before the divine altars. In some places, indeed, a less secluded discipline was established in union with certain forms of a poetic life, as in the universities of Spain, where the students are allowed to go into society, or to perform a serenade, to as late an hour as nine in the evening on Sundays and the fifth feria, but at other times a student is not allowed to appear in public with his guitar, although it is an instrument almost inseparable from him. The scholars in the colleges of Paris used to visit Gentilly and two other villages in their customary walks, which used to be called Ire ad Campos.* The leave to play or for the promenade, were themes which the old poets of France did not disdain to choose. One of our ancient writers says, "Before this time there was an old custome for the scholars of London to meet at the priory of St. Barthelomew, to dispute in logic and grammar, upon a bank under a tree." A joyful festival was that of St. Catharine to the students of Padua; it was denominated the Feast of Hope. Sometimes the mirth of public rejoicings was allowed to penetrate within universities. A contemporary writer relates that, during those which took place after the battle of Bouvines, in the reign of Philip-Augustus, the scholars of the university of Paris, not content with the joy of one day, protracted their triumph during seven days, dancing and singing continually. Aristotle was silent all that time; Plato proposed no questions; all books were laid aside; but the κῶμος, which Pindar condescends to notice as the contumaceous diversion of boys, throwing all things into confusion, was not required for their enjoyment; neither did their discipline permit the rougher exercises of boxing and the pancration to form athletic champions, which were both prohibited by the Spartan discipline; and yet Aristotle says, that even that tended to make youth too brutal, θηριώδεις.† Tiberius, to render his son Drusus odious for the character of cruelty, permitted him to be present at the combat of gladiators.‡ In reading Mabillon's ac-

* Confess. Lib. V.
† Fuller's Thoughts, 53. ‡ VII.
§ Gouget, Biblioth. Française, Tom. XII.

* Lebeuf, X. 13. † Polit. VIII. 3.
‡ Tacit. Ann. I.

count of the foundation of the Benedictine public schools in Germany, we might imagine that it was a passage from the writings of Plato, to explain the ideal end of a perfect education; for he says that these schools were instituted, in which an uncultivated and savage race by degrees might be taught to lay aside their hard rough manners, and being exercised in a mild and holy discipline, might be rendered gentle and humane.* The innocent and simple recreations of a country life belonged to students even while attending the monastic schools, where they would have felt less fear than Ulysses at the prospect of spending a night upon a lake or river, lest they should suffer from the cold air which springs up before the dawn.† For swimming there was even provision made where rivers were not near. With the ancients, baths for swimming were provided with porticoes, gardens, libraries, and places where philosophers might discourse and poets recite their verses. Agrippa was the first to establish one of these baths at Rome. Here were places for all exercises of the body and amusement of the mind. The famous Ulpian Library was in the baths of Diocletian. In the middle ages the predominance of the swimmer's sport may be learned from those paintings in the palace of Tan at Mantua, which represent the diversions of the different seasons. Places for swimming were provided by Charlemagne in the neighbourhood of his schools, and we discover frequently in the monastic chronicles allusion to the healthful and manly recreations which were permitted to their scholars. But whatever licence in this respect might prevail in universities, learning continued to be grave, and solid, and religious, and had not then yielded place to the modern philosophic system of education, in which students are chiefly employed in constant little manipulations, and are taught, like the boy in Goetz Von Berlichengen, not to know their own father from their learning, or rather, as Bonald says, because they pin butterflies, glue plants, or arrange little morsels of mineral substances: natural philosophy was not an essential part of studies, but the primary and indispensible object was to train the young to love what ought to be loved, and to hate what ought to be hated, and according to Plato, that is the true end of all education.‡

* Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § 4.
† Od. V. 469.
‡ De Legibus, Liv. II.

The studies of seculars in the courts of nobility were such as were useful as well as interesting to youth; for the scholastic doctors do not seem to have been in ignorance of what was the proper learning for noblemen. The book of instruction entitled L'Esperon de Discipline, by Antoine du Saix, which was composed for Charles, Duke of Savoy, contains a view of all virtues and vices, and an abridgment of all branches of knowledge, and of every thing that belongs to the education of youth, both relating to the mind and body. The Abbé Gonget admits that the author shows a profound knowledge of human nature, and that his idea of education was admirable.* For the clergy and for the priests of letters, the universities provided, no doubt, higher studies. The chairs of theology, founded in the Sarbonne, were seven in number, consisting of that of reader, that of contemplative theology, that of positive theology, that of the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, that of casuistry, that of controversial divinity, and the seventh was consecrated to the interpretation of the Hebrew text of Scripture. Who can doubt but that in these schools Raphael would have found subjects more adapted to his genius than that which was furnished to him by the school of Athens, which he revived in his immortal painting on the walls of the Vatican, when one observes the success which crowned his sublime enterprise to represent the dispute on the mystery of the blessed sacrament? And remark too what a contrast would be found if one were to assist with the eyes of an artist or of a poet at the polemical discussions which have succeeded in some places to the scholastic disputations of the ages of faith! But give the reins to imagination, and try to conceive a scene of the highest intellectual and even poetic interest: your mind's creation will fall short of the reality which Catholic schools have witnessed! In the year 1304, a crowd of clerks, monks, and laymen, were assembled in the great hall of the university of Paris to hear a thesis which was to be sustained de quolibet. There were fourteen scholastic champions, and it was a young stranger of lofty and thoughtful countenance who was to sustain their attack. This stranger was Dante, who, being then in exile, had travelled into France for his instruction.

"Theologus Dantes, nullius dogmatis expers,"

* Tom. XI. 376.

was the verse first inscribed at Ravenna upon his tomb.

But it is time to break off, though one would stand charmed and for ever unwearied in the holy and peaceful retreats of Catholic learning. Let us still speak of them as we move away. Pliny, in setting forth the praise of Isacus the rhetorician, contrasts the school with the forum, and says he has passed his sixtieth year, and still he is only a scholastic,—than which kind of men there is nothing simpler, or purer, or better. The forum inspires the best men with some degree of malice: the school being concerned with fictitious causes, is a peaceful and innocent thing, neither is it less happy, especially to old men; for what can he happier in old age than that which is most sweet in yonth?* "Nam quid in senectute felicius quam quod dulcissimum est in juventa?" The Catholic schools provided that safety for the philosophic nature which was sought for with such anxiety by Plato, though he seems to have considered its attainment as impracticable. "Where can we find safety for it?" he asks, "and where are there means existing to enable it to arrive at its end? We have seen that to such a nature belong, of necessity, the talent of learning with ease, and memory, and conrage, and magnanimity: therefore, from early yonth, such a person will be first among all *πρῶτος ἔσται ἐν ἅπασιν*, especially if he should have, in addition, a body corresponding to these dispositions of soul: therefore I think that his relations and fellow-citizens will desire to have him in their interests when he grows up; they will consequently fawn npon him and give him many salntations, flattering his future power. Living, then, surrounded by them, what will such a man do? particularly if he be a native of a great city, and rich, and noble of race, and besides, handsome and tall? Will he not be filled with a hope which nothing can subdne, thinking himself competent to conduct the affairs of both Greeks and Barbarians? Will he not adopt a high pompous manner, full of specious and dramatic action, being swollen with vain and senseless pride?"* Now in these Catholic schools, which we may well leave with regret, that philosophic nature was sanctified and preserved; there were no flatterers, and no temptations opposed to the manners of an innocent angelic life: there was not the knowledge of evil. The cares of the worldly race were so exclnded, that it became scholars' fashion to take no trouble about the things of life, as if all necessaries would wait upon us at the instant we want them. Pride was kept down, for there were no inquiries there instituted as to nobility of birth or prospects of future power. There was not found the prond disdain or supercilious neglect of those, who with themselves at war, forget the shows of love to other men. Courtesy to strangers was expressly required as a criterion of proficiency. The meek were there the favourites, and the wisest and the greatest were the most humble. In a word, every thing estimable and precious was comprised within the school. There were devont exercises, the resources of piety, the delights of music, the solemn choir, the poetry of the groves and streams, the communications of study, the exhilaration of play, the sanctifying influence of example, the sweets of friendship, of which the poet is obliged to return here for the purest example,—

——— "O! and is all forgot?
All school-days' friendship, childhood, innocence?"

A brief review of the character of friendship dnring the ages of faith, will form the conclusion of this third Book.

* Epist. Lib. II. 3.

* Plat. de Repub. Liv. VI.

CHAPTER VII.

FRIENDSHIP, that sweet engaging word, which awakens so many pure affections, so many grateful recollections, that word so familiar to the tongue of youth, which was shouted in play, and looked in study, and whispered every morning at the altar of God, friendship, that musical, poetic, religious word, to exhilarate the joyful, to encourage the diligent, to console the wretched, is associated most intimately with the manners of the ages of faith, with the days of scholastic education, and with every conception that we can form of the present and eternal beatitude of the meek. It is not possible, says an ancient sage, either that a wicked man should be a friend to a wicked man, or that a good man should not be a friend to a good man:* profound and piercing words that may lead many to meditate on the vanity of their own hopes, and not a few perchance to see evidence that their own piety, notwithstanding the zeal which seems to animate them for God's honour, is hypocritical and false. Cardan inserts it among his maxims of civil prudence that there can be no such thing as friendship, excepting between the wise, who may be called philosophers.† Understanding, he says, that our religion is the only true philosophy, for that not even conformity of studies, of literary or scientific principles can yield it, is shown by Aristotle, who observes, that the common bonds which give rise to friendship, do not consist in thinking alike with respect to the heavenly bodies, for there is no ground of love in unanimity on such matters; but that it must be of a more general description, and therefore goodness is requisite, for it is not possible, he adds, that evil men should think alike excepting within very confined limits.‡ Friendship is clearly a treasure unattainable to the proud, who can endure nothing that is contrary to their own caprice and customs, unattainable to scorners, who despise the things which are excellent, because the good will fly from such men, unattainable to the vain and dissipated, who can only receive words for words, tokens of an acquaintance, which is itself an unhappiness, unattainable to all men whose manners are not formed to meekness, unless, indeed, we dignify with the name of friendship such a passion as that of the barbarous Huns, who are described as so capricious and choleric, that they would separate from their companions without any cause of anger, and return to them without any reason for reconciliation in one and the same day; for the refinement of more civilized society cannot of itself present any higher claims to it, since that only tends to destroy the simplicity and truth which the ancients, as John of Salisbury remarks,* deemed so essential to friendship, that they used always to represent the Graces naked. That only tends to make men hold their friends as Plautus says, enclosed within their teeth, having not confidence enough even to pronounce their name;† that only tends to make them suspect each other, though they speak together as if friends; through its influence they are taught to receive the words of those who perhaps truly love them, as those of an enemy, and are thus deceived by their own dread of deception. What is this, cries St. Odo in his collations, but the wretchedness of human life?‡ The truth is, and to express it in the words of St. Augustin, men can never love one another with true love unless they love God. But he who loves God will love his neighbour as himself.§ Hence the friendship of the meek is immutable. "I have read in your letters," says Petrus Cellensis writing to Bernardo, "that you have lost old friends without having found new. But true friendship in virgin purity and constancy of fervour, can never be adulterated or cooled. It never dies, but with a daily renovation, like the sun is always in vigour. Therefore if you ever had friends you have them still, not old,

* Plato, Phædrus.
† Prudent. Civ. cap. VI.
‡ Ethic. Lib. IX. 6.

* De Nugis Curial. III. 7.
† Plautus Trinummus IV. 2.
‡ S. Odonis Collation. Lib. I. Bibliothec. Cluniac.
§ Tractat. 87 in Joan.

which denoted what was imperfect, but renewed which is the work of God."* The Catholic religion in many ways conduced to the formation as well as to the solidity of friendship; the multiplication of those innocent and useful relations which sweeten and adorn the life of men followed of necessity from that principle of association which we have seen emanated from the church, and gave a new form to society. In all common pursuits ἐν ἁπάσῃ κοινωνίᾳ, there is friendship, says Aristotle. In all companionship there is love. In sailing together, or labouring together, or reading together, and similarly in all other common sufferings or performing, in proportion as there is fellowship there is friendship.† Now we have already seen how the Catholic religion extended these common bonds, and associated men together in a thousand forms of connection, who otherwise would have been isolated and separate, and therefore it furnished a soil most favourable to this sweetest flower of friendship. Another way in which the religion of the meek promoted its growth, consisted in its removing the artificial barriers into which pride divides the world. "By the law of friendship," says the blessed Œlred, abbot of Rievaulx, "the superior is on a level with the inferior, for it frequently happens that some of an inferior rank, or order, or science, are taken into friendship by others of more pre-eminence, who must then despise and esteem as nothing all the things which are not of nature; they must have constant regard to the beauty of friendship, which is not adorned by silks or gems, nor dilated by possessions, nor flattered by delights, nor exalted by honours and dignities; and thus recurring to the principle of its origin, they must acutely attend to the equality which nature gave, and not to the appendages which cupidity has superinduced. Therefore, in friendship which is the best gift both of nature and of grace, the sublime descend, the humble ascend, the rich want, the poor are enriched, so that each communicating his condition to the other, the equality spoken of is maintained.‡ Friendship belonged to the meek because they were weaned from the love of riches, for as Ariosto sings,

> In poor abode, mid paltry walls and bare,
> Amid discomforts and calamities,
> Often in friendship hearts united are,
> Better than under roof of lordly guise,
> Or in some royal court, beset with snare,
> Mid envious wealth, and ease, and luxuries;
> Where charity is spent on every side,
> Nor friendship unless counterfeit is spied.*

Besides this, meekness of itself fitted men for friendship. Cardan says, that the conversation of any common unlearned person from among the people, is more agreeable than that of a sophistical and learned man, because there is nothing so offensive as the pride and affectation of the wisdom of the world; but as the Catholic religion extirpated the roots of pedantry and arrogance, and made men, however learned or accomplished, speak and comport themselves like others, according to the natural sweetness of humanity, which is recognised equally in all classes, it made them also estimable and entitled to be the objects of friendship. In fact, as the Greek poet says of generosity, the Catholic religion made men young again.† Catholic conversation is cheerful and popular, as it were youthful; that of the modern schools is gloomy, suspicious, pedantic, and senile. In the latter, we find a false and pretentious urbanity, refined and pompous, but ill concealing insensibility and egotism; in the former a simplicity which perhaps at first offends, but by degrees, a disposition also along with it of a subdued and smiling tone, which soothes, charms, and ravishes by its goodness. And sooth we shall the more appreciate this privilege of meekness conducing to friendship by considering what is the wretchedness of those who forfeit it; for those learned men who otherwise have the least chance of securing a friend, are precisely those to whom friendship is most necessary. Cicero remarks this in speaking of Dionysius, for he says, "What a misery must it have been to such a man to want friends and familiar conversation, one who like him was learned from a boy and skilled in ingenuous arts.‡" Moreover, by inducing habits of meditation and retirement, and a temper of mind essentially opposed to the spirit of Thersites, a temper devout and joyous, though softened and subdued like the bright tints in a landscape by a certain tone of sweet melancholy, that religion assisted and regulated the development of those qualities which men of acute philosophic observation like Cardan have found to be conducive to

* Petri Abb. Cellensis Epist. Lib. IX. 2.
† Ethic. Lib. VIII. c. 9.
‡ De Spirit. Amicitia, Lib. III.

* Canto XLIV. Rose's translat.
† Eurip. Heraclid. 698.
‡ Tuscul. V. 22.

friendship; for he says, that in choosing friends, those persons ought to be selected who are by nature constant and melancholy, and who are not easily withdrawn from affections, whom we find from boyhood to have been always content with one or two companions, with whom they assiduously conversed.* He might have added too, that men who reject mysteries are not made for friendship, which Hesiod shows in saying that night was its mother. Nor is this all, for who does not perceive how greatly friendship was promoted and secured when religion taught the meek, as the blessed Francis said, to love their brother when they are far from him in the same manner as when they are with him, and never to say any thing in his absence which they could not say with charity to his face?† When it taught them to place in their daily memento those friends who had departed to the other world, that by prayers of faith their bliss might be advanced, or to draw consolation from that conviction of their felicity at which the remembrance of their manners enabled them to arrive? Where the principles of the Catholic religion did not exist, the most acute and reflecting men in surveying the disorders which sin and death have entailed upon humanity, have been obliged to speak of friendship in terms that are calculated to wound and shock the heart which feels that it is formed for the sweets of infinite and eternal love. They speak of it as a dangerous thing to which reason must place limits lest it should prove a source of bitterness when the hour of separation arrives, and they even teach that the heart must never venture to trust itself to perfect friendship. "Length of years hath taught me many things," says the poet, "for mortals should cherish only a moderate friendship for one another, and not an affection from the deepest marrow of the soul;

καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχᾶς.

but only a love which can be easily loosened without tearing and overpowering the soul with affliction, for an extreme friendship is too great a weight; and nothing is good when it exceeds the bounds of moderation."‡ What a contrast was here to the sentiments of the meek who love their friends in God; who by the mystic privileges accorded from the Mount are enabled to inherit friendship, that sweetest plant of earth, if it be not rather of heaven in all its strength and perfection, in all its beauteous and everlasting bloom! How strange sound to them the words separation and dissevering of the soul as connected with the death of friends! What mortal ever loved with more profound and intense affection than the tender Augustin, and yet he commits his sainted mother to the grave, that mother who had wept so many years for him, who was doubly his mother, having brought him forth both to the world and to heaven, reconciling him to Jesus Christ, and he feels that in regard to her he has henceforth only a higher duty to fulfil. A prudent companion is in no respect as Homer says inferior to a brother.* Such a friend did he see quietly inurned, not with the sentiments of uninstructed humanity giving vent to sorrow in the bitter cry of desolation, but with those of the renovated race in the sweet ecstacy of quiet thought meditating on everlasting gladness. "Nebrides is living in the bosom of Abraham. Yes, whatever may be intended by that bosom of Abraham, Nebrides, my dear friend is there; for where else could he a soul so beautiful and so Christian? He is in that place of glory and repose about which he has so often questioned me. His ear is no longer attached to my lips, but his lips are attached to that source of living water which is nothing else but thee, O my God! ibi Nebridius meus vivit, et bibit quantum potest sapientiam pro aviditate suâ sine fine felix." What an extension of the sweets of friendship followed from the assurance that there is communion between the living and the dead, that there were those who already arrived at expiatory or even at supremely blessed shore might be addressing us in such words as Dante heard from the spirit of Casella.

——— Thee as in my mortal frame
I lov'd, so loos'd from it I love thee still.†

William of Malmeshury relates a wondrous example which would have greatly moved the stoics of the manifestation of this ghostly friendship made after the death of the body. Robert of Lotharingia, he says, was the intimate friend of the most holy Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester.

* Prudent. Civilis, cap. xli.
† S. Francisci Opuscul. De la Bigne Bibliothec. Patrum IV.
‡ Eurip. Hippolyt. 253.

* Od. VIII. 585.
† Purg. II.

It happened that when Wlstan was sick at Worcester, and near his blessed end, Robert was at court employed about the king's affairs, when lo! Wlstan appeared to him in a vision saying, "If you wish to behold me alive hasten to Worcester." Moved by this vision, Robert obtained leave from the king to depart immediately, and he never rested night or day, till he reached that city; for he feared greatly lest he should not arrive in time to find him alive, for the journey was very long. However, on arriving at the last stage, he was overcome with sleep, and Wlstan appeared to him again, saying, "You have done all that pious love demanded, but you are disappointed in your hopes, for I have departed. But dear companion, provide for your own safety, because you will not remain long after me; and to convince you that you are not deceived by a fantastic vision, this shall be a sign to you. Tomorrow after you have committed my body to the earth, a gift will be presented to you in my name." Robert awoke and proceeded on his way. On arriving at Worcester, he found the procession already marshalled to escort the saint's body to the tomb; he joined it, and then condoled with the monks of whose funeral meats he partook in silence. Already mounted on his horse, he was taking leave of the holy brethren, when lo! the prior stepped forward from the throng, and kneeling down reverently presented him a gift, saying, "My lord, accept I pray you this cap of your ancient friend made of lambskin, which he was accustomed to wear when he rode on horseback, and it will bear witness to your long friendship with our holy lord." Hearing these words and recognising the gift, the other turned pale, and a cold shuddering ran through his bones; he dismounted and waved to his attendants in sign that he suspended his departure: demanding an audience of the monks, they assembled with looks of consternation and amaze in the chapter-house, where with tears he related the circumstances of his vision, and then having commended himself heartily to the prayers of all their society, he resumed his state and departed. It was in the middle of January when Wlstan died, and Robert did not survive the succeeding June.* Of the friendship which was found to prevail during the middle ages, even in the scenes of secular dissipation, history and also the fables of chivalry, which are true representations of real manners, furnish many engaging and memorable examples. Witness the deliverance of Bouteiller and Dufresnoy, from the hands of Louis of Spain, by Sir Walter Mauny and his troop of heroic companions, one of the most noble and affecting adventures of which friendship, honour, and chivalry can boast. The old writer of the life of Bayart says, that the Duke of Nemours had so won the hearts of his companions, that they would all have died for him; and he bears the same testimony to the Seigneur de Molart, of whom he says, "tous ses gens se feussent faits mourir pour luy," and of Bayart himself, he affirms that while lieutenant of the king in Dauphiny, he so gained the affections of both nobles and peasants, that they would all have died for him. Indeed, the annals of the middle ages abound with portraits of the purest and noblest friendship, and even the δορυξένος of the Greeks, invested too with an interest that the muse of Euripides had never conceived, was a character familiar to them. The friendship of Bassanio and Anthonio, which in our age would be deemed unreasonable, and opposed to the degrees of domestic philosophy, was drawn by Shakspeare from the life as seen in the middle ages. We have been so imbued in other works with illustrations of this theme, that I shall be content at present with offering the instance of the friendship which is ascribed in the history of Gyron le Courtoys to Hector le Brun and Abdalon le Beau, of whom we read, "en telle maniere lung ayma lautre par telle guise et par telle amour comme se ils eussent este freres charnels. Ne oncques puis pour advanture quils trouvassent discorde ne peut venir entre deux, ne lung neut envie de l'autre en nulle maniere. Oncques ne se departerent lung de lautre, mais tousjours chevancherent ensemble en se entre symant. De si grant amour que lung ne povoit vivre sans lautre."* The confidence which men reposed in their friends is nobly expressed in the same history, where Gyron replies through the iron bars of his prison to one who spoke of his calamity. "My friends will hear of my adventure. Il ny a en ceste part montaigne qui puisse tenir mes amys quils ne viennent jusques a moy par fine force."† The literature

* Will. Malmesbur. de gestis Pontif. Anglerorum. Lib. IV.

* Gyron le Courtois, f. XXXVI.
† Id. f. CCCVI.

which corresponds with these compositions, and which has superseded them in the courts of nobility, may pretend to greater refinement of language, and claim a place in a more philosophic order of study, but assuredly it does not furnish examples in equal abundance of the same virtue to exalt and adorn the human character: but I hasten to consider the friendship which belonged more especially to the meek during these ages, and which is sought for, not so much in fables of chivalry, though they are not without some sweet remembrance of it, as in saintly histories, and in the sentiments which have been delivered by the wise and holy. Doubtless if with clear view the intellect be fixed upon the ordinary proofs of friendship comprised within the world's annals, there will be ground rather for sadness than for joy, for it cannot be deceived by hearing the Capulets and Montagues speak of friendship when it must witness also their rivalries and wrath. "Whoever hates one man cannot love another truly and spiritually, nor yet himself, nor God, since he is in mortal sin, as Denis the Carthusian says."* All was false and worthless that wore the semblance of love in men that to Christ's school were dead; but after rejecting every suspicious claim we are not left unprovided with bright examples that are proof against the test possessed by saints. Celebrated was the friendship of St. Paul and St. Thecla, of St. Ambrose and St. Monica, of St. Jerome and Paulina, Eustochia, Blesile and Ruffina, of Saints Marcella, Albina, Asele, and Leta, of St. Francis of Assissi and St. Clare and Jacquelina, of St. Anthony of Padua and a devout person of Limoges. At an infinite distance from every thing allied to inhumanity, from all indications of a selfish, contracted, and unfeeling nature, was the self-renouncement and mortification of the saints. They were precisely the most feeling, liberal and generous of men. We find some of them acknowledging that it was for the love of a friend, after God, that they were induced to renounce the world, following him like the companions of St. Bernard to his cloister.† Gaudentius had been the playfellow of the young Count of Woycech, his fellow student in the cloistral school of Magdeberg, and when under the name of Adalbert, he retired into the monastery of St. Alexius, on Mount Aventine, that faithful brother alone followed him, though still in the flower of youth. Ever constant to friendship, he left that peaceful retreat when the blessed man directed his steps to preach the Gospel to the heathen people of Prussia, accompanied him through all his dangers, and never left him till he had seen him receive the martyr's crown.* Passionate fervent souls, quick to conceive hopes of inexpressive joy, would you hear of a friendship suddenly formed, and yet precious as the ruddy drops that warm the feeling heart, lasting as eternity? you will find an instance in the lives of the anchorites of the desert. "Ah, Paul, why hast thou left me?" cried the holy Anthony. "Why depart without wishing me adieu! Tam tarde notus, tam cito recedis?"† Men of chivalrous honour, who profess to feel such admiration at the spectacle of moral greatness, would you behold constancy of love in death? Friendship was on the tongue of the martyrs in their passion. Then drawing from his finger a ring, he steeped it in his blood, and giving it to Pudens. "Receive it," said he to him, "as a pledge of our friendship, and let the blood which stains it remind you of that which I have shed this day for Jesus Christ."‡ And in fact, who than sainted fathers of the holy church have ever recognised with greater clearness the value and excellence of friendship? "The consolation of this life consists in possessing a faithful friend who may rejoice with you in prosperity, condole with you in sorrow, and exhort you in persecution." It is St. Ambrose who speaks thus. Who does not know that the express rules of holy societies prescribe companionship, and point out like the ethic page the comparative helplessness and inefficiency of man in an isolated state? Priests and religious persons of different sacred orders were not to go forth alone for Σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω men are more powerful both to think and to perform,§ a maxim which experience and the Homeric wisdom had taught to Diomede.

——ἀλλ' εἴ τις μοι ἀνὴρ ἅμ' ἕποιτο καὶ ἄλλος
Μᾶλλον θαλπωρὴ καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἔσται.‖

The great Homer has the wisdom and

* De Arcta Via Sal. VI.
† Vita V. Walæ Abb. Corbiens. IV. Lib. I. 467 apud Mabillon Acta S. Ordin. Benedict. Sæcul. IV. P. I.

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens I. B. 4. c.
† S. Hieronym. Vita S. Pauli Eremit.
‡ Acta Martyr. in S. Perpetua.
§ Aristot. Ethic. Lib. VIII. I. ‖ Il. X. 222.

piety to make Agamemnon declare, in reference to Achilles, that a man who is loved by God is equivalent to a multitude of people.* And religion found nothing in the sentence which was unworthy of the discipline of truth, that recognised a principle most dear to an heroic nature, that friends and companions are from God. Jacob, being asked by his brother concerning those that were with him, replied "Parvuli sunt quos donavit mihi Deus servo tuo."†

The respect which was shown to friendship, and the earnestness with which its demands were urged, form a characteristic of the ages of faith, from which these latter ages of the world have sadly declined. Cicero says that friendship ought to be preferred to every thing excepting virtue, but many at present seem to esteem it a mark of superior ability and of honourable diligence, nay even of a more manly and philosophic nature to prefer the most trifling object of domestic or professional care to its advances, however earnest, as if, forsooth, it were evidence of wisdom and perfectness of life to be insensible. We find no trace of this severity, which, in truth, however men may talk of philosophic discipline, savours more of the counting-house than of the cloister, in the manners of the middle ages. Their spirit was expressed by Bayart, when he said to his noble hostess at Brescia, "Toute ma vie ay plus aymé beaucoup les gens que les escus."‡ It seems also as if men were loved more than books, more than the dearest and most familiar pursuits, for humanity was always uppermost in the affections of those who held that only the love of Jesus Christ is durable.§ Petrarch, describing his reception in the Carthusian monastery of Montrieu, says in his letter to those holy men, "the activity, the ardour with which you rendered me all sorts of services, the agreeable conversation I had with you in general and in particular, made me fear I should interrupt the course of your devout exercises." When St. Adalhard, abbot of Corby, was recalled from exile and restored to honour by the emperor Lewis, who had been persuaded by his enemies to banish him to the island of Heri off the coast of Aquitaine, on the day of his departure all the brethren of the abbey, in which he had spent an angelic life in close confinement for the space of seven years, were moved to tears at losing him, though they could not but rejoice that he was to be restored to his own. Ragnardus, who was afterwards abbot, being of a fervent spirit, was above all overwhelmed with affliction. So that when the holy servant of God was about to depart, and all the brethren were kissing his feet and his footsteps, watering them with their tears and wishing him farewell, he alone remained shut up in his cell, in order that he might not see the man depart who was dearer to him than his own life: but when the other had long inquired for him, he was at length discovered in the obscurity weeping and lamenting: being called to come forth and wish the old man farewell, he entreated the messenger to leave him to weep alone. The holy man, on hearing this, left the ship, on which he was already embarked, and returned, that he might not depart without a kiss from that brother whom be knew was holy. So he found him weeping, and they embraced and then separated. The brethren then accompanied him back to the ship. The sails were soon raised, and as long as she remained visible they stood on the shore looking after him; for the spirit of love constrained them and they could not resist it.* The greatest saints, refreshed with heavenly visions, did not pretend that the being deprived of friends and the being left solitary on earth made no sorrowful impression upon their souls. "What is the reason, my brother," writes St. Hilda to one of her correspondents, "that you have been so long absent, and that you delay to come to me? Why do you not consider that I am alone in this land, that no other brother visits me; that not any one of my relations comes to me? And if you hold back because hitherto I have been prevented from executing what you desired, you ought, on the ground of charity and relationship, to forget this, and without requiring any persuasion to change your mind. O my brother, my dear brother, how can you afflict the mind of my littleness with constant sorrow, with weeping and sadness day and night? Do you not know for a certainty, that of all living persons I prefer no one to your love? Behold, I cannot explain all things to you by letters. Now I am assured that you feel no concern about poor and humble me."† Among the epistles of St. Boniface, there is

* Il. IX. 116. † Gen. XXXIII.
‡ Chap. LI. § De Avilla, Epist. Spirit. X.

* Vita Adalhardi, Mabil. Acta S. Ordinis. Bened. Sæcul. IV. § 1.
† S. Bonif. Mart. et Archiep. Epist. LVI.

one addressed to Baldhard, in which is an affecting complaint: "the presents which were brought to me by your faithful messenger Aldræd I have embraced with fervent charity; and now, by God's assistance, I would fulfil all that you require of me, if it might be your pleasure to come to me; for I cannot in any manner stop a fountain of tears when I see and hear of others who are going to their friends. Then I recollect how I was forsaken by my parents in my youth, and how I have remained here alone, and yet I was not forsaken by God, but I return thanks to God for his immense goodness in preserving me. And now, my brother, I ask and implore you to take away sadness from my soul, because this greatly injures me. For I say although it were to be but for the space of one day, and that then you would depart by the will of God, yet that would be sufficient to make this sorrow pass from my mind and this sadness from my heart, but if it should displease yon to grant my petition, I call God to witness that it is not I who have forgotten our love."* St. Boniface writes many lotters in the same spirit, and similar may be found in the correspondence of St. Anselm. Mark how deeply these men felt any omission in exchange of letters. Petrus Cellensis writes as follows, to remonstrate with his friend for not having written to him: "Charity, which is patient, strange to say, only drives me to impatience. How is this? Have yon no such things as charts, or is your love shortened? What is the cause of such a long silence? Is there a failing of hearts as well as bread in Britain? Of the one indeed I had heard, but I never believed that the other would succeed it. A bishop may be excused, on account of his incessant labours and the solicitude for all the churches, and his care of the afflicted and his reconciliations of enemies, but what forbids a clerk to write letters to his friend? It remains to condemn your negligence. Quia igitur oleum non misistis, aculeum sumitis."† And again to another friend he writes, "Am I to believe you a different man? or that I am changed? Friendship cannot dissemble, cannot flatter. O my dearest friend, am I to ascribe it to oblivion or to negligence that you have abstained so long from coming to salute your friend? Is it that you are occupied? But it is not gracious to be always occupied."* On the other hand, the earnest affectionate excuses made by monks for not having written answers to the letters addressed to them by friends in distant monasteries, leave nothing incomplete in this contrast to the cold formality and proud indifference of later manners. It is not, however, to be inferred from these passages that the sincere piety and fervent spirituality of the ages of faith would have countenanced the selfish and unreasonable exaction of those triflers who imagine that their conversation ought to be always of paramount interest, so that every occupation, however holy and important, should give place to it. St. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, wrote to St. Bernard, testifying how he loved and revered him, though he had never been in his presence, and saying how he had long desired to converse with him, but that his many employments and sufferings had prevented him,† and in a letter to the abbot Suger he laments, in most feeling terms, that while he is often obliged to see persons whom he has no desire to see, and to be engaged with secular applicants whom he would rather fly from, he can scarcely ever behold his beloved friend the abbot of St. Denis, Suger, who has never been at Cluny but once.‡ Holy priests in those ages, dearly as they prized friendship, and profoundly as they admired genius and sanctity, could not sometimes find leisure for the company of a Suger or a St. Bernard, and every door-knocking trifler in our times would call in question the charity of learned and laborious men if they were not always prompt to listen to them. It is not the justice of such complaints that should be advocated, but there does seem occasion to look back with complacency to the manners of those ages which were characterized by the fervour as well as by the prudent and reasonable regulation of friendship. Friends are great thieves of time, but as Petrarch says no time ought to seem less stolen, less squandered than that which, after God, is expended upon friends.§ It is not every vile circumstance or interest of money that should take precedence of them. Tyndarus enabled his poor fellow captive, whom he had known a boy when himself a boy, and whom he had ever loved from that time, to escape, and when his furious

* Id. Epist. LXIV.
† Petri Cellensis, Lib. I. Epist. XV.

* Id. Liv. I. Epist. XIX.
† S. Petri Ven. Epist. Lib. I. 28.
‡ Epist. Lib. IV. 15.
§ Petrarch. Epist. ad Vir. illust.

master demanded of him where was his fidelity, he quietly and wittily replied, "What do you require that I, who have been your slave since one day and night, should be more attentive to your interests than to his with whom I have passed my life from boyhood?"* But most men are now the captives of masters who would answer instantly that they do require them to show that preference, and who would find no great difficulty in making themselves obeyed, and men, whose employments are all about money or the objects of political ambition, receive their inexperienced friend with such looks as if they presumed that he must have read the inscription of the elder Aldus over their door. But how engaging, how holy are the expressions of affection which we meet with in the writings of the ages of faith! Witness the following letter, addressed to Lullus the bishop: "I entreat you, O beloved brother, forget not, but always cherish in memory that ancient friendship which we entertained for each other when living in the city of Maldubia, where the abbot Eaba nourished us in amiable charity, when he used to call you by the name of Irtel, by which now the abbot Hereca salutes you in holy salutation, as well as the whole congregation which dwells in your monastery. He that shall persevere in peace unto the end, the same shall be saved. Farewell then my beloved, and for ever fare thee well. My beloved, chosen of God, because charity has no price. This is the sign of the abbot Hereca."† That disposition to make little presents, which is found so prevalent in Spain and Italy, has come down from the primitive ages of Christianity, when the pagans used to say, See how they love one another. In the latter country I seldom departed from a monastery or from a casual visit to a holy man, without some book or devout print, which was forced into my hands. You cannot open any volume of correspondence which dates from the ages of faith, without finding some allusion to the interchange of modest gifts, as tokens, not of vanity but of love. Ælred, abbot of Riveaux in Yorkshire in the twelfth century, has left a beautiful book on spiritual friendship, to show the vanity of all friendship which is not spiritual, and sanctified by a devout reference to the eternal love of Christ. "Some men," he says, "are irrationally moved and inclined in mind towards a person by discovering his vices. For many can draw the minds of others to themselves, on account of a vain philosophy or some foolish boldness in military affairs; and what is worse still, many because they are prodigal, luxurious, betrayers of modesty, favourers and followers of base men or vainly fond of silly spectacles, entice others to be inclined towards them."* To these allude the words of St. Augustin, "Si male amaveris tunc odisti, si bene oderis tunc amasti." Here occurs a reflection on the vanity of a friendship which is not according to God, in which the maxims of a heartless and selfish philosophy under the name of liberality, tend constantly to engage men. Even a heathen had the piety to say, You are my friend, but I cannot think with you, or wink at your error.

Συσσωφρονεῖν γὰρ οὐχὶ συννοσεῖν ἔφυ.

St. Bernard said in his letter to Master Guido de Castello, the disciple of Peter Abailard, "I should do you an injury if I were to suppose that you so loved any man as to love his errors with himself. Whoever thus loves any one does not know yet how he ought to love. Such love is earthly, animal, diabolic, equally hurtful to the person loving and to him who is loved."† This wisdom passed even to the friendships of chivalry in the middle ages. Of Bayart the old writer of his life says, "oncques ne fut veu qu'il ait voulu soustenir le plus grant amy qu'il eust au monde contre la raison."‡ But to return to the treatise of our Ælred. "You say," he continues, "what greater peace than to love and to be loved? If indeed in God and for God, I do not deny this; nay, I approve of it: but if according to the flesh or the world, see what envyings, what suspicions, what flames of an ardent spirit exclude rest of mind. And if none of these should occur, death, which all must endure, destroys this unity, bearing grief to the survivor and punishment to him who passes."§ "While I was still a boy in the school, and delighted with the society of my companions, my whole mind gave itself to affection and devoted itself to love. So that I thought there was nothing sweeter or more useful than to be loved and to love. So fluctuating between diverse loves and friendships, my mind

* Plautus Capteivei, III. 4.
‡ S. Bonif. Epist. LXXXVIII.

* Id. III. 12. † Epist. CXCII. ‡ P. 597.
§ Id. Speculum Charitatis, Lib. I. cap. 25.

was borne hither and thither, and not knowing the law of true friendship, was often deceived hy its similitude. At length there came into my hands the book of Tully de Amicitia, and I congratulated myself on having found a certain formula of friendship. I was delighted with the gravity of the sentences, and with the sweetness of the style; but afterwards, when it pleased my good Lord to correct the devious, raise the fallen, and cleanse the leper, renouncing worldly hope, I entered the monastery, and devoted myself to the study of the holy scriptures, and in a short time I found this so sweet, that all worldly science became, in my eyes, comparatively vile. Then when that book De Amicitia came back to my mind, I wondered why it did not any longer give me the same pleasure as hefore, for now nothing could excite the whole of my affections which was not seasoned with the salt of the holy scriptures. Wishing then to strengthen these remarks on friendship hy the authority of scripture, and to spiritualize them, I undertook to compose this little work on spiritnal friendship;" and where he represents his pupil alluding to the book of Cicero, he repeats this testimony in reply: "I am not unacquainted with that book, which used at one time to delight me, hut from the days that I became sensible of the sweetness of the holy scriptures, and that the mellifluous name of Christ claimed all my affection, nothing that I ever read or hear seems sweet or lucid to me, however subtilly arranged, which has not the salt of the heavenly letters, and the seasoning of that sweetest name."*

We must not, however, suppose from the gravity of these sentences, that the joys of friendship were included among those things which became to him weary, flat, stale, and unprofitable. Hear how he speaks of the society of Rievaulx. "Three days ago, as I went round the cloisters of the monastery, when I had seated myself in the midst of a beloved crowd of hrethren, I fell to admiring the leaves of each tree, the fruits and flowers, which hloomed as if in a paradise of pleasure. Finding no one in all that crowd whom I did not love, and hy whom I did not believe that I was loved, I experienced such joy that it snrpassed all the delights of this world. For I felt as if my spirit were transfused into all, and the affections of all infused into me, so that I might say with the prophet, 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.'" Then, after alluding to two persons, who were more especially joined to him in intimate affection, his friends from early youth, who had continued with him through all the stages of his religions life, he proceeds as follows: "What then? was it not a certain portion of beatitude thus to love and to be loved? Thus to assist and to be assisted? And thus, from the sweetness of fraternal affection, to fly aloft to the more suhlime splendour of divine love on the ladder of charity, at one time ascending to the embraces of Christ himself, and at another descending to rest softly on the earth, in the love of one's neighbour?"* Thus did he enjoy friendship, with all the sweetness of humanity and all the unction of a spiritualized and illuminated heart. "Ecce ego et tu," he writes to his young friend, "et spero quod tertins inter nos Christus sit."

But this third course has already exceeded all just proportion, and I must hastily hring it to an end. Enough has been prodnced to show how richly the pleasures of friendship were included in the inheritance of the meek, who in sooth could hardly have been said to possess the earth, if the grant had not comprised them. "Homer did well," says Plutarch, "in making Telemachus reckon among his calamities that he had no brother."† And just was the remark of Pindar, that all kinds of advantage are derived from friendly men.

——— χρεῖαι δὲ παντοῖ-
αι φίλων ἀνδρῶν. ‡

And though the Christian philosophy would contradict the poet's sentence, that honour departeth from him who is deprived of friends,§ (for few mortal men, he himself admits, are faithful in times of misfortune, so as to be partakers of suffering; and how can the infidelity of hypocrites be charged npon their victim,) yet it would sanction the opinion that friendship supplies, to spirits perfect and already chosen, a hliss which might constrain meekness itself to cry, "Behold the earth is mine."

Such, then, are theobservations suggested by a view of history relative to the meek

* Ælred. Abb. Rievallensis de Spirit. Amicitia Prolog.

* De Spirit. Amicit. Lib. III. in Bibliothec. Patrum, Tom. XXIII.
† De Amicit. frat.
‡ Nem. Od. VIII.
§ Nem. X.

in ages of faith, and to their enjoyment of that possession which was promised to them from the Mount. With hearts only bent upon the attainment of heaven, the earth was in abundance given to them, while the proud and foolishly deliberate race, of which were those who cried, "What shall we do? If we let him go, all men will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation," feared to lose temporal things and thought not of eternal life, and thus, as St. Augustin remarks, lost both.* Mild in all the manners that secured the order and the harmony of social intercourse, imbued with the principle of obedience, meekly submissive to the Church, to the rulers of the state, to the laws which they either received or administered, meek amidst power and riches and nobility, meek in the humbler ranks of the common family, they inherited the earth and derived from it all that could sweeten or dignify the existence of men. Degree was maintained in their Christian warfare. Therefore, conformable to the wise distinction of St. Augustin, the rich were not humbled to piety, so as to exalt the poor to pride; for in no manner would it have been right that in that life, where senators were laborious, there workmen should have been idle, that rustics should have been delicate where came, abandoning their delights, those who were of the Lord's vineyard.† Stability was infused into the political as well as into the ecclesiastical order, for the rule of truth and the knowledge of the end of good and evil, put an end for ever to the uncertainties and vicissitudes of speculation, respecting both the one and the other: it was not supposed that a society, which no heresy or impure superstition had ever disorganized, required from age to age a succession of changes and reformations, the occasions and the plan of which were to be determined by the caprice of sophists, to whose judgment each generation was to submit, in concluding when and how it was to revolutionize the whole frame of its constitution; as if there was nothing fixed or eternal in the principles or end of a Christian government, and as if manners alone were exempt from the necessity of constant vigilance, as if they alone could never perish or require change. As in time of sterility or excess of rain, and the other evils of nature, so men were patient under the luxury or avarice of rulers; for they knew, as the wise historian of Rome observes, that there will be vices as long as there will be men, that neither are these continual, but that they are compensated by the intervention of better things.* Delivered from the anxieties and enmities which would attend continual alterations in the form of that government, whose object, as Seneca explains, was to secure to every man leisure, not labour, recreation and not toilsome pain, the earth to them yielded its choicest treasures, both of material and intellectual good. Innumerable objects of almost infinite variety ministered to their pleasures and necessities; cities rose in the desert, and the beauty of divine temples formed a paradise of pleasure in every spot to which the providence of God might conduct their steps. Nature sanctified by religion, and restored to harmony by faith, for them was delivered from its ancient malediction. The intellectual world was granted to them as a boundless and inalienable domain. To them poetry offered its sweetest incense, and learning gave up all its accumulated stores. Spirituality threw a resplendent light on every object around them, and developed for their advantage the riches of a mysterious and unfathomable creation. Mind and body were associated to produce the concord of an universal order, and friendship gave them a foretaste of that everlasting communion, for which they were destined in the regions of supernal joy. Blessed in the hope of heaven, blessed in the possession of the earth, these generations of the poor in spirit and of the meek, fulfilled their appointed course, and passed on from time and things finite to that destination which exceeds all human thought, and all utterance but what is merely negative, to announce with trembling awe and adoring love, what they cannot be,—eternity and God.

* Tract. 49. in Joan. † S. August. Num. 33.

* Tacitus, Hist. IV. 74.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK IV.



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MDCCCXLV.

SUMMARY.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

NO more discourse of earth and all its fair possessions, promised from the mountain, which heard the heavenly voice disclosing the way of happiness to men. I now must change the notes to tragic; for such are those which tell of mourners, though they were in mourning blessed. Solemn task! yet argument, not less concerned with beatitude than that which described the lives of those who secured, by meekness and poverty of spirit, both earth and heaven's eternal kingdom. Deep, mysterious theme! more than speech can tell, attractive, announced as it was in tone so soft and mild, as one might have thought never before met the ear on mortal strand, sounding as if from the voice of some angelic marshal, fanning us with swan-like wings, while the gates of lucid mansions opened to the music of this unearthly strain, which affirms that those who mourn are blessed, for that comfort shall be theirs.

All generations of men have mourned; but how vain would be the search into ancient history, in hopes of discovering that they were therefore blessed! Here is however a new voice, and sweet, indeed, in mortal ears, which consoleth those who mourn with the assurance that they shall be comforted; and since this is the voice of Him, whose knowledge is the law of nature and of grace, we may be sure that henceforth the study of history will bring new results, and present a very different phenomena from any thing that philosophers had ever before observed. It seemed no less strange to affirm, that the poor in spirit and the meek were blessed; and yet, what striking illustrations and evidence of that fact have we discovered in the history of the ages of faith? Let us feel emboldened, then by this experience, and resume our study, giving it this new direction, investigating the annals of these ages of the world in especial reference to the tenor of man's woe, whether proceeding from the incidents to which he is obnoxious by nature, or from the influence of supernatural causes, which are the consequence of the light and life of faith.

But ere we proceed it may be well to remove the objection which some might advance against our intended course in general, from supposing that it obtruded upon them melancholy themes. Such persons must be reminded, that it is not religion's voice, transmitted in the writings of the middle ages, which first makes men acquainted with mourning, and that they will not be the less constrained to remember woe by attempting to banish the principles and associations of faith. To say nothing as yet in proof that it is faith which alone affords a remedy for the wounds of life, but leaving them to think as gloomily as they will of the influence

which it sheds upon history, they must, notwithstanding, admit at once that, by nature, as men, independent of all tradition and revelation, they are, sooner or later, compelled, either by the experience of present sorrows, or by the fear and anticipation of future evils, to fall into the ranks of those who mourn—or, rather, as Cicero says, of the miserable. Do what they will, depart as far as they please from the philosophy of the middle ages, there is no avoiding this. As reasonably might they hope to be dispensed from death, as to pass through life, short as it is, exempt from the experience and the thoughts of woe. If they look at the world which surrounds them, and mark the countenances that front them on every side, they will find the greatest and most heroic men, visibly written mourners in their looks, like Spencer's gentle knight, who was armed, indeed, with glorious panoply—

> "But of his cheere did seme too solemne sad."*

Melancholy is ascribed as an heroic quality to Hercules, Lysander, Ajax, Alcmæon, Bellerophon, Socrates, and Plato. There is no escaping it by taking refuge in boldness and absolute war against goodness. Cain was melancholy, as St. Augustin says;† and who is not? It is propagated from Adam.

Mourning, then, by itself, formed no distinguishing characteristic of the ages of faith—

> "From time's first records the diviner's voice
> Gives the sad heart a sense of misery."‡

Æschylus delivers this testimony; and what a solemn melancholy breathes in the chorus of the Œdipus Coloneus, which sings the mourning of the human course! Never to have been born is best of all; but after having appeared, to descend again, as soon as possible, to the lower regions, while young, is next in degree of good.

"The happiness of man lasts not long," says Pindar.§ Would you hear the father of heroic poetry himself announcing his own conviction in the solemn words of his ideal hero. "O, Amphinomus! truly you seem to me to be wise, being the son of so great a father, whose fame is so widely spread; and they say that you are his son, and you resemble him; therefore, to you, I say, but do you hearken and consider it in your mind, that the earth produces nothing, not one animal breathing and moving upon it, more wretched than man."* You have here the affecting testimony of the human race to the misery of its condition, before it had beheld the light of Christ.

In whatever direction we turn through the world we shall hear mourning's voice, whether it sound of sharp anguish, or breathe in sighs. Orosius, the historian, whom Alfred translated, and made so well known to our ancestors, diffused a tone of great melancholy over his history, which he had intended first to entitle, "De Miseria Hominum"—a title which, Bonarsius says, might be given to all history.† Hesiod says, that a thousand woes wander amidst men, that the earth is full of evils, the sea full of them.‡ Profound was the sense entertained by the ancients of the vanity of all human prosperity and joy; amidst their delights, they always felt as if, to use their own expression, there was something cruel that would strangle them—

> ——— τρία μὰν
> Ἔργα ποδαρκὴς ἁμέρα
> Θῆκε κάλλιστ᾽ ἀμφὶ κόμαις.

Remark what an instance is here furnished by Pindar in celebrating the glories of Xenophon of Corinth—"That one single day which passes so quickly! placed around his head these three illustrious deeds, or the crown, which was the reward of his victory in the Stadium, the Dialium, and the armed course."§ And, again, the same expression occurs the day ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται;‖ so that even when commemorating the glory of a conqueror, he deemed it right to remind him of the shortness of the day which procured it, and consequently of that in which he could enjoy it. Indeed, the Pæan, as a song of rejoicing for victory, always bore a mournful sense in reference to the battle, as well as a joyous sense in reference to the victory. Dionysius, after relating the combat of the Horatii and Curatii, and the joyful triumph of the victor, adds, "but it was necessary that, as a man, he should not be happy throughout, but should excite the envy of the demon; who, when he had exalted him, contrary to the expectation of all, and, in a moment, even to the highest pinnacle of glory and happiness, cast him down the very same day into the miserable calamity of killing his own sister."¶ Cicero, in his oration for the Ma-

* Faery Quene. † Epist. 105.
‡ Æschyl. Agam. § Pyth. Od. III.

* Od. XVIII. 125.
† In Præfat. ad gesta Dei per Francos.
‡ Op. et Dies. § Olymp. XIII. ‖ Olymp. I.
¶ Antiquit. Roman. Lib. III. cap. 21.

nilian law, furnishes a similar example of the scrupulous timidity and extreme caution with which it was deemed right to speak of the happiness of the prosperous, so fearfully uncertain was its stability, and so necessary did they feel it to be always prepared against what they termed the stroke of envious fate. This, too, is what the lofty grave tragedians taught—

ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ᾽· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν
σκιά τις ἂν τρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχεῖ,
βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.
καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτείρω πολύ. *

Let no one, then, ascribe melancholy to the history of the renovated race. Bitter and profound has been the mourning of men in all ages, who enjoyed not the consolations of faith, as antiquity will avow, and even our own times bear witness; for many of the modern writers have raised again the desolating voice of the heathen lamentations, if not with that Philoctetæan clamour which old philosophy deemed unbecoming, yet often in a strain of even still more wild despair. What is the tone of modern literature and modern poetry? Does it indicate smiling hearts, elate with peacefulness and joy? Truly it expresses only that sadness of the world which, in the language of the Holy Spirit, worketh death.† Only those suggestions which proceed from anguish of the mind and humours black, that mingle with the fancy, distempered discontented thoughts, inordinate desires, like those which moved Dicæopolis to exclaim, "How many things devour my heart! very few things delight me; truly not more than four. What torment me are as numerous as the sands of the sea shore."‡ In fact, without the Catholic piety, the Catholic type and hope to support one, life must necessarily grow every day, in the estimation of the heart, more flat, stale, and unprofitable; for there is constantly something dropping off, something dying, something happening for the last time, so that every man will have the sad experience of the troubadour and warrior, Bertram de Born, who complains of this constant and rapid decay, saying, "Tous les jours vous verrez qu' aujourd'hui vant moins qu' hier." Age itself, disables the mind from supporting the calamities of life, as is confessed by Dante in an affecting allusion to his own power of enduring the misfortunes which befel his country—

* Æsch. Agam. 1327.
† Epist. ad Corinth. II. 7.
‡ Aristoph. Acharnensis.

——— "That chance
Were in good time, if it befel thee now.
Would so it were, since it must needs befal!
For, as time wears me, I shall grieve the more." *

The dismal lucubrations of modern philosophers and poets can only inspire the idea of a gloomy consistory, composed of persons who, in their disdain of the holy discipline, sit, like Michol, full of scorn and sorrow,† disfigured, more than can befal spirit of happy sort.

Alas! if men in ages of faith could, in a dream, have been brought in presence of this present intellectual world, after searching with fixed ken, to know what place it was wherein they stood, they might have supposed themselves for certain on the brink of the lamentable vale—the dread abyss, that joins a thundrous sound of plaints innumerable. Dark, and deep, and thick with clouds o'erspread, their eyes might in vain have sought to explore its bottom, but would have discerned nought. What bitterness is expressed in that exclamation—

"There are words of deeper sorrow
Than the wail above the dead!"

What approximation to despair in that avowal of hope being subject to contingency, when it is said—

"Circumstance, that unspiritual god
And miscreator, makes and helps along
Our coming evils with a crutch-like rod,
Whose touch turns hope to dust, the dust we all have trod."‡

What a contrast to the bright visions which cheer the way of those on earth who afterwards are blessed, when the poet says—

——— "Standing thus by thee
Other days come back on me
With recollected music, though the tone
Is changed and solemn, like the cloudy groan
Of dying thunder on the distant wind."

Such is the revelation which the modern poet and modern philosopher continually makes of the state of his own heart; and is it for such men to shrink from consulting the history of the ages of faith through fear of its inspiring them with melancholy? Alas! what deeper gloom can come upon this poor soul than that which already encompasses it?

"Dost thou not hear how pitiful his moan,
Nor mark the death which, in the torrent flood,
Swoln mightier than a sea, him struggling holds."§

* Hell, XXVI.
† Dante, Purg. X.
‡ Manfred, IV.
§ Hell, II.

Thus do these tender and elevated souls move along, thirsty, wandering, like those shades deprived of sepulture, and condemned to an eternal restlessness. They can find no place of repose or refreshment in the sterile desert of the world; they sigh, without ceasing, for some, I know not what, mysterious power, which they call liberty or progress, humanity or reason, a kind of liberating divinity, who they think must eventually prevail, and it is with this vain hope that they seek to console themselves.

The Catholic poet, in ages of faith, trained to communion with the holy, assiduous at the early sacrifice, and accustomed to walk unnoticed amidst the evening crowd of faithful which surrounds the divine altars to receive a benediction, hoped hereafter, in a future world, to consort for ever with the saintly spirits he had seen on earth, and to join the choir which keeps eternal festival in heaven: the genius of his song was that of one who is happy—who has no morbid peculiarities of thought or temper. The modern poet, nursed only amidst the wild and lonely scenes of nature, and familiar rather with the howl of winds, and the fall of mountain torrents, than with the hymn of saintly fervour, whose soul hath only known the sublime but sad delight of gazing on pathless glen and mountain high—

"Listing where from the cliffs the torrents thrown,
Mingle their echo with the eagle's cry;"

though, having often felt how that sad loneliness loaded his heart, and how that barren desert tired his eye, when he would have wished to trace something that showed of life, though low and mean, yet, for the future, has no brighter hope, while gazing upon the ocean flood, but that it will be a pleasant thing to die—

"To be resolved into the elemental wave,
Or take his portion with the winds that rave."

Such was the spirit of the chorus of Æschylus—

"Oh! that I could as smoke arise
That rolls its black wreaths thro' the air,
Mix with the clouds, that o'er their skies
Show their bright forms, and disappear;
Or, like the dust, be tost
By ev'ry sportive wind, till all be lost!"*

And such is the spirit of the king of modern poets, in that most inhuman aspiration;

———— "I can see
Nothing to loathe in nature, save to be
A link reluctant in a fleshy chain,
Class'd among creatures, when the soul can flee,
And with the sky, the peak, the heaving plain,
Of ocean or the stars mingle, and not in vain."*

The testimony of Palinurus, indeed, who had experience of this kind of dissolution, might have sufficed to show them how delusive were such anticipations.

"Nunc me fluctus habet, versantque in littore venti,
Eripe me his, invicte, malis————."†

The genius of melancholy must not be confounded with the melancholy of genius; but to the latter it is only the ages of faith that can lay claim. The former, the burden of Babylon, has been the lot of humanity in every period of the world's history, from the time when sin with vanity had filled the works of men. To this fact, there is express testimony in all ages; although, without doubt, many of these mourners from the effect of anticipations, having a certain infinite evil in life, might, like Niobe, have been imagined turned to stone on account of eternal silence in affliction—voiceless because so profound, of whom the Book of God affirmeth that he had stricken them but they had not sorrowed, that is, had not confessed their sorrow, yet had he brought down their heart through heaviness; for to walk sorrowful all the day long is the state of sin.

William Schlegel observes, that the conduct of the greatest portion of mankind who live confined within the monotonous circle of little insignificant occupations, can only be accounted for by the necessity which they feel for endeavouring to escape from that secret discontent which presses them down, as soon as the passions of their youth which made their life run like a rapid torrent, have become weak and motionless. Therefore these means of distraction are employed, which are all designed to put in motion their slumbering faculties, by offering to them light difficulties. O Christ! how deep and bitter is the mourning of these men when they say with Montaigne, I have seen the verdure, and the flowers, and the fruit of life, and now I behold the withering, the sear and yellow leaf: or, with Philoctetes in the old play, "my heart bleeds when I consider what I am and what I was; that formerly no youth excelled more in

* Supplices.

* Childe Harold, III. † Æneid. VI. 362.

gymnastic art, in throwing the quoit, the spear, and the ball, in the course, in the field, and that now I am nothing."* This mourning sounds like the lugubrious cry of the birds of night, not the sighs of the dove which represent the blessed mourning, and than which nothing is more calculated to inspire peace, recollection, and internal joy. The world's children professedly indeed pursue a life of pleasure and festivity, but if we can credit one who knew them well, their "mirth has less of play than bitterness."

"For many a stoic eye and aspect stern,
Mark hearts where grief hath nought to learn;
And many a withering thought lies hid, not lost,
In smiles that least befit who wear them most."†

Truly when there is a penetrating eye this reflection will be often suggested. The laugh of pleasure's children may remind one of that inhuman saying of the heathen Demænetus, "may all that wish me evil laugh so!"

Such mourning was a thing impossible to mix with blessedness. Nay, with spirits under its influence, as Shakspeare says in Hamlet, the devil is very potent, making use of those phantoms and images of memory, which, according to Aristotle,‡ melancholy persons are most apt to discern, in order to abuse and damn them. These are they who do violence to themselves and to their own blessings, wasting their talents in reckless lavishment and sorrowing there, where they should dwell in joy;§ wearing their days in wilful woe, and despising the grace of their Creator, sitting like the Harpies in the Hell of Dante, and wailing o'er the drear mystic wood; whose melancholy springs from no other source, as ancient writers well have shown, but the passions which they have not learned in their youth to master.* This is the mourning which mixes with the inextinguishable laughter of the suitors of Penelope, of whom Homer says, that while revelling with great triumph on the eve of their destruction, though shouts of merriment resounded through the hall, yet at intervals their eyes were filled with tears and their minds with sorrow:

——— ὅσσε δ' ἄρα σφέων
δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο· γόον δ' ὠΐετο θυμός.

Theoclymenus regards this as an omen, and predicts their destruction. Thus all mourning, all poetic melancholy, is not the presage of a blessed end.

Beati qui lugent. But not those who mourn with the world, or who weep through vanity at feigned misery. St. Augustin knocked his breast for having wept on reading the death of Dido in Virgil, who slew herself on being abandoned by her lover Æneas; because he knew well that such tears were without any emotion of charity, and consequently that they were not in any degree agreeable to God, who demands from us only tears of love, in confirmation of which judgment the world itself can be adduced in evidence, for its poets affirm that the wretched are malevolent and envious.

"Est miserorum, ut malevolentes sint atque invideant bonis."†

far, indeed, then is such mourning from the blessing promised. It is the sorrow which dwells for ever upon the cursed strand that every man must pass who fears not God. Let us move onward, for faith has no entrance here.

* Plautus Mostellaria, 1, 2. † Byron.
‡ Περὶ αἰσθήσεως. § Dante Hell, XI.

* Christine di Pisan, Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage Roy Charles V. chap. x.
† Plautus Capteivei, III. 4.

CHAPTER II.

NOW we are arrived at the point where our inquiries must return to the domain of history in order to ascertain what was the character of mourning during the ages of faith, and how far the woe of the human heart was affected by the supernatural condition of man's life in relation to the knowledge conveyed in the mysteries of religion. In the first place then a retrospect of Christian history will prove, that the mourning commended from the mountain was understood to be something very different from the spirit which we have been observing—the mourning of animal men, the mourning of Babylon, without charity and without peace. Sooth, to hear the admonitions of those whose writings influence mankind during the ages of faith, and to mark their countenances as described so graphically in ancient books, one might at first suppose that the blessing had not been pronounced in their estimation upon the state of mourners; but upon that of those who always rejoiced, and who, like the followers of old Pythagoras, considered sadness a vice and a disgrace to be hidden from the eyes of men, for if it ever came upon a Pythagorean, he was to withdraw himself from all observation, and set about removing it by using the remedies prescribed by his discipline, remedies which indeed could hardly have been efficacious, but the recourse to which proves the just abhorrence in which melancholy was held. What was the character of mourning during the ages of faith? Truly one may feel at a loss how to answer this question; for the first impressions consequent upon a study of their history, as far as it is comprised in the thoughts, and doctrines, and manners of men, would lead us to conclude, that the race of mourners had disappeared; and that within the promised land, nothing was ever found but smiles and joy. Where shall we look for mourners? We may conceive at once that the task is difficult; for how can there be melancholy where the Catholic religion sways, which ever invigorates men with hope that leads to blissful end? How great is that hope, and how it doth flourish in them, even its adversaries admit; for the only question with them, they say, is to account for the exemption of Catholics from despair and trouble of mind?* Hope excludes sadness, and the church militant hath in every age armed all her sons with hope. Let us, however, investigate more narrowly.

Burton, who wrote a professed treatise upon melancholy, would direct us to the abodes of monks and friars, as being men whom he affirms to be continually under its dreadful influence. But lo! the fact is so contrary to his representation, that cheerfulness appears as one of the first results from entering the pleasant cloister's pale. "Do you see these novices?" asks St. Bernard, "they are but just come, but just converted. What appears in them is only a flower, for the season of fruit is not yet arrived. This new conversation is a flower. They assume a face of discipline and a good composition of their whole body. I grant that what appears is pleasing—that greater negligence of exterior dress—fewer words—a more joyful countenance—a more bashful look; yet these are but flowers, and rather the promise of fruit, than fruit itself."† Does length of time, think you, and a progress in that course of perfect life, produce a change in this respect? Hear what instructions and doctrines belonged to the monastic discipline. "The Holy Ghost cannot suffer the odious sadness of the children of the world to remain in the soul of his servants." He who thus speaks is the monk who wrote that discourse to a nun which is commonly ascribed to St. Bernard. "Let a spiritual joy remain always within you as a testimony that you are at peace with God. This innocent and tranquil joy is an assured mark of virtue and an earnest of sanctity. If it were not so, David would not have said, rejoice ye just in the Lord and leap for joy."—"There is even a joy natural but innocent, which is a gift of heaven; a precious fruit of peace with God," says the holy Capuchin friar Lombez, in his treatise on the joy of the soul. "You destroy the divine image in your soul by sadness," he

* Burton Anat. of Mel. III. 4.
† S. Bernardi super Cantica Serm. LXIII.

continues, "God is joy.* 'Servite Domino in lætitia.' All nature rejoices in its Creator, and would you remain in a sad silence? The saints are always full of joy and cheerfulness; in the midst of vast deserts and solitudes, under persecution and suffering, joy is on their countenances. It is joy which makes the heart fear God. 'Lætetur cor meum, ut timeat nomen tuum.'"†

John, the monk of Cluni, in his life of St. Odo, the second abbot of that house, says, "His words were always full of rejoicing; insomuch that he used to constrain us, through excess of joy, to laugh, which mirth he would moderate with admonitions; but his spiritual cheerfulness diffused internal joy through our hearts. Not being allowed to testify our feelings openly, we used secretly to kiss his vestments."‡ But this is an investigation which may be terminated without waiting to consult history; for, if in the present age, the manners and countenance of the religious in monasteries bespeak invariably the sweet influence of constant internal rejoicing; and no other inference is possible, after observing them, there can be no danger of error in concluding that it was the same in the ages of greatest faith; for then the world was more frequently opposed by forms of attraction, and consequently there were fewer obstacles to the peace and joy which religion can impart to men.

Will the moderns look for sadness in the air of those pilgrims, who are the objects of so much of their pity? Let them refer to the portrait of one who was a saint, a model and example of all pilgrims. St. Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and it is expressly related, that on the way he was to all men affable, and that he never contracted a sad countenance."§

If they repair to the solitary hermit's dwelling in the woods and caves of the rocks, they will not have better success. Sebastian Francus Von Word, in the third part of his Chronicle, expressly testifies of the holy hermit Nicolas Von der Flue, that he was never melancholy, but always joyous. But surely it will be said, we cannot be at a loss for examples of sadness, if we turn to the solemn Doctors and Holy Fathers of the Church, who spent their lives in the defence and illustration of the Christian faith? The very aspect of their volumes denotes men abandoned to the gloom of interminable toil. Truly the difficulty remains the same as before. St. Gregory reckons sadness among the seven capital sins.* St. Chrysostom's chief object in writing to Olympias, the deaconess, is to extirpate the melancholy to which she had been unhappily a prey. "Not only do I wish to deliver you from sadness, but also to fill your soul with a pure and never-ending joy;" it is thus he writes to her. "Sadness," he continues, "is the most intolerable torment of the soul,—a grief beyond all expression,—a punishment more cruel than all punishments. It is like a worm, which gnaws not only our body, but whatever is most intimate within us. It is a night never-ending, a horrible tempest, a fever which consumes secretly. To those seized with it, the sun, the air, however pure, the most beautiful azure of the sky, become a burden, and the day becomes night; which made the prophet say, 'The sun shall set for them at mid-day.'† No, the deep shades of night are not deeper than those of sadness, horrible night, insupportable night, night sinistrous and threatening, refusing to yield to those who would dispel it, but attaching itself to the soul which it has once seized upon, and never letting go its hold until this soul chooses to make use of its wisdom to escape from its power." You have heard how they speak. Nor is the result different if we refer to those ecclesiastical canons, which, from their title at least, might lead one to think that they had relation unto mourning. In the ancient Penitential of Angers, which happens to present itself first to my view, I find reckoned among the capital crimes "the sadness of the world, worldly sorrow." Not even the ascetic discipline will yield us any different result; for universally it rested upon the principle of that sacred text—"Piety will fill the heart with a joyous spirit and with gladness."‡ "Sadness proceedeth from self-love; and joy from the love of God." So we read in the Meditations for the English College at Lisbon: "The fruit is like the tree; that is, the joy is like the love whence it proceedeth: true love is like to the thing loved; that is, like to God: and hence true joy must be like to God; that is, immortal, most copious, most beauteous, and most sweet."§ The Church herself, in her solemn offices, prays to be delivered from

* Traité de la joie de l'ame, 2. 4.
† Ps. 85. ‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis 33.
§ Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Bened. Sæc. IV. Pars I.

* C. XXXI. Lib. XXXI. in Exod.
† Amos viii. 9. ‡ Eccles. i. 18.
§ Part IV. c. 2.

present sadness, and to be conducted to the possession of eternal joy. That faithful spouse of Jesus Christ never mourns long without returning to the expressions of transport. Thus, in the middle of Lent, she changes the penitential tones to sing Lætare Jerusalem; and, in a similar manner, she interrupts the solemn chaunts of Advent to sing Gaudete. What is very remarkable too, the world itself, if considered in reference to the scenes of chivalrous life, seems, during these ages, to have ceased to favour the melancholy which is its natural companion; so that its maxims were directed to the same end as those of the spiritual society, and its ways delivered from all horrid exhibitions of desperate woe. If you will hear fable, which, at that epoch, peculiarly borrowed its language from living manners, you will find King Pharamond, in Gyron le Courtois, reproving Messire du Lac, for indulging in a sorrow which was unbecoming. "Se Dieu me sault si bon chevalier comme vous estes ne deveroit mye trop penser pour nulle avanture de ce monde. Et certes vous pensez orendroit plus que a preudhomme ne convient."—"Sire, (replied Messire du Lac) mon cueur si est seigneur de moy, mais je ne suis mye seigneur de luy."* You will hear the hermit Peter reproving the vain grief of Tancred on the death of Clorinda, as offending against the spirit of his order:

"His vanity with grave advice reproved,
And told what mourning Christian knights behoved.
O Tancred, Tancred! how far different
From thy beginnings good these follies be!
Thou dost refuse of Heav'n the proffer'd grace,
And 'gainst it still rebel with sinful ire;
O wretch! O whither doth thy rage thee chase?
Refrain thy grief, bridle thy fond desire;
At hell's wide gate vain sorrow doth thee place.
Sorrow, misfortune's son, despair's foul sire:
O see thine ill, thy plaint and woe refrain,
The guides to death, to hell, and endless pain."†

During the middle ages, rare was the crime of Piero delle Vigne, who, when his glad honours changed to bitter woes, with soul disdainful and disgusted, sought refuge in death from scorn, and became, just as he was, unjust toward himself. It was so rare, that men considered it in the light of a prodigy. Peter Damien mentions that Hugo, abbot of Cluny, used to relate to him a strange example of a certain stranger, who destroyed himself through the impulse of the demon. "There was a Bishop," he says, "travelling, who came to the banks

* F. LXXXVIII. † Jerus. Deliv. XII. 86.

of a river, where he halted to repose for a short time. As he was resting there, he thought he heard a voice, proceeding as if from the flood, which said, 'Hora venit, homo non venit.' The Bishop shortly after observed a man on horseback, who came galloping to the brink, as if resolved to make his horse plunge into the stream. By the Bishop's directions the attendants, who rushed forwards, succeeded in preventing him, though he persisted in crying out, 'Let me go—I must hasten on the king's errand; an inevitable necessity bids me proceed.' The holy Bishop constrained him to take up his abode with him that night. When every one was sunk in sleep, the stranger plunged his head into a vessel of water which stood in the chamber, and suffocated himself."*

The epoch of the great apostasy of the sixteenth century was distinguished by the frequency of this fearful crime. Petrus Crinitus mentions that in France certain women had lately committed suicide, throwing themselves into rivers, which gave occasion to several learned men to investigate the cause of such a phenomenon, which could only be ascribed to the power of the stars, and to some influence of the air impelling men to madness, and he is obliged to recur to the ancients for similar instances. He mentions, indeed, that a philosopher at Florence, Peter Leonio, and another scholar, deeply versed in Aristotle and Hippocrates, had lately drowned themselves, but it was through an access of madness, in which they ought to have been bound with chains.†

What, then, becomes of our project, to illustrate the manners of the blessed race from the history and learning of the ages of faith, if on the one hand we are told, by the voice of unerring wisdom, that they who mourn are blessed; and on the other, if we can find no trace or sanction of mourning in the ages when we suppose faith to have principally flourished? Softly, my gentle comrade; all is not yet seen: we have as yet been confronted only with the mourning of the world: and how should it be wonderful, or a source of inquietude, that we should have met with no trace of such a spirit in the manners or discipline of those who had renounced the world, during ages of faith? It has not been demonstrated, that the third blessed sentence from the Mount fell a powerless sound upon the ear of the humble and the meek, or that it found nothing in

* Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 438.
† De Honesta Disciplina, Lib. III. c. 9.

their character or existence to which it was applicable. They were cheerful and full of joyful peace: but it does not follow that they were deprived of the third beatitude: they did not mourn with the world; but we must not infer that they rejoiced with it. Neither earthly sorrow nor earthly joy, in the perverted sense of that expression, belonged to them, but the mourning of holy exiles, resting in this Inn of grief, the sighs of the innocent dove, longing after its home and country, were no less characteristic of their whole existence than were the peace and joy of renovated and spiritualized creatures restored to the favour of their Creator, and destined to dwell hereafter in everlasting gladness. It is not to be imagined for an instant that their cheerfulness bore any resemblance to the disposition of those persons whose lips seem always moved to laughter, or to provoking it in others. Though totally free from that Jansenian gloom, which pervades the thoughts of a celebrated philosopher of later times, there was nothing vulgar or ignoble in their sweet and joyous serenity: it would lead no one to conceive that they could ever inwardly breathe a prayer like that of the parasite of Plautus: "Grant me riches, praise, profit, play, mirth, festivity, feasting, pomp, pleasure, revelling, satiety, joy:"* but it might remind one of the tone of those solemn quires described by Dante,—

> ——— "and lo!
> A sound of weeping and a song: 'My lips,
> O Lord!' and these so mingled, it gave birth
> To pleasure and to pain."†

Even the ancient sages, who, like the Pythagoreans, declared open war against melancholy, would not have approved of the former temper: they indeed pretended to possess divine remedies against the wounds of sadness!‡ and Aristoxenus affirmed that they used to refrain from all lamentations and tears; but as a general and pervading tone, they would have rejected utterly and with scorn the pert and nimble spirit of mirth, at least as it appears in the common laughter. Socrates, showing that at the last the souls of men will correspond in appearance to their character in life, says that Thersites will be seen in the form of an ape.§ "It may be well," says the Athenian in Plato, "to make oneself acquainted with things ridiculous, in order that one may the better learn what is opposed to them; but it is not possible to practise both, and partake in the least degree of virtue."* Plato would not allow the inextinguishable laughter of the Homeric gods even among the men of his republic. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ φιλογέλωτάς γε δεῖ εἶναι. οὔτε ἄρα ἀνθρώπους ἀξίους λόγου κρατουμένους ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἄν τις ποιῇ ἀποδεκτέον.† While on earth, heroes of his type bore that countenance which Dante ascribes to those four mighty spirits which he beheld within the awful porch, which were of semblance neither sorrowful nor glad.‡ The sweet countenance of blessed spirits, bespoke, no doubt, an abundant felicity; but still, it indicated the constant exercise of mystic joy, tempering the sweet with bitter. "The joy of the just," says Drexelius, "is not that of the gay and frivolous, occupied with Saturnalian festivities and Bacchanalian orgies." "Placidum et occultum illud gaudium est, et cum gravitate, imo severitate conjunctum."§ Thus St. Jerome describes that perfect priest, Nepotianus—"Gravitatem morum hilaritate frontis temperabat."‖ In the restored and sanctified nature was discernible, to the more instructed and penetrating eye, a mourning that may be termed natural, inasmuch as, although nature was repaired and assisted in them, it was not unmade or condemned utterly in any of its principles as false and vicious. There was discernible also the mourning of wisdom, the mourning of love, the mourning of piety, the mourning of penitents, the mourning of exiles, who had to meet death before they could reach their country. On each of these points, with history and the learning of the ages of faith for our guide, let us briefly dwell. And first, what is to be said respecting this natural mourning, distinct from the mourning of mere animals of earth, and yet which, in some respects, was of it, since it grew out of the relations and circumstances of the present existence? It would be difficult to find words more exact and beautiful to describe it than those which the Church uses, in that sublime prayer of preparation offered by the priest, when he confesses his unworthiness to discharge so holy an office, and beseeches God that his sins may not be the means of rendering the great sacrifice unprofitable to others: "for, O Lord," he adds, "I bear if thou

* Capteivei, IV. I. † Purg. XXIII.
‡ Jamblich. de Pythagoric. vita, cap. 15, 16, 31.
§ De Repub. Lib. X.

* De Legibus, Lib. VII.
† De Repub. Liv. III. ‡ Hell. IV.
§ De Conformit. Voluntat. Hum. cum Div. Lib. III. 2. ‖ Epist. xxxv.

vouchsafest to behold favourably, the tribulations of the people, the perils of nations, the groans of captives, the miseries of orphans, the necessities of those that travel, the wants of the weak, the despair of the languid, the defects of old men, the sighs of youths, the vows of virgins, the lamentations of widows."

Such is the view of the state of humanity which the Chnrch presents to her minister when she supposes him about to celebrate her consoling mysteries; and it does not appear that philosophers or poets, during the middle ages, were inclined to take a different, even in their lightest compositions. Gouget remarks of the celebrated poet, Alain Chartier, that he allndes to the calamities of life, even in those pieces which he seemed at first intending to consecrate to joy alone. Thus one of them conclndes:—

"Adieu chansons que voulentiers chantoye
Et joyeulx dicts où je me delectoye
Tel rit joyeulx, qui après dolent pleure
Rien ne m'est bon, n' antre bien n' assaveure
Fors seulement l' attente qne je meure;
Et me tarde que briefment viengne l'beure
Qu' après ma mort en Paradis la voye."*

"Grief" prompted him, as he says, to write his most considerable work in prose, which is entitled "Hope, or the consolations of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity."

—— "Par douleur ay commencé ce livre
Je souloye ma jeunesse acquitter
A joyeuses escriptures dicter.
Or me convient autre chose tissir,
De cueur dolent ne pouroit joye yssir."

Under a joyons title, we are often presented with serious meditations, as in the work entitled Le Passetems de tout homme et de toute femme, composed by Brother Guillaume Alexis, commonly called the good monk of Lire, an abbey in Normandy. The pastime allnded to proves to be nothing else but the miseries belonging to the human condition. The author follows man from his cradle to his death-bed, and shows, that, in every stage of his course, he is called to suffer.† Snch strains used to echo under the chivalrous halls of our ancestors, even at the festal hour: for perfectly in character with them was that simple lay of Albert Graeme in Branksome Tower, when he sung of the

* Bibliotheque Française, Tom. IX. 164.
† Massieu, Hist. de la Poesie Française, 305.

English lady bright, that would marry the knight of Scotland.—

"Blithely they saw the rising sun
When he shone fair on Carlisle wall;
But they were sad ere day was done,
Though love was still the lord of all."

Do you mark how they correspond with the religions view of life?

"They touch the chords of joy, but low
And mournful answer notes of woe."

Indeed, this view of man's condition corresponds with Nature in her noblest estate; for they whose spirits seem most elastic, cheerful, and buoyant, by a certain apparent contradiction in their structure, are always fond of what is solemn, and of lingering amidst the tombs. And hence, to such minds, the charm of the Catholic religion, which is at one time joyous as the lark singing at heaven's gates beneath the morning cloud; and at another, solemn as the sound of the distant bell, or of the waving grove under the wind of night: while Protestantism is always sad or always dissipated. The spirit of Catholicism is in harmony with that of a genuine drama, which is tragic and yet infinitely mild,—a mixture of joy and sorrow. What means the Church in bidding the priest to bear in mind the sighs of youth? It is that she has deeply observed nature; for youth the most joyous season in life,—is that in which men are enamoured with seeing sad pageants of men's miseries, with tales of woe,—and when they take more delight in weeping than in words; when, according to Shakspeare, they are sad as night, only from wantonness. As if they who were most capable of enjoying the rich banquet of life, found a pleasure all the while in knowing that, even on such an earth as this, they were in a world of woe. As poor Duncan says, "Their plenteous joys, wanton in fullness, seek to hide themselves in drops of sorrow." The poet's child is one who has, like Wilfred,

"A heart too soft, from early life,
To bold with Fortune needful strife;
Hour after hour who loved to pore
On Shakspeare's rich and varied lore,
But turn'd from martial scenes and light,
From Falstaff's feast and Percy's flight,
To ponder Jacques' moral strain,
And muse with Hamlet, wise in vain;
And weep himself to soft repose
O'er gentle Desdemona's woes."*

* Rokeby.

It is one who might say of himself to Ossian, in the words of Delamartine, "My heart is yet warm with the fire of youth; I have not thy years, but I have already thy sadness." In fact, all passions to which youth is subject, end like a tragedy: as Novalis says, "All defective things to which nature introduces them, end with death. So the philosophy of sensation, of fancy, and of ideas. All poesy, which is to them so dear, has a tragic tenor. All genuine jest, for which they have so true a perception, has a serious foundation."* "In the primitive time of fancy," says Frederick Schlegel, "we find that the elegiac was the predominant tone of poesy, as if a melancholy remembrance of the past godly world, and heroic age, or as a sorrowful echo of the lost paradisiacal innocence and heavenly state; or in a still higher and more general sense, as the forlorn lamentation over the blessed childhood of the whole creation, before the spiritual world had been torn asunder by divisions, —before the beginning of all evil, and the consequent calamities of nature."†

A similar tone may be traced in the poetic compositions which were most passionately loved during the middle ages. Many of those wild and tender chaunts, were sad as the song of Linus, or the melancholy Carian strain on Phrygian flute—sad as the song of Hylas sung at fountains in the Mysian land, or the song of the beautiful Bormus, whose watery death was deplored by the husbandmen of Mariandyne on the flute in the middle of summer. The thoughts of men were then but little occupied with the present in comparison with the past and future; and in this respect, the spirit of the Catholic religion would subject every one to the sneers of such writers as Athenæus, who laughs at Plato, calling him "memory's friend," ὁ τῇ μνημοσύνῃ φίλος. Religion, indeed, expressly recommended the mourning which springs from memory, and, in the beautiful words of St. Augustin, distinguished it from the sadness of the world. "Let us sit and weep, remembering Sion. For many weep with Babylonian tears, who also rejoice with a Babylonian joy. They rejoice in gain, and they weep for losses; and both are of Babylon. We ought to weep but from remembering Sion. The waters of Babylon flow and pass. Let us weep by them, but beware how we enter them, lest we should be borne away and swallowed up in them. Let us sit by them and weep; and we shall weep if we remember Sion. O that peace which we shall see with God! O that peace and holy equality of angels! O that beautiful spectacle, that transcendant vision!"‡

Music, poetry, and painting, during the ages of faith, seem only the expression of desire, of longing; and if any should adopt the opinion of Winkelman respecting the effects of such melancholy which he ascribes to the Etrurians, and by which he attempts to account for their not having surpassed mediocrity in the fine arts, and should, on the same grounds, deny that our ancestors could have possessed the soft emotion which renders the spirit perfectly susceptible of the beautiful, I would refer him to the reply which is made by Pignotti, in his "History of Tuscany," where he observes, "That the acute and deep sensations which Winkelman acknowledges belong to the melancholy disposition, are so far from being, as he pretends, incompatible, that they are, on the contrary, inseparably connected with a lively imagination, the first origin of the fine arts, and that melancholy and religious compassion characterize the greatest masterpieces which enrich the Vatican. To the deep humanity of the Catholic religion belonged necessarily the melancholy of compassion for the natural calamities of man. That sorrow, to which kings would bow, was a worthy cause for defiling the serenest eye. Every cloister and every castle had its tale, that had made mourn both wise and simple; for, however calamitous, all events were to be related, that none of the gifts of Heaven might be concealed from men. And now, if I were to select examples from the chronicles of the middle ages, "Methinks," as Homer says, "the light of the sun would set upon our weeping." Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, died through sorrow and pity for the fate of others. This member of an illustrious and unhappy family, was brother to Edward the Fourth's queen, the most unfortunate in English history. His own fortunes, being a Churchman, were not overthrown in the wreck of that family; but when Buckingham, who had married one of his sisters, was beheaded in the market-place of Salisbury, the Bishop did not long survive the grief of this last affliction. Life was full of lamentations,

* Novalis Schriften, II. 233.
† Philosophie der Sprache, 123.
‡ S. Augustini Tractat. in Psalm. cxxxvi.

which found an echo in hearts, which only had more concern for others, from having renounced self-love. Who knows not these things?—who has not pity?—would be the language of those who might "feel themselves," as Dante says, "on all sides well squared to fortune's blows."

"Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora."

We shall see, in a future place, that this was not a sterile compassion; but it will serve, at present, to explain why, even from natural causes, the noblest spirits, during the ages of faith, appeared in the character of mourners; and that they did so, we have the express attestation of history. "He was of a melancholy turn of mind," says Fontenelle, of the great Pierre Corneille; and, speaking of John de Medicis, Machiavel says, "Though there was a little melancholy in his disposition, he knew how to please in conversation."* "Rarò quidem lætus," says Petrarch, describing the state of his own mind during the course of his correspondence with Socrates, "mœstus sæpe."† Le Banni de Liesse was the title assumed by John Meschinot sieur de Mortieres, a French poet, contemporary of Chastellain, to express his affliction for the misfortunes of the dukes of Bretagne.‡ Antonio Fulgoso, that noble poet of Genoa, was surnamed Fileremo, on account of his fondness for seclusion; and Hugues Salel, in the reign of Francis I., in his poem "On the Misery and Inconstancy of Human Life," lays it down as a maxim, that we should often choose mournful subjects for contemplation, because long continued joy becomes wearisome.§ It is questionable, whether Shakspeare meant to convey a censure when he speaks of one "so full of unmannerly sadness in his youth." Triste et pensif, was the device adopted by Michael Marot; and the same tone of melancholy which Charles Duke of Orleans ascribes to himself, in that affecting poem, which begins—

"Laissez moy penser à mon aise;
Helas! donnez m'en lo loisir—"

and which seemed so constant an attendant on pre-eminence, that every man in high honour seemed, in his very countenance, to proclaim the justice of S. Bonaventure's exclamation, "Quis in honore sine dolore esse poterit?" That tone is spoken of by Fenelon, in describing James III. of England, as something full of dignity and meekness: he terms it, "Son sérieux doux et complaisant."* Dante had no need to paint from his imagination in that affecting description of one spirit that he meets in purgatory—

"Behold that lofty shade, who this way tends,
And seems too woe-begone to drop a tear,
How yet the regal aspect he retains."†

If these few instances are not sufficient to show the general character of noble minds, in this respect, during the middle ages, it will be easy for any one to multiply them, by referring to our ancient literature, which supplies similar portraits at almost every page. This melancholy of Catholics during ages of faith, whether considered as the melancholy of genius, of honour, of compassion, of love, or of piety, had a distinctive character, which totally separated it from the gloom of heathen or modern times. It was the melancholy recommended by the Apostle, "quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes:" it was without malice, rancour, pusillanimity, despair, tepidity, or wandering of mind; and, therefore, it was not involved in the condemnation passed by holy men, like the Abbot Raban Maur, though that were directed against melancholy.‡ The necessity for human suffering, so obvious to reason, that the Pythagoreans used to say, "Men ought to welcome punishment, since they came into the world only in order to be punished,"§ is involved in the mystery of the fall; and during ages of faith, the light affliction which arose from it, for a moment, was received by mourners with pious resignation. Let us hear them speak of it, that we may understand what a deep sense they entertained of this mystery. The Master of the Sentences, in laying down a threefold liberty, observes, that the last which he terms the liberty from misery can only be obtained in the future beatitude.‖ Hugo de St. Victor wrote a treatise, entitled, "Cur flet qui gaudet," alluding to the joy of the Church, which, in this valley of tears, is never without weeping; and the holy Fathers teach,

* Hist. of Florence, lib. iv.
† Præf. in Epist. Pam.
‡ Gouget Bibliotheque Français, IX. 404.
§ Gouget Bibliotheque Français, Tom. XII. 8.

* Epitres de Fenelon, 103. † Purg. XVIII.
‡ Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum, lib. iii. cap. 38.
§ Jamblich. de Pythagoric. vita, cap. 18.
‖ Petri Lombardi. lib. xi. Distinct. 25.

that the perfect prayer is mixed with joy and sadness. "The sweetness of honey," says St. Jerome, "was to be tempered by art before it could be offered in sacrifice to God, for nothing voluptuous pleases God —nothing which has not in it something of austere truth. The paschal of Christ was to be eaten with bitter herbs."* Nay, even in relation to the mere temporal felicity of man, mark how mysterious a thing is woe. Cardan could attest the fact, which furnishes an axiom in the science of the saints; for, he says, "sine malorum experientia nihil esse dulce homini."† The poet goes further still, where he shows how soon men begin to loathe the taste of sweetness, whereof "a little more than a little is by much too much." Unheeding such refined considerations, men, in the middle ages, were at all times ready to welcome sorrow as a blessed thing; either receiving it in the spirit, and, with the words of S. Lupe, when he saluted Attila, exclaiming, "Salve, flagellum Dei,"—or in reference only to the future compensation which would follow it. If they pretended not to be able to walk erect on the waves of the tribulation of this life, as our Lord walked on the sea, yet, at least, they felt that they could (as St. Augustin says) be borne over them on the wood of the cross, and on the model of Christ crucified. "Scientia sanctorum est," says St. Bernard, "hic temporaliter cruciari, et delectari in æternum."‡ "Lazarus, merely because he bore sadness and affliction with courage, obtained the same abode as the great patriarch, whose life had been one series of the most brilliant actions. I will add to this," continues St. Chrysostom, "one consideration which, from being new and perhaps foreign from the common manner of thinking, is no less true; it is this, that even when we should have accomplished some eminent deed of virtue, if labour, if danger, if misfortune, be not, in some measure, mixed with it, the recompence will not be great. The Scripture does not say, that each one will be recompensed in proportion to his virtuous actions; but rather in proportion to the quantum of adversity which he will have supported. Thus, St. Paul enumerating the subjects of his glorying, gloried chiefly in his having suffered so much; for, after saying, 'Are they ministers of Jesus Christ? I dare to say it, I am more;' and to prove that he is really superior to them, he does not say, I preached the word of God to so many millions of men; but, keeping silence as to his virtues and his other merits, he gives a picture of all the calamities he has endured:—'I have lived in the midst of labours, in prisons, and the rest.' Do you see what sufferings were here, and how many occasions of glorifying. Presently, he adds to these the acts of virtue, and, in enumerating them, he makes us see that still sufferings are to him a more solid title than all the rest, for it is always in the same sense. 'Which of you is sick, and I am not also;' he does not say, and I do not endeavour to heal him; but, and I am not also. 'Which of you is scandalized, and I am not consumed interiorly:' he does not say, and I do not deliver him from the scandal: but, and I do not take share in his pains, and in his sorrow."*—"There is no motive," says St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his letter to Thecla, "more proper to make us courageously endure calamities, and to raise us above the generality of men in affliction, than the remembrance of the promises which we made to God, and the hopes which we conceived when we first embraced the true philosophy. Was it, then, our object to live in abundance and in riches, to taste the vain joys and the insane delights of the world, to strew our path with flowers; or rather, on the contrary, did we not expect tribulations, pains, anguish, and to endure all things in hopes of future good? Ah! it is this last lot, not the former, which we were taught to reckon upon. Let us take care, then, how we violate the covenant that we made with God, by wishing to possess, at the same time, the advantages and the goods of this world, and to preserve the hope of the future. Let us leave our conventions standing, and let us support all the woes of life, in hope of the joys of eternity." Although the whole subject of human suffering was involved in mystery, yet the advantages resulting from it were most clearly discernible with the light of faith. "One single 'thanks be to God!' and 'blessed be God!' uttered in adversity, is of more avail," says Father Avila, "than a thousand thanksgivings in the day of prosperity;" and, therefore, as St. Aloysius Gonzaga used to say, "There is no more evident mark of a man's being a saint, and of the number of the elect,

* S. Hieronymi Epist. XXIII.
† Prudentia Civilis, cap. 4.
‡ Serm. 21. de divers.

* St. Chrysostom, Epist. to Olympias Deaconess.

than to behold him of a devout life, and, at the same time, exercised with desolations, sufferings, and tribulations." Ah! how much wiser Job in calamity than Adam in Paradise! The one says, "Sicut Domino placuit ita factum est!" the other, "Vocem tuam audivi et abscondi me!"* But as this will appear still more clearly when we have proceeded further, let it be observed here, that the advantages of suffering were not altogether concealed from the ancients, who could only judge by the light of reason. Would you hear the heroic chaunt of the poet, whose lofty muse was to inspire conquerors? O, Son of Philanor! you would have led an obscure life, and have never won a glorious renown, wasting your strength in ignoble contests in your domestic circle, like the cock that conquers in its familiar court, unless banishment, consequent on an insurrection, had driven you from your country—

Εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα
κνωσίας ἄμερσε πάτρας.

Now you are a glorious victor in the Olympic contest, as well as having received twice the Pythic, and once the Isthmian crown.† Without labours, no one was ever illustrious nor ever shall be.‡ If there be any happiness with men, it does not appear without labour;§ but a life void of danger was granted neither to Peleus Æacides, nor to the divine Cadmus, yet they are both said to have obtained the highest felicity of mortals; who both heard the Muses singing in the mountains, and within the seven-gated Thebes; who both entertained the gods with hospitable rites; who both beheld the kingly sons of Saturn on their golden seats, and received from them nuptial gifts.‖ The lessons of the ancient sage were to the same effect. Socrates speaks of banishment and bad health, as among the few causes which can enable men to pursue philosophy with a true spirit. "There remains, then," saith he, "but a very small number of men consorting with philosophy in a worthy manner; either men who have been punished with exile, of generous manners, and well educated, through a want of the causes which corrupt, so that the philosophic nature remains in them, or else men whom the bridle of our dear friend Theages is able to restrain; for Theages is surrounded, and furnished on all sides with things sufficient to make him fall from philosophy," such as riches, friends, honours, &c.; "but the continual suffering of his body from bad health, restrains him from political affairs and corruptions."* Poets might have found examples in their own walk to justify a similar conclusion respecting what the child of the muses ought to desire. The ancients had instances before them, like that of Dante, who finished his sublime work while in exile, wandering and unhappy, through the different states of Italy.

The disputants in Plato's VIIth Book on Laws, agree in the opinion that the right and most happy life takes a middle course between pleasure and grief, neither pursuing the former nor avoiding the latter, but desiring the medium; and that all men should fly from the life of unmingled pleasure, as well as that of pain. Aristotle admits, that in sufferings the beautiful may shine forth, when any one bears great calamities with cheerfulness, not through insensibility, but through greatness of mind.† And Plutarch lays it down as a criterion to determine what progress we make in virtue, to see whether we prefer mourning to festivity; or, to use his own words, whether we incline to excess in the Dorian harmony, which is grave and devout, or in the Lydian, which is gay and joyous. With respect to the ideas of the heroic world, if, on the one hand, the Homeric heroes speak of the gods having given them evils, and having ordained such things wishing them evil; on the other, the hero of Sophocles, Polynices, recognises in his misfortunes the hand of an avenging deity;‡ and Archidamus, the Spartan king, proclaims adversity to be the school of virtue. "Let us not suppose," said he, "that there is any great difference between one man and another; but that he is the best who has been brought up in the greatest necessities."§

Finally, let those who object to the Catholic view of suffering and penance, hear the remarkable words of Plato, explaining in what manner it may be often for the eternal advantage of men to choose mortification. "A person," saith he, "acting unjustly and escaping punishment and

* Drexelius de Conformitate Human. Voluntatis cum Divin. lib. iv. 2.
† Pindar, Olymp. XII. ‡ Id. Pyth. Ode V.
§ Id. Pyth. Od. XII. ‖ Id. Pyth. Od. III.

* Plato de Repub. Lib. VI. † Ethic. Nic. I. 10.
‡ Œd. Col. 1299. § Thucydid. Lib. I. c. 84.

all suffering on account of his injustice, and congratulating himself upon such exemption, would be more miserable and deluded than a sick person who should rejoice in not undergoing the operation which alone could effect the cure of his body. In fine, the not receiving punishment for evil is the first and greatest of all calamities; so that if rhetoric be of any use to one who is unjust, it can only be by enabling him to expose fully and manfully his own injustice, in order that it may receive the proper punishment, whether of chains, or banishment, or death; that so his soul may be healed in the same manner as he would offer his limb to the knife or fire of the surgeon, in order to have it restored to soundness. Therefore each person should be his own accuser, and should beware of concealing his wickedness, and should employ all his rhetoric to this end, that he may be loosed from the greatest evil of injustice."*

But to return to the phenomena presented in the Christian life, we have observed, that in the restored and sanctified nature, during ages of faith, was discernible, not only this natural mourning from a sense of the sufferings of humanity; but also a mourning which may be termed of wisdom, as if belonging, of necessity, to all peculiar depth and penetration of mind. St. Thomas says, that the third beatitude, or that of tears, answers to the gift of science; implying, that wisdom and philosophy prepare us for sorrow. "The gift of science," says St. Augustin, "brings the third beatitude, beati qui lugent; for it enables men to learn the evils to which they are bound."†

Many philosophers have remarked with Rhasis, that the finest wits and most generous spirits are before others obnoxious to melancholy: "qui sunt subtilis ingenii et multæ perspicacitatis de facile incidunt in melancholiam;" and one ancient author affirms that melancholy advanceth men's conceits more than any humour whatsoever.

The love of wisdom, indeed, is said in the unerring text, to dispel sadness like wine and music;‡ but yet we read in the same, that the heart of the wise is where is sadness. In fact, as St. Anselm remarks, "quamvis delectabiles et dulces sint sapientia et dilectio, tamen in hujus vitæ lubrico generant dolorem et amaritudinem aliquando: quæ quanto veriores et majores sunt, tanto hoc faciunt rarius, et tanto gravius."* Albert Durer's celebrated design representing melancholy personified, shows a woman surrounded with the instruments of science, and occupied with its problems. Such was that sage of whom the poet says,

———— "His aspirations
Have been beyond the dwellers of the earth,
And they have only taught him what we know,
That knowledge is not happiness, and science
But an exchange of ignorance for that
Which is another kind of ignorance."†

Yet, to the discerning and attentive eye, nature herself seemed to indicate mourning in characters that the wise could read. In some flowers, like that of the bean, Varro says, lugubrious letters are visible, and some suppose that it was on account of them the bean was forbidden food to the Pythagoreans. "Whither goest thou, grief?" say the Spaniards, "where I am wont;" and again they say, "when born I wept, and every day shows why."

"In the nations of the south," says Don Savedra, who could judge from long observation, "the men are melancholy and profound in penetrating the secrets of nature."‡ But so it is with man; and his noble nature, undaunted by the prospect of sorrow, impels him no less to contemplate; and as the poet says, "while the same honour ceases to belong to the flowers of the spring, and the moon shines not with one unchanging countenance, he fatigues his lesser mind with eternal councils."§ Hence, the rapid course of life afflicts the wise man more than others, "for who knows most, him loss of time most grieves." In the middle ages, the term sad was generally applied to every one who made profession of learning; for it was remembered then by all, that wisdom is not found in the land of those who live a sweet life.‖ Without any indication of a troubled mind, a student might expect to have been often designated as was Hamlet by his mother: "But look, where sadly the poor wretch comes reading." Painters would represent him making of one hand for his cheek a couch, with frequent sighs. Reading in the middle ages was not pursued as a light desultory amusement; it was the food of those thoughts that wander through eternity.

* Plato Gorgias. † De Serm. Dom. in monte. ‡ Eccles. XL. 20.

* S. Anselmi Epist. lib. XI. 50. † Manfred II. ‡ Christian Prince II. 380. § Hor. Carm. lib. II. 11. ‖ Job.

A French writer of great eminence has made the remark, that when nature bestows sublimity of genius, she accompanies it with that condition, "Be a great but an unhappy man." Religion herself held out no other prospect. "False prophets," says St. Jerome, "always promise sweet things, and please for a time. Truth is bitter, and they who preach it are filled with bitterness." In the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, the Pasch of the Lord is celebrated, and it is eaten with bitterness."* Hence the shallow and ignoble sentence that "it is better sometimes to rejoice in error than always to grieve on account of truth." There was observable also, it has been said, the mourning of love; which, as St. Anselm says, "like wisdom not unfrequently generates in the present life bitterness and sorrow." Plato said, that love and melancholy are near relations.† If one might venture to illustrate this theme, renewing the memory or custom of love-tuned song, I know indeed that full many piteous stories do remain from the period of these extraordinary ages when every aspiration of the human heart was often sanctified and pure. But it would be long and out of place to speak of those who, like Tancredie, had no other fault but love; which, by unadvised sight, had been

"Bred in the dangers of adventurous arms,
And nurs'd with griefs, with sorrows, woes, and harms."

Since, of such love, it is not fitting here to speak, let us turn to a more fruitful source of mourning during the ages of faith, which will enable us to penetrate far deeper than we have hitherto done into their spirit and genius; for as yet we have but merely touched, as it were, upon the surface, and seen nought but what the history of men at all times might be found to supply.

* Advers. Jovin. Lib. II.

† De Repub. Lib. IX.

CHAPTER III.

"O THOU Almighty Father! As angels of their will tender unto thee meet sacrifice, circling thy throne with loud hosannas; so may the offering of theirs be duly made to thee by saintly men on earth;" such was the prayer that rose incessantly to heaven wherever the Catholic Church had children, and these few words are sufficient to show with what spirit and conduct they regarded and received sorrow. The mourning of piety is a new and abundant theme, which to philosophers themselves, might be presented as one full of interest, and abounding in matter for observation and profound thought. Faith taught men the necessity for mourning, as a means of spiritual purification and of ascent to God. To the eye of faith the state of mourning was therefore a privileged and blessed state; and hence the priest, when about to celebrate the sacred mysteries, on taking the manipule uses this prayer: "Merear, Domine, portare manipulum fletus et doloris, ut cum exultatione recipiam mercedem laboris."

All writers of the spiritual life have shown, that those who are to be united to God must suffer many afflictions, internal as well as external, spiritual as well as sensible, in order that both parts may be perfectly purified; for, without such suffering and crosses, there cannot be the complete union and joy of the blessed.* "The perfect," says St. John of the Cross, "have to pass through the night of the senses, the night of the spirit, the night of the memory, and the night of the will, which four nights represent the four kinds of mortification which they must endure. Because they are accepted of God—temptation must prove them." How wondrously conformable to the dictates of Divine wisdom was that maxim of Pythagoras,† where he said that "conquerors and those on whom leaves are

* St. John of the Cross. The Ascent of Mount Carmel, the obscure night of the soul.

† Porphyrius de Vita Pythagoræ XXXI.

thrown are polluted." Hence, no doubt the phenomenon which has so often elicited the remark which is found in even the ancient poet, that "the wicked are sometimes more fortunate than the good."* What examples were beheld in the calamities which befel St. Louis, René of Anjou, Count Elzear de Sabran, St. Elizabeth, Henry VI. of England, many of the popes and other saintly personages during the middle ages. Those arms of the Braschi family, Boreas blowing on the rose, symbolical of the life of the holy Pope Pius VI., might be adopted as a general emblem of the lot of goodness in this perverse world. The history of St. Francis Xavier furnishes a memorable instance. The king of Japan, who was converted by the preaching of the saint, had enjoyed the utmost prosperity while an idolater. No sooner did he renounce idolatry, and embrace the Christian faith, than it pleased God to visit him with all kinds of calamities. Two months after his baptism, his subjects rose against him and drove him from his throne. When the Gentiles reproached him with having changed his religion, and said that this was the cause of his misfortunes, he made a vow at the foot of the altar to live and die a Christian; adding, "that if all Japan and all Europe, if the fathers of the society and the Pope himself were to renounce Jesus Christ that he would confess him to the last hour of his life; and that he would be always ready to shed his blood in testimony to his faith."†

Still more remarkable is the answer which St. Theresa made to a devout merchant from whom she had received an alms, and the events which followed in that man's life. "I have recommended you in my prayers as you desired," said she to him, "and it has been revealed to me, that your name is written in the book of life, and as a sign of the truth of what I say, you will never prosper again in your worldly affairs." So it turned out: his ships were successively wrecked and sunk; becoming unable to pay his debts, he was delivered from prison only through the esteem which his creditors entertained for his piety; and being thus stript of all worldly goods, but contented with the grace of God alone, he closed his days in the odour of sanctity; thus disproving too the testimony of the Greek poet when he said, that "the soul of the man who was once prosperous, when he falls into calamity, wanders over the past pleasures."‡

* Eurip. Helen. 1213.
† Bouhours, Vie de St. F. Xavier II. 230.
‡ Eurip. Troades, 640.

To facts of this kind, however, the holy fathers allude in words that denote how easy it was for men to misunderstand the phenomena. "The winds," say they, "rise upon this ocean; you behold the evil prospering and the good in distress. There is a temptation, there is a flood, and your soul saith, 'O God, God, is this thy justice that the wicked should prosper and that the good should be in distress?' And God will reply to you, 'Is this your faith? Is this what I promised to you, or is it for this that you are a Christian, that you should prosper in this world?'"

"Be not astonished," says Louis of Blois, "and murmur not against God. Refer to the scriptures; there you will see how the devil was heard, and the apostle not heard? In what manner were the demons heard? They sought leave to enter the swine, and leave was granted to them. The devil sought leave to tempt Job, and he received it. In what manner was the apostle not heard? Thrice he besought the Lord that the cause of his suffering might be taken from him; and his answer was, 'Sufficit tibi gratia mea, nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur.' He heard him whom he intended to condemn, and he heard not him whom he wished to save."*

As far as respects external calamities, reason itself can discern their utility. Heaven has many ways of conferring happiness, and adversity is one of them. This, no doubt, Pindar saw when he sung,

——— Πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ
Σὺν θεοῖς εὐπραγίας.†

"It is in the nature of things," says De Haller, "and all history attests it, that a too long enjoyment of the highest fortune contains in itself the seeds of destruction, that by the softness, the luxury, and the indifference which are its usual results, it ends in enervating the most vigorous races, and in extinguishing that force of soul, along with which all other goods of the earth are lost." If this was often true in reference even to the interests of the present life, much more frequently was it so with regard to the more important concern of the soul's health and condition for eternity. The deep sense which men entertained of this fact during the ages of faith, has given rise to a tone in their whole literature, which has often struck the modern readers, who are constrained to admire the imper-

* Ludovic. Blosii Tractat. in Ps. lxxxv.
† Olymp. VIII.

turbable resignation with which the most unforseen and dreadful calamities were endured. The page of history is often suddenly illuminated with bright examples of this kind, which seldom fail to charm even the most insensible: and certainly the contrast which is presented in this respect by our annals to the whole of heathen literature, must excite a surprise not unmixed with the highest pleasure. The ancient poets seem never to have conceived the idea of a spirit of resignation and sacrifice, which would soften and sanctify calamity. Hecuba becomes impious in her misfortune, and says, that to call upon the gods is to invoke evil allies, though it may have a certain form of propriety to appeal to them in misfortune.* In the poet's mind it was impossible that any feeling but that of the utmost horror could be excited in the breast of one who, having been the mother of Hector, might now in her misfortunes and subjection, be doomed to guard the keys of the gate, or to prepare food.† It is easy to see what an advantage the poet of the middle ages would have had here in following the common inspiration of religion. In fact, there is nothing more remarkable in their whole history and literature, than the astonishing change which Christianity had wrought in the hearts and understanding of men with regard to the contemplation or experience of misfortune. "When Fouquet's mother heard of the arrest of her son, she threw herself on her knees," says the Abbé de Choisy, "and raised up her hands to heaven. 'I thank you, O my God,' she cried, 'I have always prayed to you for his salvation, and lo, here is the way opened!'" Catharine, queen of England, used to say, that she would rather have adverse than prosperous fortune, for that the former never wanted consolation; whereas, in the latter, both mind and judgment were often wanting.

When the venerable Mother de Chantal came to Moulins, she had much conversation with the Duchess de Montmorency, who was there residing in the convent of the Visitation. The holy woman expressed her joy that the duchess should have made such good use of her misfortunes. "My misfortunes," replied Madame de Montmorency, "have not been the sole cause of my retreat: I have always felt an indifference for the world, even when I was at the court. My misfortunes found mo in this disposition, and I have received them as means granted by God, to enable me to fulfil the wish of my early youth, to live in retreat, unknown, and without other care, but that of my salvation. I have endeavoured to place myself in this state, and I have lived now for many years as you see me in this house, hoping that Heaven will have pity upon me."*

The chief of modern bards who, in tales of prose, without a rival stands, has chosen for matter of his song, the wisdom and peace of a blessed mourner contrasted with the sadness of one who judged with the world's mind, where he describes the meeting of Bruce and his royal sister, the Abbess Isabel, in her Convent of St. Bride:

"The Bruce survey'd the humble cell,
And this is thine, poor Isabel!
That pallet-couch, and naked wall,
For room of state, and bed of pall;
For costly robes and jewels rare,
A string of beads and zone of hair;
And for the trumpets sprightly call
To sport or banquet, grove or hall,
The bell's grim voice divides thy care,
'Twixt hours of penitence and prayer!"

The noble abbess consoles him respecting his past misfortunes, adding,

"And grieve not that on Pleasure's stream,
No more I drive in giddy dream,
For Heaven the erring pilot knew,
And from the gulph the vessel drew.
Tried me with judgments, stern and great,
My house's ruin, thy defeat,
Poor Nigel's death; till, tamed, I own
My hopes are fixed on heaven alone;
Nor e'er shall earthly prospects win
My heart to this vain world of sin."

Finally, she sends her reply to Lord Ronald, who knew not of her having taken the veil—

"This answer be to Ronald given:
The heart he asks is fix'd on heaven.
My love was like a summer-flower,
That withered in the wintry hour;
Born but of vanity and pride,
And with these sunny visions died.
Brother, for little space, farewell!
To other duties warns the bell."

Then follows the lament of the worldly heart—

"Lost to the world, King Robert said,
When he had left the royal maid—
Lost to the world, by lot severe—
Oh! what a gem lies buried here;
Nipp'd by misfortune's cruel frost,
The buds of fair affection lost."†

* Eurip. Troades, 473. † Ibid. 494.

* Marsollier, Vie de Mdme. Chantal II. 1810.
† Lord of the Isles, IV.

Would you observe the same resignation in the mourning of heroes? When the master of Santiago beheld his forces overwhelmed by the Moors on the mountains of Malaga, his cry was, "O, Lord of Hosts! from thy wrath do I fly, not from these infidels; they are but instruments in thy hands, to chastise us for our sins!" "This defeat," says one of the devout historians of Spain, "was to teach them, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but that God alone giveth the victory;" and Father Antonio Agapida asserts it to be a punishment for the avarice of the Spanish warriors, who were intent upon spoil. It is the same spirit in the Saxon Chronicle, where it describes the dreadful pestilence and famine which desolated England in the year 1087, concluding with this reflection. "Alas! how wretched and how rueful a time was there! Who is so hard-hearted as not to weep at such misfortunes? Yet such things happen for men's sins,—that they will not love God and justice." While recording the temper and views with which sufferings were borne by St. Louis, by Alfred, and by many other heroic and saintly kings of the middle ages, history is constrained to assume a tone of sanctity which is strangely at variance with its generally profane character. Sometimes the details are very attractive: as those relating to that affecting scene which was presented at the Council of Rheims, in which Pope Innocent presided, and before which St. Bernard preached. Philip, the eldest son of King Louis-le-Gros, had lately met with a tragic death by an accident; and the King was now proceeding to Rheims to have his second son crowned, but the loss of the former had overwhelmed him with affliction. The King, Queen, and young Prince, attended by the Abbot Suger, and by the whole court, arrived in that city on the 23rd of October. The next day, the King came to the Council, followed by a crowd of nobles, and leaning on the shoulder of Raoul, Count de Vermandois, Grand Senéchal of France, like a man oppressed with sadness; he mounted into the Pope's tribune, and after kissing his feet, sat down in a chair, which was a little lower than that of his Holiness. He spoke of the death of his son in few words, which drew tears from the eyes of all present; at every word he spake his tears flowed fast, and all the bitterness of his heart appeared in his countenance. The Pope replied before the Council—"Great King, you must raise your mind and all your thoughts to the King of kings, to adore his judgments, and receive with perfect submission the events of his Divine Providence. It is he who has placed the Crown of France upon your head; it is by his will that you command this noble and generous nation; but he requires you to believe that every thing occurs by his permission, for it is not a blind divinity which can be ignorant of any thing that passes here below; and though there are often great injustices, these events are always just on his part, and the effects either of his justice or of his mercy. You know, great Prince, that prosperity and adversity are the ordinary means which he employs in conducting his children; and this alternative, which he sheds on the whole course of our life, is an effect of his highest wisdom, in order that man may not attach himself to the figure of this world which passes away, lest, if he were always prosperous, he might forget that this is a place of exile, and that all our vows and desires should tend to the celestial Jerusalem. We have no secure dwelling in this world: we are only like travellers, who pass on, and who proceed to their country, which is Heaven. Then, all who have lived according to the spirit, and who have mortified their passions, will reign with God, in the possession of eternal happiness. Your son has been taken, while he was yet in simplicity and innocence; and the kingdom of heaven is particularly destined for those whom the corruption of the world hath not infected. Consider how David ceased to mourn as soon as his son was dead, and how he wisely submitted to the ordinance of Heaven. I conjure you, then, to moderate this excessive grief, and to banish this overwhelming sadness, which appears on your countenance, and which arises only from an affliction which is a little too human. Remember that Heaven has left you other sons. It is for you to console us strangers, driven from our country, and become, as it were, wanderers from land to land. You have already done so, in a manner worthy of your piety. You are the first of the Christian Princes to whom we are indebted for hospitality. May Heaven recompense you as you deserve, and crown you with an everlasting happiness, and a happy life, which will be no more subject to death, and a holy joy, which no sorrow shall ever more disturb." With these words, the Pope arose, and absolved the soul of the deceased Prince; and then the Council was adjourned till the next day. The King appeared consoled. The discourse of the Holy Father had made an impression on

his understanding and on his heart. He retired, in great peace, to the Abbey of St. Remy, where he had taken up his lodging.

The sages of the cloister kept men mindful of the end for which all human felicity is chequered with sorrow. I remember once, while spending some days in a certain monastery, where I was received with wondrous benignity, that one venerable Father, of great age, used to come to my chamber every evening, when he would converse with me for a short time. "Our sovereign," he said to me one night, "who is beloved by all his subjects as a pious, just, and amiable prince, has no son. Ah! see how the condition of man, in his best estate, has always some dark side, in order to remind him that his true country is not in this world. Again, with respect to ourselves, what a happy land is our beloved country—what an industrious innocent people! During thirty-seven years that I have lived in this forest, no deed of violence has ever been committed. What a combination of blessings do we enjoy? A wise, humane government; no national debt; no want of freedom; a delicious climate; a fertile soil! Such is our state to-day; but when our sovereign dies,—dies without an heir,—what is to be our fate? This only we know for certain, that bliss may not remain long with mortals, that here we have no abiding home, that there is nothing secure—nothing durable." To cite instances of misfortune having been the means of conferring great spiritual good, would be an unnecessary task; but yet there is one example in the history of France so remarkable, so associated with themes that should be dear and precious, that I cannot pass on without first attending to it. Pélisson, confined in a dungeon in the Bastile, applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, and became convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion. He, and La Fontaine, who was wholly depending upon patronage, were the two young men who came forward to defend Fouquet, the moment he was thrown into prison and proscribed, when all his creatures and all the courtiers abandoned him. Pélisson, from the Bastile, sent forth Discourses in his favour, which have been compared with those of Cicero: he left nothing untried to help his friend—"le premier entre les généreux." Poetry, eloquence, glory, religion, even menaces, were employed to move the king. Perhaps, if it were lawful to indulge in such speculations, it was for this noble virtue, that Pélisson was rewarded by conversion, and La Fontaine by the gift of repentance. The former, from this happy moment, abandoned his former trivial compositions, and wrote no more, excepting for God and for his Church. As he had neither paper, pens, nor ink, he used to cut off little pieces of the lead casement, with which he used to write down his thoughts. While in prison, many learned persons dedicated their works to him. Nothing could disturb the tranquillity of his soul, for mourning had enabled him to view every object from the height of faith. One of his Odes was written during a great storm, in the Bastile:—"Rude and terrible blast, thou only assaultest my prison; while on the sea, how much greater cause of fear! Celestial faith, whose ardour elevates and inflames me; thou teachest me that this weak body is nothing but the dwelling of my soul. Others may well fear a cruel shipwreck. Rude and terrible blast, thou only assaultest my prison." Another Ode is addressed to the sun: "I behold thee, O Sun! advancing with royal splendour; but another object, greater than thee, occupies all my thoughts: I feel it; it is in my heart: before it, thy splendid beams grow pale, and thy light resembles a shadow. By it I live; by it thou runnest thy course, and bringest night and day. Depart, O Sun! whither thou art summoned; I have no regard, no discourse, excepting for its immortal light." Again:—"Rise, my soul, above the earth, and above the pride of profane mortals. Contemplate the saints, whose long fervour, imitating the labour of the heavenly Saviour, sustains their spirit with celestial hopes." Again:—"The example of Godean has inspired me with the desire of consecrating my genius, and my voice to God. I behold a thousand learned men, whose verses have power to reign over kings, and to give to their names a deathless renown. Mortals, who possess this precious gift, too long have ye flattered the princes of the earth; begin, at length, to praise the Monarch of Heaven." Again:—"Sweet nightingales, who return every year to sing in these groves, consecrate your charming voices to the glory of God, who has endowed you with them. Bright flowers of the fresh season! do not present yourselves to my sight—you render the earth too lovely: I wish to love only heaven." Again:—"Double bars, with bolts unnumbered—triple gates, strongly locked, to souls truly wicked, you represent hell!—but to innocent souls, you are only wood, stone, and iron." Upon his deliverance from the Bastile, after some delay, in consequence of

hearing of the intended promotion which awaited him, he, at length, embraced the Catholic religion, in the subterraneous church of Chartres, in the year 1670. The same day, he wrote an affecting letter to the King; and on the following, retired to the Abbey of La Trappe, and remained there during ten days, leading the life of a holy anchorite: his piety affected every beholder. Ever afterwards, he was in habits of hearing mass daily,—of receiving the communion on all festivals,—of making frequent retreats,—of delivering some prisoners every year: he was the father of orphans, and the protector of the weak: he made considerable presents to several churches, chiefly to mark his veneration for the mystery of the eucharist. Amongst others, he gave a silver lamp, weighing two thousand pounds, to the Sisters of the Visitation, to burn night and day before the blessed sacrament. "Happy captivity!" cried Fenelon, alluding to him in the discourse which he pronounced on entering the French Academy, "Happy captivity! salutary bonds! which reduced, under the yoke of faith, this mind, too long independent. During this period of leisure, he sought in tradition for arms to combat truth; but truth conquered him, and revealed itself to his soul, with all its charms. He left his prison, honoured with the esteem and graces of his King; but, what is much more, he left it, being already in his heart a humble child of the Church."*

Of the necessity for mourning in the spiritual life, men were well convinced in the ages of faith; but its source was far deeper and more mysterious than the mere present utility which resulted from it to the soul. "Augustin and Jerome belong to these latter ages of the world," says a philosopher, in casting a glance over the history of the human mind. "One discovers in them an order of ideas, and a manner of thinking, unknown to antiquity. Christianity has made a chord to vibrate in their hearts which till then had been mute. It has created men of revery, of sadness, of disgust, of restlessness, who have no refuge but in eternity."—"The present life is sweet, and full of much pleasure; yet not to all men, but to those only who are attached to it." It is St. Chrysostom who speaks thus:—"For if any one were to look up to heaven, and contemplate what wondrous things are there, immediately he would despise this world, and esteem it of no value. The beauty of bodies, so long as no greater beauty is discerned, excites admiration; but if any thing more excellent were to appear, the former would be despised. And if we should wish to behold that beauty, and to consider the form of the celestial kingdom, we should thenceforth be loosed from the bonds of this world."* "O quam sordet terra," cries a great Saint, "quando cœlum aspicio!" And so says St. Augustin, after conversing with his mother, Monica, at Ostia, on the beatitude of the saints in Heaven, "Mundus iste nobis viluerat cum omnibus delectationibus suis."—"The bonds of this world," he says, in another place, "have a true asperity and a false sweetness, a sure grief, an uncertain pleasure, hard labour, timid rest, things full of misery, and a hope void of happiness."† Thus, "Not alone the creature groaneth and travelleth in pain, but also they who have the first fruits of the Spirit groan within themselves, expecting the adoption of the sons of God;"‡ "He who does not mourn as a stranger," says St. Augustin, "will never rejoice as a citizen."§ The holy Church, in her prayer to God, says, that his people labour under continual tribulations.|| Let us proceed to inquire what were these tribulations which faith recognised as the legitimate source of a mourning that is blessed. In the first place then, we are told, by writers of the middle ages, that when the soul is awakened to a sense of spiritual things, the mere contemplation of its fallen state is a worthy cause for sorrow and for profound mourning. Hear the words of St. Vincentius, in his celebrated tract on the contemplation of God:—"O Lord! thou art my God and my Lord; and I have never seen thee. Thou hast made and restored me, and all that I possess of good, thou hast granted to me, and I have not yet known thee. For seeing thee I was created, and I have not fulfilled that for which I was created. O, miserable lot of man, when he lost that for which he was created! O, hard and dire calamity! Alas! what lost he, and what found he? What departed, and what remained? He lost beatitude, for which he was made; and he found misery, for which he was not made. That departed, without

* He wrote "Réflexions sur les Différends de la Religion," which Leibnitz pronounced an admirable work; also, "Traité de l'Eucharistie," in which Bossuet said, "That charity was joined to truth, and that unction was added to light: it contained prayers, which he had composed for use during mass; which are so fine, that Father Judde can find none more suitable to insert in his book of instructions." Tom. III., 330.

* Hom. CC. in Joan. † Epist. 30.
‡ Rom. viii. § Tract. in Ps. 148.
|| 3d feria, Fourth Week in Lent.

which nothing is happy; and that remained, which, of itself, is only wretchedness. Man used to eat the bread of angels, for which he now hungers; and now he eats the bread of sorrow, of which he once knew nothing. Alas! the common grief of men, the universal woe of the children of Adam! Driven from their sweet country, from the pleasant light, from the vision of God, from the bliss of immortality into darkness, and the bitterness and horror of death, amerced of heaven, and from eternal splendours flung."* Hear, again, how St. Bernard speaks, in his first Sermon on the Epiphany:—"The benignity and humanity of God our Saviour hath appeared, thanks be to God, by whom thus abounds our consolation in this pilgrimage, in this exile, in this misery. For this end we are the more careful often to admonish you that you may never forget how you are pilgrims, far removed from your country, driven from your inheritance; for, whoever does not know desolation, cannot acknowledge comfort; whoever is ignorant that consolation is necessary, it remains that he be left without the grace of God. Hence it is that men, who are engaged in the occupations and crimes of the world, while they do not perceive their misery, do not look for mercy. But you, to whom it hath not been said in vain, 'Be still, and see how sweet is the Lord;' and of whom the same Prophet says, 'He will announce the virtue of his works to his people,'—you, I say, whom secular affairs do not detain, are able to know what is spiritual consolation: 'Hearken! you who have known exile, because assistance is come from Heaven: for the benignity and humanity of God our Saviour hath appeared.'"—"There is a certain kind of tribulation," says Louis of Blois, "which we ought to seek and find; that which results from remembering that we are not as yet with God, that we are surrounded with temptations, that we cannot be without fear. He who does not experience this tribulation of his pilgrimage, thinks not about returning to his country."† "The weight of sin," says a holy friar of the Seraphic Order of St. Francis, "is only felt when it is out of its centre. Water and earth are heavy; and yet, when they are in their proper place, they are both without weight. Thus it is with sinners. They are as joyous as if they had never done any thing but served God, and led a life of innocence. The reason is, that sin reposes in them as in its proper element; but let them forsake it, and then they will soon discover that its weight is intolerable."* Reason itself can discern this, as may be seen with Seneca, who puts this difference between the sickness of the body and that of the mind; that with respect to sickness of body, the greater it is the more painful; but in diseases of the mind, the greater they are, the less they are felt and complained of.† Then, indeed, deceitful is the calm, so deceitful the silence, that even a heathen philosopher says, that the guardian angels speak not to all souls; for when men struggle in the waves of the sea, those on the shore behold in silence as many as are at a distance from the land irremediably lost, but run and succour, with their hands and with their cries, as many as are approaching the land; so these ministering spirits suffer in silence such as are sinking afar off in the flood of wickedness, but sustain and guide to a happy port those who are struggling to practise virtue.—That the first recovery from sin is attended by a sense of sorrow, is shown by St. Bernard, in language of wondrous sublimity:—"Lazarus is dead four days, and now stinketh. This answereth," he continues, "to the state of sinners. The first day is that in which we die by sin, and are, as it were, buried in our consciences; the second represents that temptation of evil habits, and those fiery darts of the devil, which can scarcely be extinguished; the third is, while we meditate on our past years, in bitterness of heart, and yet labour not so much to avoid future sins, as we deplore what we have already committed. These are days of burial, days of clouds and darkness, days of sorrow and bitterness. Next follows the day of shame, not unlike the other three, when the wretched soul is covered with horrible confusion, while it considers what it hath lost, and revolves black images of sins before the eyes of its heart. In this state the soul dissembles nothing, but judges and aggravates all things, spares not itself, but is its own stern judge. Nevertheless, Lazarus, come forth! Delay no longer in this abomination, in this despair, which is like putrefaction; Lazarus come forth! abyss calls upon abyss. The abyss of light and mercy upon the abyss of misery and darkness. Lazarus, come forth!"‡ In no stage of the spiritual life was the mourning

* Tract. S. Vincentii ad contempl. Deum.
† Tractat. in Ps. 49.

* Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, 136. † In Sentent.
‡ In Assumptione B. Mariæ, Serm. IV.

consequent npon the sense of sin excluded. Thus, Paschasins Radbert mentions the soliloqny of his friend, the holy abbot, Wala, who said, on one occasion, "Why does he appear so sorrowful, as he walks alone? Because he is with himself, and he discerns what is within himself; and therefore he has no joy excepting what springs from hope."*

The infant new horn is not exempt from sin. "Hence," says Origen, "we find, in the sacred history, no personage of distinguished sanctity, who regarded the day of his birth as a day of festival and rejoicing."† It was to complete the triumph of a birthday feast, that the holy John the Baptist was martyred.‡ Birth-days were not celebrated in the middle ages, bnt men rejoiced on the festival of their respective patrons. The Church guided them in this judgment, for she did not rejoice on the day of man's creation, which is the sixth. It soon became unhappy; "But admire the mystery," adds Bossuet: "the day when the first man, Adam, was created, is the same as that on which the new man, the new Adam, died npon the cross. It is, therefore, for the Church, a day of fasting and of mourning—a day which is followed by the sad repose of Jesus Christ in the sepulchre, and which, nevertheless, is full of consolation, by hope of a future resurrection." The Church does not even celebrate the nativity of the saiuts. "What is this, brethren?" asks St. Augustin, alluding to St. Cyprian. "We know not when this saiut was born, and yet we celebrate his birth on this day, which was the day of his passion. But even if we did know the day of his birth, we would not celebrate it, for on that day he was horn in sin." These sentiments were universally adopted during the ages of faith. "The day of birth," says Michael Angelo, in a letter to Vasari, "ought not to be celebrated with festivals; they should be kept for the death of the man who has lived virtuously."

Protestantism was a soil in which every weed or plant of the ancient heathen life was able to revive and strike root, precisely because the supernatural influence of faith was withdrawn, and the observance of birth-days in the ancient style, on the anniversary of which men would render honours to Bacchus, like the Pagans,§ furnishes a remarkable example. Sometimes they would celebrate their birth-days as a religious festival. Heriot, who founded a hospital at Edinburgh, in the statutes of his foundation ordered his birth-day to be kept solemnly, and himself to be on that day commemorated in his chapel; and the minister who officiated was to receive five pounds and a bible, which day the Presbyterians continued to celebrate, though they had abolished Christ's birth-day, and the festivals of God's saints. With the moderns, the associations of the natural were stronger than those of the supernatural life, or rather the latter were entirely abandoned: and here we shall do well to remark the difference in regard to real cheerfulness between the festivities of the middle ages, and those of our times: the former were designed to commemorate a glorious and happy triumph, in which no image was seen but what had connection with life, and everlasting gladness; the latter to please men whose hopes extend not beyond the present life, where they place all their happiness, have for subject of rejoicing, an event which is fraught with the gloomy idea of change, of departed youth, and of by-gone years, and of death approaching with rapid step, beyond which this pompous festivity of nature has nothing to promise. So true is it, that even the rejoicings of the world are full of its sadness and bitterness. Bnt it was not only a sense of their own condition that could inspire men of spiritual life with mourning; a regard for the eternal lot of other men, and of hnmanity in general, wonld have condnced to it no less. "Consider the multitude and the greatness of the miseries which oppress children," says St. Augustin, "and how the first years of their life are full of vanity and suffering, illnsions, and fear. Then when they grow up, and begin to serve God, error tempts them to their seduction; labour and sorrow tempt to other discouragement; concupiscence tempts them to inflame their passions; pride tempts them to exalt themselves; and who can find words to represent the various pains which belonged to the yoke of the children of Adam;"* Hence another source of mourning to the just, in the consideration of the evils which are in the world, and of the obstacles which the perverse wills of men present to the beneficent designs of God. "Signa tan in frontibus virorum lngentinm," says Ezechiel. "See how good it is to monrn for evils," adds St. Odo, of Cluny, "since it makes men worthy of re-

* Vita ejus apud Mabill. Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæcul. IV., Pars I.

† Hom. Levit. viii. 3.

‡ Matt. xiv. 6.

§ Eurip. Io, 1137.

* S. Augustini cont. Julian. Lib. IV. 16.

ceiving the stigmata of the cross.*" "The soul of a true Christian," says Louis of Blois, "ought, after the example of Jesus Christ, to feel a profound sadness in considering the great number of men who not only do not honour God, but whose impiety despises him, and who lose themselves by sin. How is it possible without grief to behold the ruin of such noble creatures?"†

———— "O ye misguided souls!
Infatuate, who from such a good estrange
Your hearts, and bend your gaze on vanity,
Alas for you!"‡

And here I am tempted to borrow a similitude from history, which may place this matter in a stronger light than could be derived from mere discourse of reason; for what must have been the desolation of those few Syracusans, who, as Thucydides relates, believed Hermocrates, and feared for the future, when all the rest of the people were divided, some affirming that the Athenians would in no manner come, and that what was said could not be true; and others, that if they did come it would be to their own greater loss; and others, wholly despising the news, turned the matter to a jest and laughter.§ We have here an emblem of what passes in the world at all times with regard to the predicted vengeance of Heaven; and can it be strange that the insensibility of the majority of men, should fill the hearts of the prudent with mourning and dismay? How can they not mourn when they behold men at variance with the truth, who, as Dante says,—

"Dream, though their eyes be open; reckless some
Of error: others well aware they err,
To whom more guilt and shame are justly due.
Each the known track of sage philosophy
Deserts, and has a bye-way of his own:
So much the restless eagerness to shine
And love of singularity prevail."‖

Alas, in every age the desolation caused by heresy has afflicted the hearts of the faithful. In the fifth century, we are told that so great and innumerable were the horrors of heresy, that not only it was difficult to enumerate, but that it was disgusting to name them. The subtlety of diabolic fraud had so immerged them in the sense of those who perish, that even heretics believed that they had their heretics. Thus men abandoned apostolical tradition, and followed masters of perfidy.* If this were true in the fifth age, what must have been the mourning in that which beheld the commencement of the last great schism, when Christ's holy Church, her divine faith, and her tremendous mysteries, were in so many places "disglorified, blasphemed, and had in scorn by the rebellious rout amidst their wine?" "Truly," says the mild and humble Louis of Blois, "when I consider the arrogance and impiety of the heretics of our age, I can scarcely refrain from tears: for they will not obey the church; they refuse to be subject to its superiors; they esteem as nothing the primacy of the chief Pontiff, who is the supreme vicar of Christ; they petulantly insult the Apostolic See: followers of a monstrous confusion, and revilers of the divine ordination, they wish the visible Church to be without a visible head on earth; they abolish and deride the salutary sacramental confession; heaps of blasphemies against the sacred eucharist, that fountain of divine love and of all good, and against that celestial sacrifice of the mass, I say against that mystery of ineffable dignity, they produce with a barbaric and pagan irreverence."†

To make no mention as yet of those persecutions, which must be spoken of in reference to a different beatitude from what we are now considering, sorrow was unavoidable on a view of the injury inflicted on the Church by the conduct of false disciples. Alas! there has been no age in which this was not a fruitful source of mourning to the just. "We have internal as well as external combats," says St. Boniface, writing to the Bishop Daniel, describing his missionary labours in Saxony, "as when some priest or deacon of the Church departs from the faith and from truth. Tunc deinde prorumpit cum paganis in contumelias filiorum Ecclesiæ, et est obstaculum horrendum evangelio gloriæ Christi."‡ St. Francis Xavier found that the greatest obstacle to the establishment of the faith in the great kingdoms of Asia, came from the Christians themselves—those false, worldly-wise Christians, who protest against fanaticism.§ The love of gain induced some of the richest Portuguese merchants at Sancian to put a stop to the intended voyage of St. Francis

* S. Odonis Collat. Lib. II. Bibliothec. Cluniac.
† Instit. Spiritual. cap. VI.
‡ Dante Parad. IX.
§ Lib. VI. 35.
‖ Parad. XXIX.

* Consultatio Zachæi Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi, Lib. XI. cap. 11. Apud Dacherii Spicileg. tom. X.
† Ludovic. Blosii Collyr. Hæreticorum, Lib. II. cap. I.
‡ S. Bonif. Mart. et Archiep. Epist. III.
§ Bouhours, Vie de S. F. X. I. 138.

Xavier to China—for they said that no douht the governor of Canton would revenge his boldness npon them hy seizing their ships and goods.* Wherever there was eminent piety and service, there was reason to expect the enmity and attacks of men professing virtue, who would argue upon the dangers of excess of zeal. A fearful example of this fact is attested on the sides of the Rocky Hall, which served for refectory to the monks of St. Benedict at San Cosimato, where is painted the miraculous preservation of the blessed Father St. Benedict from poison. There are always persons to whom the common dictates of piety seem like the ravings of fanaticism. Catherine de Medicis termed it higotry to desire that the theatres should be closed in Lent.† Plato says that if a man judges well, he will ho of opinion that there are few men very good or very wicked, *τοὺς δὲ μεταξὺ πλείστους.*‡ No douht, this continued to be the case even in happier times; and it is no less certain, that from those persons who profess and desire to remain in a medium state, the most afflicting embarrassments proceed, which present obstacles to the advancement of truth, the extension of happiness, and the greater glory of God. According to the circumstances of men does the enemy lay his snares; and thus he labours to inspire those who are within the pale,—where none perish hy a false helief, —with a secret hate and disrelish for their own hrethren, and with a corresponding inclination to esteem their adversaries. St. Peter the Venerahle, the fourth ahbot of Cluny, was accused hy some of the monks of Clairvaux of not following the rule to which he was bonnd,—of composing laws himself, and of casting aside the precepts of the Fathers,—of hreaking the vows which he had made to St. Benedict, and of despising the anthority of Bishops in the government of his ahbey,—of heing too severe, and too merciful.§ Without looking farther into this dark volume, methinks here was enough to make many say with Hesiod, that it wonld he hetter to die than to havo lived to know of such things.

Moreover, if we reflect upon the influence of the Catholic religion upon the human mind, and upon the new relation in which it places men with regard to the events and circumstances of the world, we shall easily understand why Catholics, even during the ages of greatest faith, should have mourned more than other men: for, being imhued hy their divine religion with the principles and the love of order, they necessarily feel more intensely the disorders introduced hy sin into human society. Having the knowledge of truth, the prevalence of error,—which they know to be such,—must unavoidahly fill them with more affliction; and having to maintain positive principles, which are unceasingly attacked hy the power of darkness, their life, in an intellectual as well as in a moral sense, hecomes a continued comhat. The moderns, on the other hand, from being imhued with no principles or love of order, are conseqnently indifferent to the reign of confusion and disorder. Having no certain apprehension of truth, they are not grieved at the support which is given to a thousand errors, all of which, for any thing they know to the contrary, may he truths, since, from their own highest authority, there may he always an appeal to the suggestions of every man's own mind: and, having no decided ground to maintain, it matters little to them what principles men choose to attack, for they feel an interest in none. They can immediately shift their position as an opponent advances, for they place their glory in helieving that there may he eqnal truth in opposite systems,—so they stretch out their hands to all fraternal nullities, and lay claim to the favour of all men alike. Humanly speaking, therefore, they have fewer intellectual canses for mourning than those of the faithful fold; who cannot hut feel disorder and recognise error, and stand to meet the enemy, whose momentary victories they can never celehrate as their own. If to this consideration we add the effects of the new relation in which Catholicism places many men with regard to the circumstances of the world, we shall discern still further reason for the mourning of the just. Ah! how must he mourn, in lands which heresy has devastated, whose eyes are suddenly awakened to the divine light of heavenly truth, enabling him to judge rightly for the first timo of the character of past events, which before, perhaps, had been the theme of his pride and rejoicing. When led hy grace divine to hear the old instructors, their sanctity so wins npon him, that while kings and penal laws pursue them, he mixes his tears with theirs, and has thence no desire left on earth hut still to succour them. What must be his hitterness, to whom the accumulated woes and horrors of more than three centuries are presented suddenly, in

* Id. II. 8.
† Journal de Hen. III. 3. p. 180.
‡ Phædo.
§ S. Pet. Ven. Epist. Lib. I. 28.

all their nakedness and terror! In an instant, all that ideal of beauty and excellence, which his mind had so long nourished, perishes, and he beholds in its place revealed the secrets of Heaven's vengeance. "Wretched man!" with hand against his breast he cries, "in what blindness hast thou hitherto lived! The friends and martyrs of God thou didst esteem fools, and their life and death without honour; the cruel persecutors, the unjust judges, the base and hypocritical ministers of tyranny, have had all thy esteem: the sorrows of the just have been unknown to thee; their holy discipline thou didst despise. Alas! thou hast misconstrued every thing. Who then can wonder at thy tears and desolation? the burden of many ages on thee light at once, by thy retrospect reviving to torment thee with the thought that they have been."

With regard to themselves, too assuredly such men are not long in discovering, that there is a woe reserved which will affect them personally in the nearest and dearest affections of their heart; for, from the hour that they declare openly for the Church of Christ in opposition to the profane city and to the innumerable sects of false religions which are made subservient to its interests, calumny, suspicion deep, and hatred, will be directed against them. They are but just converted; and see already how their ancient friend, perhaps their brother, doth begin to make them strangers to his looks of love. "Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis," we may hear them mournfully sing; "et peregrinus filiis matris meæ."* There will not be wanting, perhaps, even in the circle of those who once appeared most to esteem them, persons grave and seeming holy, who will traduce them in the minds of men,

"Blighting their life in best of its career,
Branding their thoughts as things to shun and fear."

Moreover, to Catholics, who desire that the glory of the Creator, should be extended over the whole earth, and who feel for the calamities of the most distant members of the city of God as intensely as for those of the persons nearest to them, the course of human events of itself presents a more tragic and melancholy aspect than to inconsiderate and selfish men, who care for nothing but what immediately concerns their own interest. What an affecting description do we find in the chronicles of the middle ages, of the mourning in which all Europe was plunged, whenever any calamitous intelligence came from the East! It was in the reign of Henry VI. that the news arrived at Crowland Abbey of the fall of Constantinople, that most celebrated Christian city. "Woe to us Christians who have sinned," exclaims upon this occasion the monk of Crowland. "Why, O Lord, were we born to behold with weeping eyes the desolation of our people and the affliction of our sacred religion? The patriarchal seats, worthy of such veneration,—Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem,—are oppressed with the yoke of slavery or occupied by Saracens and Turks. Christianity is reduced as if into an angle of the world!"* The fall of Jerusalem, the profanation of the holy city, the loss of the holy sepulchre, the sufferings of the chivalry of Palestine, the calamities to which all the Christians of the East would be subject,—these were reflections which turned into houses of mourning every castle and every cottage in France and England. "Vox turturis, vox doloris et gemitus fines Christianorum usque ad mundi ultima lamentabili novitate rumoris perculit," says Godfrey the monk.† When to this common grief was added the pastoral solicitude for the Church, the mourning exceeded the endurance of mortals. Pope Urban III. died of grief on hearing at Ferrara of the fall of Jerusalem. Nicholas V. never recovered from the melancholy which seized him on hearing of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; and Clement IX. died of grief in consequence of the capture of Candia by the infidels.

But we have not yet glanced at the most mysterious and yet most general cause for the mourning of the devout heart during the ages of faith. The master of the sentences says of holy men, "that in contemplating the great event of the death of Christ, they both rejoice and mourn. 'De eodem ergo lætabantur et tristabantur.'"‡

"Religion," says a philosopher, "involves infinite mourning. In order to love God, (he means not with love of preference, but with affection) he must require help. How wondrously is this problem solved in Christianity!"§ Hear how St.

* Psalm lxviii.

* Hist. Croylandensis, 529, in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptor. Tom I.
† Godefrid. Monach. ap. Freher. Script. Tom. I. p. 250.
‡ Petri Lomb. Lib. I. Distinct. XLVIII.
§ Novalis Schriften II. 305.

Theresa speaks: "The pains of death have encompassed me," said the royal prophet, speaking in the name of Christ, "O what a dreadful evil is sin, when it can cause such pain and even death to a God! Christians now you are called upon to fight in defence of your King. Now you must follow him in this great desertion. There remains to him but a very small number of subjects, and the crowd follows the standard of Satan; and some who wish to be styled his friends in public, betray him in secret, and there is hardly any one left in whom he can perfectly confide! O thou only true friend, what ingratitude in him who betrays thee! O ye who are true Christians weep with your God: the tears which he shed were not for Lazarus alone; but also for all those whom he foresaw would refuse to rise when he should cry to them with a loud voice commanding them to come forth from the tomb."* Here then was a source of mourning in comparison with which all other afflictions were unworthy of mention; for,

——— "Upon such a shrine,
What are our petty griefs? Let no man number his."

"Suffer me to be an imitator of the passion of my God," says St. Ignatius the Martyr in his epistle to the Romans. What an amazing and sublime rule is that which St. Bonaventura proposes as the first fruit of meditating on the passion of Christ, that the highest and most perfect religion, the rule of all perfection of life and virtue, consists in imitating the passion and death of Christ, and endeavouring to be conformable to him in all his sufferings.† "Abhorreo videre cor meum non vulneratum," saith he, "cum videam te Salvatorem sic pro me vilissimæ cruci affixum. Nolo enim, Domine, sine vulnere vivere, quia te video vulneratum."‡

So the Church prays, "that we who celebrate the mysteries of our Lord's passion may imitate what we commemorate."§ "The ascent of the soul by wisdom from the passion is in this manner," says St. Bonaventura, "when a man considers that most blessed passion which I am not worthy to name, in which He of almighty power was trampled upon for us, He of infinite wisdom, treated as a fool, and He, the best and highest, filled with bitterness and condemned to a shameful death, from this the mind rises to an admiration of such divine condescension and benignity; and then, when it masticates that passion of its Lord Jesus, all the ardour of its love begins to be directed towards him: it feels a taste of a certain ineffable sweetness, and its appetite, is, as it were, appeased with bitterness. The whole interior of man is thus alienated from itself, and rests in Christ. O mira et a sæculis res inaudita! In ineffabili amaritudine, dulcor indicibilis reperitur.* Nay," continues this seraphic doctor, "in mourning, men fulfil all the virtues to which beatitude is promised."— "the splendour of the beatitudes shines forth in the blessed passion of our Lord, which is properly their fountain and origin. For who is poor in spirit unless Christ naked upon the cross? Who is meek unless he who was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and who, as a lamb, opened not his mouth? Who mourns, unless he who, with a great cry and tears, offered up supplications for his enemies, who lamented for our sins, and had compassion on our miseries? Who hungered and thirsted after justice unless Christ upon the cross, satisfying for our sins and thirsting after the salvation of souls? Who is merciful unless that Samaritan who bore our infirmities upon his own body? Where is cleanness of heart seen unless in him who cleansed our hearts with his precious blood? Who is pacific, unless he who is our peace, and hath reconciled us to God in his blood? Who suffers persecution for sake of justice, unless he who was crucified by the Jews, against whom men blasphemed and bore lying testimony?"†

The writers of the middle ages say, "that the heart which loves God is overwhelmed with affliction at the thought of having ever preferred the vain joys of the world to the sweetness of present sorrow, that it mourns and despises itself for having ceased to mourn, that it mourns for having left the cross to go to the house of merriment. True," say they, "our sweet adorable Lord went to grace with his presence the marriage feast: he would even contribute to its hilarity and assist the poverty of the bridegroom; but all the while he knew that he himself was advancing to his passion; that his repose was to be the bloody cross, and his feast the vinegar and gall. O divine Jesus!

* Exclamat. X.
† S. Bonaventur. Stimul. Amoris, Pars I. cap. 4.
‡ Id. cap. 2.
§ Secret. 2d Septemb.

* Stim. Amoris, Pars I. cap. 7.
† Id. cap. 8.

how hard is it for one who loves thee to seek for joy. It is permitted him. Yes, thou smilest upon his youth and biddest him be happy and holy; hnt ah! he would follow thee to that dread garden where thou wert betrayed, he would follow thee to weep and knock the breast, and to kiss thy bleeding wounds; he would remain at thy sepulchre weeping with the holy women. My sweet adorable Saviour is in agony, and do yon hid me join the ront of revellers? he is betrayed and condemned, and do you hid me rejoice with the world which rejected him? O no; better is it to remain apart and pour forth pitying tears with holy Mary, the queen of heaven and mistress of the world, who stood by the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, full of sadness! Happy senses of the blessed Virgin Mary," exclaims the Church, "which, without dying, deserved the palm of martyrdom beneath the cross of our Lord."* Ah suffer me to monrn with her, tear me not away from this cross, from this tomb:

> "Eia mater, fons amoris, me sentire vim doloris:
> Fac ut tecum lugeam.
> Fac me vere tecum flere, crucifixo condolere
> Donec ego vixero."

Wounded with these strokes, inebriated with this blood, may I be guarded hy the cross, and delivered hy the death of Christ.

"Perish the joys that would separate me from those who mourn; perish the honours, the triumph that would require smiles not tears, rejoicing, not mourning

* Commun. fest. of the 7 doloun.

Ah, for a little while I was enticed to join the mirthful crew, and my soul was filled with a different kind of bitterness. It seemed as if I had been condemned to mourn no more with the jnst, condemned never more to make one of those who sing the pathetic "stabat mater," the "inviolata," or "salve Regina," or "vexilla Regis," and that seemed equivalent to the sadness and the whole weight of sin and death. O with what transport did I hail my first sweet returning tears; and how was my spirit dissolved in an ecstasy of delight, when I found that I might become again a mourner, and lose the memory of ungrateful joy. Flow fast my tears, flow fast for my having wished to banish ye, for my having forgotten and betrayed my infant Saviour, my despised Saviour, my crucified Saviour. What joy is comparable to the sweetness of these tears? Certainly not the world's joy; not for all that it can offer would I ever again exchange them. Only Paradise, only the hlessed face of Christ, only the ineffahle beatific vision of God in his eternal glory can make my soul forget them." They are the expressions of mourners, but the foretaste of heaven; belonging to earth, but never to be wiped from the eyes of those who aspire after innocence, till the day of glory comes, that day of joy which shall never end.

Here we are naturally directed to inquire respecting those penitential exercises of which we find such repeated mention in the history of the ages of faith; for we must already have touched at the source from which they sprung, and this is a subject which belongs intimately to the history of ancient manners.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT the spirit of mortification, of self-sacrifice, and of penance belonged to the mourning of the faithful, is manifest from what has been already seen respecting the order of their life and the natural desire of their hearts; but independent of incidental causes, it was of necessity characteristic of the Christian discipline, in consequence of the express requisition of God, and of the positive advantages which resulted from it in the progress to spiritual perfection. The words of Christ admitted of no exceptions, "Abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam quotidie."* "What is the question," asks Tertullian, "you are anxious to know—if your penance will be useful to you or not before God? What does it matter? God commands you to do it; is not that enough to oblige you to obey him? When there should be nothing but the respect which is due to his authority, he deserves that you should have regard to him in preference to your own utility."† The command is without exception. The vessel of election was not dispensed from this law, and hence we read "Castigo corpus meum."‡ David who sinned had no escape, though he was the man after God's own heart. It was penance which rendered him so, as St. Ambrose intimates. "Peccavit David," says he, "quod solent Reges: sed pœnitentiam gessit, flevit, ingemuit, quod non solent Reges."§ Cause some find for doubt in that the Pagans have been known to practise austerities with the view of appeasing their deities; but reason and tradition have enabled men in all ages to discern some truths, and if the consent of philosophers were a proof against a practice or a doctrine, there would be few points of Christian discipline or faith secure. Besides there is a wide distinction to be observed here. There have been superstitions among the heathens, which induced their votaries to practise mortifications beyond which human nature cannot attain; for as Bourdaloue remarks, "the difference between Christians and the followers of Pagan severity consisted in this, that while these men mortified their flesh, they abandoned their minds to all the impulses of passion. Whereas the mortification of Christians was chiefly that of the heart, as a means to reform and purify it."* Otherwise, it was of no avail, insomuch that in relation to men who were truly contrite or truly inflamed with the love of God, the opinion of Fichte, at least in one sense, was correct, that for them there was no longer any self-denial; no longer any sacrifices; for the self which is to be denied, the objects which are to be sacrificed, have been removed from their sphere of vision, and estranged from their affections. This denial, these sacrifices can only excite wonder in those who continue to value the objects of them, and who have not yet given them up; when once they are given up, they vanish into nothing, and we find that we have lost nothing." The holy Fathers universally maintain the vanity of all corporal austerities, unless the mind and heart be corrected.

"Beware," says St. Jerome, "lest your fasts become a source of pride. You fast, and ill-humour makes you insupportable: another does not fast, and he is gentle to all the world. You lose by your vices the fruit of your mortification."† In what used to be styled the dark ages, St. Columban reminds his monks of the same distinction. "Do not suppose," saith he, "that it is enough to fatigue the dust of our bodies with fasts and watchings, if we do not also reform our manners. To macerate the flesh, if the soul does not fructify, is to till the ground without ceasing, and never to reap fruit from it. What signifies it to carry on a distant war, if the interior be a prey to ruin? A religion, all of gestures and movements of the body, is vain. The suffering of the body alone is vain; the care which man takes of his exterior is vain, if he do not also watch and preserve his soul. True piety con-

* S. Luc. IX. 23. † De Pœnitent.
‡ Epist. ad Corinth. I. cap. 9.
§ Lib. de Apolog. David.

* Serm. sur la Sévérité Chrétienne.
† S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Eustoch Virg.

sists in humility, not of the body, but of the heart. It is not enough to speak and read about virtues. Is it with words alone that a man cleanseth his house of filth? Can any work be accomplished without labour? Gird up your loins, then, and never cease to combat."* Besides, after all, it is quite clear that the Christian spirit of self-sacrifice was unknown to the Pagans, and in vain shall we look for it in the scenes which recall the most renowned deeds of their heroic devotion. When we are led to expect an instance of this pure and noble spirit, it is rather a calculation of evils, and the choice of the least, which gives rise to the apparent offering. Thus, it is not until after a long examination of the indignities which await her, if she continue to live, that Macharia, in Euripides, resolves to embrace death. It is better to die, she concludes, than to suffer such things;† and, in like manner, in the Iphigenia, in Aulis, the spirit of the victim is completely opposite to that of sacrifice in the Christian sense. "What is the marriage of Paris and Helen to me? It is the sweetest of all things to behold the light"—

——— μαίνεται δ', ὃς εὔχεται
θανεῖν· κακῶς ζῆν κρεῖσσον, ἢ θανεῖν καλῶς.‡

So also Polyxena consents to die; but it is because she perceives that longer life would not be to her advantage, since she has lost the dignity of her ancestral rank, and all her hopes of being married to a king, since she is now a slave, a humiliation to which she is not accustomed, and in her situation it is a much more happy thing to die than to live, for to live not in honour is the greatest misery.§ The Antigona, of Sophocles, presents indeed, an instance of very high sentiment, but then it is mixed with hatred and contempt for the unjust decree of the tyrant, who has presumed to meddle in what concerns him not, the discharge of her domestic duties.‖ But, say the Protestants, is not the indulgence in the spirit of sacrifice and mortification, and is not the whole doctrine of penance an injury to the atonement, and a rejection of the grace of God? And besides this, surely, to use the words of Fichte, "The voice of philosophy does not call upon us to mortify ourselves: O, no; it calls upon us to cast away that which affords no enjoyment; that when we have done so, that which is a teeming source of endless enjoyment, may come and take possession of our souls?" The voice of philosophy, to reply, in brief, has, no doubt, often pronounced things very sweet in comparison with the bitterness of truth. Its error here does not consist in an over-fine spinning of truth. It is essentially an error. The voice of God, whatever that of philosophy may say, calls upon men to mortify their corrupt nature upon earth, and to take up their cross daily; and with respect to the theological argument, it is quite a sufficient answer, that if it were valid, Christ himself would not have required self-mortification in the words above cited, nor would his Apostles have practised it. It would be more to the purpose to inquire respecting what has been transmitted by the voice of the ancient Fathers, than concerning the affirmations of philosophy; though Calvin might say, "he was not moved by what was every where found in the writings of the ancients on satisfaction."* "Dominus orandus est," says St. Cyprian, "Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est. Qui sic Deo satisfecerit—lætam faciet ecclesiam, nec jam solam Dei veniam merebitur, sed coronam."† To the like effect speak Tertullian, St. Ambrose, and all the holy fathers, as may be seen at length in Sardagna, or any other dogmatical theologian.‡ St. Augustin expressly says, "That it is not sufficient to change our manners for the better, and to depart from evil, unless we satisfy God, by penance, for the things which we have done, by the sacrifice of a contrite heart, with alms co-operating."§ That man should be called to suffer, does not derogate, as the modern sects pretend, from the merits of Christ, in whom, as the Council of Trent observes, is all our glory, and in whom we satisfy God's justice."‖ Though original sin has been remitted, man still suffers temporal death. Do they think it would be fair to conclude, from this fact, that the satisfaction of Christ was not full and abundant? Mortal sin is forgiven, and yet temporal penalty is exacted by God. Adam was pardoned, and yet condemned to die. Moses and Aaron were pardoned,¶ and yet punished, by not being permitted to enter the land of promise. David was pardoned,** and yet to punish

* S. Instit. II. Bibliothec. Patrum, Tom. XII. cap. 10.
† Heraclid. 524.
‡ 1237.
§ Hecuba, 340.
‖ 48.

* Instit. Lib. III. c. 4. § 38.
† Tractat. de Lapsis.
‡ Tom VIII.
§ Serm. CCCLI.
‖ Sess. XIV. cap. 8.
¶ Num. 20.
** Reg. 12, 13.

him his son was condemned to die. St. Augustin draws the conclusion;* and the holy Fathers, on similar ground, press the necessity for penance, to avert the punishment of God.† Remission of temporal punishment is gratuitous, although man is to give satisfaction, because it is the free gift of God which enables his works to be satisfactory through Christ, and because these works are themselves the fruit of Divine grace. Our satisfactions are the means by which the price of redemption is applied to us; and this is a point which ought to present no difficulties to the Protestants, who admit that, without faith, the merits of Christ are not applied, although their value is independent of it.

All theologians firmly believed, and clearly taught, that the satisfaction of Christ was sufficient, as far as price, to expiate all the sins of men, and that the private works of satisfaction were not required to supply any defect in that price, but on account of the reasons thus explained by the Council of Trent:—"It becomes the Divine clemency, that our sins should not be remitted to us without some satisfaction; lest, taking occasion from lighter sins, we should fall into greater, becoming contumelious to the Holy Spirit, treasuring up wrath to ourselves against the day of wrath. Without doubt, these satisfactory penalties recal men powerfully from sin, restrain them as if with a bridle, and make them more cautious and vigilant; heal the wounds of former sins, and of former vicious habits. In addition to this, by suffering for sin, we are made conformable to Jesus Christ, who satisfied for us—ex quo omnis nostra sufficientia est; and we have a pledge, that if we suffer with him, we shall also be glorified along with him."‡ St. Ambrose says, "That he has heard of persons who deny the merit of abstinence and fasting, and continence, whom he refutes, by reminding them of the sentences of St. Paul; and then he adds, "Qui non castigant corpus suum, et volunt prædicare aliis, ipsi reprobi habentur."§ The advantages derived from mortification of the senses, were clearly discerned during the ages of faith. The wisdom of God explains why mortification should be good for man—"Quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero acceptabiles in camino humiliationis."* There is a pain which purges and purifies, and a pain which consumes and devours: this last is the portion of the wicked. Pain, without penance, is the fire of hell. "Woe to the heretics," cries St. Ephrem, "who say there is no such thing as penance. They deserve to be likened to those insane men who say there is no God; for to say that there is no God, or to annihilate his mercy by saying that there are no remedies able to cure the wounds of weak unassisted men, are one and the same thing. On the other hand, I grant to you, that there is no such thing as penance; but I mean for those who abuse penance, that they may sin, for this is to mock God."† "O divine clemency," exclaims Basil, bishop of Seleucia, "to what a dignity does penitence attain! Men weep and God is changed; mortals lament, and the immortal decree is cancelled!"‡ The reason of the early philosophers and the judgment of the ancients generally, pointed out to them the advantages of mortification. The Pythagoreans observed abstinence from flesh as conducive to purity of mind, health of body, and promptitude of understanding.§ Aurelian, the Emperor, ascribed his constant health to a custom of abstaining one day in every month from food and drink. Augustus Cæsar was remarkable for his abstinence, as Suetonius relates. Plato adopted an austere life. Hermodius arrived at the age of an hundred, Democritus and Hippocrates at that of an hundred and five, by a life of abstinence. Drexelius mentions, as among the many fruits of fasting, "The rendering serene all the senses, external and internal;"‖ so the Church, in her prayer at the beginning of Lent, speaks of "This solemn fast, which is a wholesome institution, to heal both our souls and bodies." In the primitive Church, fasts were entitled stations. "Our fasts are camps to us," says St. Ambrose, "which defend us from diabolic attacks; and they are called stations, because, standing in them we repel our enemy." How remarkable are the following words of the sacred text, "Jejunium nescit fœneratorem, non sortem fœneris novit: non redolet usuras

* In Ps. L.
† Tertull. de Pœnitent. 4. S. Cyprian. de Lapsis. St. Jerome in Joelem. S. Chrysostom. Hom. 41. ad pop. Antioch.
‡ Vide La Hogue Tractat. de Incarnatione, 92. Sardagna de Satisfactione. Theolog. Tom. VIII. p. 217.
§ Epist. Lib. X. 82.

* Eccles. c. 2. 5.
† S. Ephrem. Tractat. de Pœnitentia
‡ Basil Sentent. or 12.
§ Jamblic. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 16.
‖ Hier. Drexelius de Jejunio, Lib. II. cap. 5.

mensa jejunantium."* In the history of the middle ages, we have this sentence illustrated; for it was not so common then, as in modern times, to witness the fall and ruin of ancient and noble houses, to hear of their being stript of their ancestral domains, or become the spoil of usurers. The spirit of the Catholic discipline, which they observed, was unacquainted with the terms mortgage and interest; and we find, in consequence, that patrimonial estates were retained through a long succession of ages. St. Basil the Great, says, "That all the saints have rendered their lives worthy by fasting."† All the most holy and approved persons that we read of in the sacred pages, Moses, Elias, Juditha, Esther, Sarah, Job, Tobias, Esdras, David, Ezekiel, are expressly recorded to have fasted. Daniel fed on pulse, and wisdom gained. In the new law, our Saviour Christ set us an example. St. Paul, Barnabas, Simon, Lucius, and other followers of Paul, were in many fastings. St. Gregory Nazienzen says, "That St. Peter almost always fasted, and ate only beans." St. Matthew, as St. Clemens Alexandrinus testifies, lived upon herbs and roots. It is recorded of St. James the Greater, of St. James the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem, and of St. John, that they always abstained from flesh meat. Honey and locusts were the food of the Precursor in the Wilderness; and Hegesippus relates, "That the first Christians were taught to abstain, by the blessed Marc Pontif, of Alexandria." Passing on to later ages, we find Theodosius the Younger accustoming himself to fast twice every week, and to abstain from wine in Lent, Charlemagne fasting even to the risk of injuring his health, Otho the Great, making his whole army observe a fast, before giving battle to the Hungarians, Lothaire, King of the Franks, continuing to observe a fast during a dangerous illness, and the Emperor Ferdinand I. adopting a rule of great abstinence after the death of his excellent wife. Of the abstinence and self-control of Rodolph the Emperor, history relates an heroic instance; for, being on an expedition with his army, and oppressed with thirst, a vessel of water, which a peasant was carrying, was immediately seized upon, and brought to him as a great treasure; but he ordered it to be restored to the peasant, untouched, saying, "I thirst not for myself, but for my army."‡

* Judith. cap. 1, 2. † De Laude Jejunii.
‡ Drexelius de Jejunio, Lib. I. c. 3.

In a future place, when I shall come to speak of the festivals and seasons of the Church, it will be necessary to return to this subject, and describe, at more length, the manners of the middle ages, in relation to the ecclesiastical law of fasting and abstinence. Solemn public penance, instituted on occasion of the Novatian heresy, which accused the Church of being too indulgent in receiving back sinners, was abrogated earlier in the Greek than in the Western Church. In the latter, it ceased with the seventh century, when alms, pilgrimages, and confinement in monasteries, were substituted for it, which alteration is, by some, ascribed to Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a Greek. The ancient severity, however, did not begin to be relaxed until after the eleventh century. In the times of greatest fervour, the discipline of the Church respecting the greatness and duration of penance was never invariable. Each age, each province, had its customs. In one place, public penance was reserved for very few crimes; in another it was required for a greater number. The same sins were not punished with equal rigour, but much depended upon the local judicature. Universally, however, the fundamental parts of penance were the same; so that the objection advanced by heretics, against the use of the word penance, is a mere quarrel about words. That a change of mind was requisite, every one knew without having studied Greek, or heard their pedantic eloquence.

The first thing required in penance was the ordination of the mind to God: but, says St. Thomas, "the mind cannot duly be converted to God without charity."* And elsewhere he says, "Omnes virtutes participant aliquid de charitate."† And St. Bernard says, "Charity converts the soul."‡ Hence, St. Augustin says, that unless the Holy Spirit should make man a lover of God, he will not be transferred from the left hand to the right.§ It would require but a slight acquaintance with the history of religion to be able to detect the error of those modern writers, who, speaking of such men as the Count of Anjou, apply the term "miserable" to the penitents of the middle ages. If penitents,—in the sense in which the word was then used,—no men were less miserable. As-

* Lib. IV. cont. Gentes, cap. 72.
† In III. Dist. 26, art. 2.
‡ De diligendo Deo, 12.
§ De Trinitate, Lib. XV. 18.

suredly it was not an unhappy state for man, born the child of wrath, and fallen from baptismal innocence, to be dismissed from the sacred tribunals as were Adam and Eve from Paradise,

"Sent forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace."

It was in allusion to spirits far more grievously afflicted, though resembling these penitents of earth, that the great poet of the ages of faith exclaimed,

——— "O spirits! secure,
Whene'er the time may be, of peaceful end!"*

And of whom he elsewhere says,

"He show'd me many others, one by one:
And all, as they were nam'd, seem'd well content,
For no dark gesture I discern'd in any."†

In the air and countenance of one of these penitents of the middle ages, if suddenly one of them could be introduced into a circle of the most refined modern society, there would be nothing to strike the attention as remarkable, excepting, perhaps, a more than ordinary gentleness and dignity. Hear how St. Jerome describes Asella. "Nothing can be milder than her severity, nothing more severe than her mildness; nothing more melancholy than her sweetness, nothing sweeter than her melancholy. Her figure denotes mortification without the least parade; her words are like silence, and her silence has words: her exterior is always the same; her dress exhibits nothing refined or curious; her ornaments consist in their plainness. The good speak of her with admiration, and the wicked dare not attack her. Let the priests of the Lord, on beholding her, be filled with profound veneration."‡

In the ages of greatest fervour, a due and rational attention to health was never excluded in the most austere discipline of penitents. St. Jerome, in condemning immoderate fasts and austerities, quotes the saying of the seven sages of Greece,—"Nothing too much;" and declares it to be as wise and just a maxim as it is celebrated.§ St. Bonaventura mentions that the blessed St. Francis would never suffer his friars to injure their health by too much severity. Experience, indeed, would here suffice. St. Hilarion lived to the age of eighty-four; St. Augustin and St. Jerome, Paphnutius, Macarius and St. Francis de Paul, lived to ninety; St. Anthony to one hundred; Udalricus, Bishop of Padua, to one hundred and five; St. Simeon Stylites to one hundred and ten; St. Paul the Hermit to one hundred and thirteen; Arsenius and Romualdus to one hundred and twenty years: and all, after a life of rigid abstinence and fasting. Hear how St. Chrysostom writes to Olympias: "Neither the rigour of winter nor the weakness of my health, should inspire you with any fear. The winter, though as severe as in Armenia, and that is to say every thing, does not incommode me to excess, for we have taken measures against it, and we neglect nothing to secure us from its inconveniences. For that purpose we keep up a good fire—we carefully exclude the external air from our apartment—we cover ourselves with many clothes; and, as a last resource, we keep within doors. After my example, venerable Olympias, attend to your health; I conjure you, I ask it of you as a grace. Direct all your attention to keep off infirmities. Remember too, that sadness can cause infirmities. Think of the misery of those whose body is worn down by sickness, and reduced to such a state that they can no longer enjoy either the seasons or the things needful to life. I implore you then to procure the assistance of the most skilful physicians, and to apply the proper remedies to deliver you from these maladies."*—"If some should come and say to you not to fast, lest you should be made weak, do not believe them nor listen to them," says St. Athanasius, "for by them the enemy suggests this. Remember what is written,—that when the three children and Daniel, and the other captive youths, were led by the King of Babylon, and commanded to eat of his table, and they refused, and did eat only of the seeds of the earth, that, after ten days, when introduced into the presence of the king, their faces, instead of being squalid, appeared more beautiful than those of the others who had been fed at the royal table. See then," continues this great saint, "that fasting does not produce what you dread. It cures diseases, it dries up the humours of the body; it puts the demon to flight; it expels bad thoughts; it renders the mind clearer, the heart purer, the body holier; and, in short, it raises man to the throne of God."

* Dante, Purg. xxvi. † Id. xxiv.
‡ S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Marcellam.
§ Epist. ad Demetriad.

* Letter to Olympias.

Finally: in the Father of the Scholastic Theology, we find the same counsels of prudence and moderation:—"Injure not your health," says St. Anselm. "Melius est enim ut cum salute corporis, læto animo aliquid faciatis, quam per ægritudinem ab his quæ cum lætitiâ bene facitis, deficiatis."* Thus, those extravagant and gloomy images of penance, which some men associate with the remembrance of the scholastic-romantic ages, have, in general, no other foundation but the fancy of poets and the misrepresentation of the adversaries of the holy Church.

But let us on; our length of way admonishes to speed, and we have to mark other instances of mortification and penance, as connected with the character of those who mourned with effectual grief. To speak of the ordinary exercises which were recommended by the universal consent of the spiritually wise, would be long and needless. In this respect, the manners of the middle ages present nothing remarkable, excepting the fervour and sincerity with which the discipline of a penitential life was observed by men in every class of society. Behold that race of mourners, all downward lying, prone upon the ground, and weeping sore. These are the elect of God, in whom repentant tears mature that blessed hour, when they shall find absolution from the holy Church, and with Heaven acceptance. "My soul hath cleaved to the dust," you hear with such deep sighs uttered, that they well nigh choke the words. But let us pass on to view still more remarkable fruits of penance, undertaken by contrite sinners, some of whose voluntary penal woes are well calculated to excite our astonishment. Genebaud, Bishop of Laon, penetrated with a sense of the sinfulness of his conduct in having yielded to a foul temptation, sent to entreat St. Remi to come to Laon, at whose feet he prostrated himself, and confessed his fault. To repair the public scandal of his fall, the bishop shut himself up in a dark cell, more like a tomb than the abode of a living man, and there he passed seven years in prayer and fasting, tears and watching. During this time, St. Remi undertook the charge of his diocese, and at its expiration, he restored him to his episcopal see.† In the year 582, St. Hospice, a recluse, shut himself up in a tower to do penance, near a celebrated monastery at Nice, in Provence. In that tower he lived a long time till his death. Celebrated also was the example of Dominick Loricat, or the Cuirassed, a renowned penitent at the end of the tenth century, so called because he wore next the skin a coat of mail, which he used to lay aside only for the discipline. The extraordinary austerities of this man furnished a striking lesson to the rude warriors who knew him, of the heinousness of sin. But as they were accustomed to a life of every kind of hardship, a moderate penance would have been counted for nothing: or rather, it would have seemed to them like a recognition of the lightness of sin. Some modern writers, who profess to philosophize, express the utmost astonishment at meeting with such acts of mortification in a religion which lays claim to peace and blessed charity: but such amaze will not be long the inmate of a thoughtful breast. If it had been evinced in ages of faith, they who expressed it would have been referred for solution to the Gospel which is read on the first Sunday of that solemn season, when the Church sings "Creator alme siderum," and reminds men of the coming of our Lord to judgment; and of those dread words, "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the just unto life eternal."—"What will be the tribunal of the Judge," cries St. Augustin, "when the cradle of the infant terrified proud kings."* Who can think of the day of his coming? and who will stand to behold him? At that tremendous hour of last judgment, when, as St. Ephrem says, "the priest will be separated from the priest, the bishop from the bishop, the father from the son, the daughter from the mother,—when the reprobate, cast off from before the face of God, will find themselves alone, deprived of all assistance, abandoned even by hope,—when they will cry, 'O how could we lose in indifference the time that was given us! What shall we do? Alas! we can do no longer penance! The time is past. No more shall we see the innumerable legions of angels and saints, no more shall we contemplate that true light which enlightens the abode of the blessed! Behold us here isolated, rejected, far from God, far from joy. Farewell, ye just; farewell, apostles, prophets, martyrs. Farewell, all ye that are happy and holy!'"†

These were the considerations which moved men with such force to do penance

* S. Anselmi Epist. CL. ad Goffrid.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims. Lib I. 50.

* Serm. II. de Epiph. † Serm. LXXII.

seriously; for they said with St. Augustin "If man wished to punish himself, God would spare him. Sit oportet ipse severus in se, ut in eum sit misericors Deus."*

Hear how St. Odo, the abbot of Cluny, speaks of the danger of sin; and consider what an impression such words must have made upon the simple, profound, and susceptible minds of men in the middle ages. "Adam once sinned, and is dead. If you therefore should sin, expect not to be spared. If any one could have been spared, it would have been Adam, who was newmade, tender, and rude, and who had before known no sin;—but as for you who wish to sin after the Law, after the Prophets, after the Gospel, after the Apostles, —what hope can there be of indulgence?"†

There is one remarkable characteristic of the middle ages, which we should constantly bear in mind whenever we institute a comparison between them and our own times, in relation either to literature, art, or religion,—it is, that these things were all taken seriously, taken in earnest. While hearing the moderns converse on subjects of religious truth, one might expect every moment that some of them would have sufficient acuteness and consistency as to propose a question like that of Callicles, to Socrates, who, after hearing his noble statement of the evil of sin, consisting in its nature rather than in its punishment, exclaims, "O Socrates, tell us whether you say these things seriously or only in jest, for if you are serious, and it be really true what you now say, without doubt it follows that our whole life is perverse, and that we do all things exactly contrary to what we ought.‡

In the middle ages, it is true men did not seem to believe that the way to heaven was precisely the broadest and easiest that presented itself to the senses; they were impressed with the idea that their souls could not be saved without retirement, meditation, and occasional renouncement of lawful pleasures; many of the penitential austerities were no doubt great; but who can hear without trembling what St. Gregory says, "that more men perish by means of false penance than by impenitence itself;" and after this, who can feel inclined to criticise the penitents of ages of faith? It is not, however, to be denied, but that occasionally the spirit of human severity

* S. August. Serm. CCLXXVIII.
† S. Odonis, Abb. Clun. II. Collation. Lib. II. Bibliothec. Cluniac.
‡ Plat. Gorgias.

may have mixed itself with the austerity of penance, so as to have occasioned great and grievous abuse. When the passions of men are strong, they are sometimes fearful even in the deeds which spring from virtuous sources; and the facts of ancient history are not to be concealed because some men in modern times have chosen to exaggerate and pervert them thoughtlessly, or for malignant purposes. The horrible tale professing to reveal the secrets of monastic penance in the middle ages, which the genius of a modern bard has rendered so familiar, contains abundant internal evidence, that the author wrote from vague and general report, and without having ever studied the subject which he pretended to illustrate. Who that has read the rules of the blessed St. Benedict, breathing nothing but seraphic love and sanctity, will not lift up his hands in astonishment, on hearing that account of the judgment pronounced upon Constance de Beverley in the abbey of Lindisfarn, where the three Heads of houses are feigned to have sat for horrible doom:

> "All servants of Saint Benedict,
> The statutes of whose order strict
> On iron table lay!"

As if that holy book gave them authority to commit the barbarous deed which imparts such a horrible intent to this narrative.

How grave and moral writers can be guilty of this strange readiness to admit and propagate slanders against the saintly and illustrious dead, I know not, nor is it necessary for us here to inquire. What we have to do is to examine the real facts which may have originally suggested the idea of this celebrated romance; and no one need shrink from such an investigation, through a tenderness for the character of former times, for it is no reproach peculiar to any age, that some men should have been found in it, who were without prudence or without charity. The first mention of a penitential prison for guilty monks, occurs in the writings of St. John Climachus, who was abbot of Mt. Sinai, at the end of the sixth century. St. Benedict who lived before this book of St. John Climachus had appeared, prescribed in his rule various modes of correction for monks who offended, but he makes no mention of a prison; although in the XVIIIth chapter, he enumerates accurately all the precautions and punishments to be used before

expelling a monk as incorrigible. "But," says Mabillon, in his treatise on the Monastic prisons, "the hardness of some abbots in subsequent times, was carried to such an excess, that they mutilated the limbs of some monks who were guilty of great crimes, so that the monks obtained from Charlemagne, an especial decree for their protection. All the abbots being assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, ordered that in each monastery there should be a retired house, domus semota, for the guilty, a chamber with a fire-place and an anti-chamber for work. This was ordained by all the abbots of the empire, France, Germany, and Italy. It was in subsequent times that Matthew Prior of St. Martin-des-Champs, according to the report of Peter the Venerable, invented a fearful kind of prison which was without light, and destined for those who were to be perpetually confined, and it was called the Vade in Pace. The abbot was guilty of this excess through his extravagant severity and hatred of sin; but he inflicted it upon only one criminal monk. Stephen, Archbishop of Toulouse, complained of these inventions to king John, "de horribili rigore quem monachi exercebant adversus monachos graviter peccantes." This led to measures of prevention in future; Mabillon expresses his astonishment at such inhumanity in monks, who ought to be models of all gentleness and compassion; but it should be remembered how rare and isolated were such instances in the long succession of ages; how solitary they stand in history, and unconnected with any part of monastic discipline; and that after all, the immunities of the religious, who were not subject to the civil power, made some provision for the punishment of great offenders absolutely necessary. As for the story of Constance, it is utterly defective in regard to history, inasmuch as the extension of such penalties to communities of women is a mere invention; and even if the author had adhered to limits within which he would have had some foundation, the unwarranted assertions, to use the gentlest expression, which are woven through the whole tissue of his poem, would, to any reader of moderate instruction, have destroyed all colouring of truth. This Matthew Prior of St. Martin-des-Champs, to whom he is so greatly indebted, was not to mankind but to sin a foe; ignorant it is true, but justifying no poet in the conclusion that he had retired into the cloister "for despite and envy;" or "that he joyed in doing ill." The whole abuse is to be ascribed to the extravagant zeal of some well-meaning men in times of great severity of principles; and we find that there was no obstacle or delay in providing against it effectual remedies.

CHAPTER V.

We have already seen some of the works of mourning which were substituted for the solemn public penance of the ancient canons; but that which in a literary or poetical point of view, is the most interesting of these works, remains to be considered, which consisted in the pilgrimages either expressly prescribed or voluntarily undertaken for the correction of passions and the expiation of sins. Of the former, some were imposed for great offences as a more severe penalty than that which was enacted against them by the civil laws. Men who had committed homicide were ordered to go on pilgrimage to various holy places in foreign lands, bound all the while with iron chains, for in these ages capital punishment was rarely inflicted. These chains were worn round the neck and also on both arms; sometimes the pilgrims deserved to be freed from them, and then they were freed in the church.* The four miserable knights who murdered St. Thomas at Canterbury, after long wanderings, were enjoined to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there to live as penitential converts on the black mountain. Some were to be condemned to pass the whole remainder of their lives on pilgrimage. Such were degraded priests who should have discovered the secret of confession. "Deponatur, et omnibus diebus vitæ suæ ignominiosè peregrinando pergat." We read of others who were never to remain more than one night in the same place.

At Rheims disputes and combats between the citizens, used generally to be terminated by the sheriffs, and the most usual penalty inflicted was a pilgrimage. The persons condemned were to set out on a fixed day, and to remain in the town indicated during three, six, or twelve months, and to bring back authentic certificates. It was generally a pilgrimage to St. James in Gallicia, to Tours, Toulouse, Marseilles, or Boulogne sur Mer. The two enemies were often condemned to travel, but in different directions, which, as Anquetil remarks, "was a simple and wise method of re-establishing peace between them, for time and new objects, and the interposition of friends to calm the minds of both parties, were always sure to heal the wounds."* But the pilgrims who chiefly demand our attention at present belong to a different class from these: they were men who, without having rendered themselves amenable to human laws, had undertaken painful journeys in obedience to what was prescribed to them by religion, as affording the means of correcting vices, and of atoning in the sense required for the sins of their past life.

The palmer differed from the pilgrim in having no fixed residence, but spending his life in visiting holy places, at the same time professing voluntary poverty. Spencer, without scorn, describes the former:

> "At length they chaunst to meet upon the way
> An aged sire, in long blacke weedes yclad
> His feete all bare, his beard all hoarie grey,
> And by his belt his booke he hanging had;
> Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad;
> And to the ground his eyes were lowly bent,
> Simple in show, and voide of malice bad;
> And all the way he prayed as he went,
> And often knockt his breast, as one that did repent."†

The Church had introduced the custom of assigning a journey to the holy land as an efficacious penance; and there are not wanting even modern writers separated from its communion who can discern and point out the wisdom of what was thus recommended. "I know of nothing," says one of these, "so likely to bow down a proud spirit, and soften it into deep and purifying thought, as a long distant journey. There is no heart proof against the solemn influence of solitude among strange and impressive scenes. The confidence which it has in itself, and in which its contempt for the future was intrenched, gradually gives way among them. The new forms under which nature presents herself, are so many proofs that there is

* Mabillon, Præfat. in II. Sæcul. Benedict. § 5.

* Hist. de Rheims, lib. III. 155.
† F. Q. I. 1.

an existence and a power, of which, in the thoughtless uniformity of the past, it had received no idea, and with that new conscionsness, rushes in a train of feelings, which, if not the same, are nearer than most others to those inspired by religion. For this effect of the long and often perilous journey which he prescribed, the priest might look with some degree of confidence; and no doubt experience taught him, that the hardiest of his penitents was not likely to come back from Syria with a mind unimpressed with the sentiments he wished to inspire. Other advantages also presented themselves in favour of this kind of penance. To the natural influence of the journey through wild and distant countries, was added that of the example of many devout and enthusiastic wanderers. At every stage of his route, the traveller was sure to meet one or more of these humble palmers, either hastening to, or returning from, the holy city. Their humility, self-denial, and constant prayer, were powerful appeals to the haughty soul of the unwilling pilgrim. Generally also he was, by the nature of his expedition, far separated from his former companions: for his proud knights and splendid retinue no longer followed him as a gay and gallant noble; and if they accompanied him, it was to be worshippers, like himself, at the holy tomb. He was thus led to form associations which materially aided the purposes for which the penance was imposed, and the priest knew that his instructions and exhortations to repentance would be repeated as many times as there were leagues between his parish and the sacred walls of Jerusalem. Nor are reasons of another kind wanted to justify the preference of pilgrimages over other penances. What could be more proper than to send him, who had broken the laws of Christ, to contemplate the scenes which had been hallowed by his sufferings? What could better persuade to repentance, than the sight of objects which recalled to mind all he had done for the sake of mankind, and to bring them under the dominion of love and peace? The guilty violator of divine laws could not tread the streets of the holy city, without feeling as if the very stones cried out against him, to remind him, as his eyes turned towards the heights of Calvary, that he had 'crucified the Son of God afresh.'" So far this writer. But the moral advantages of this discipline were well understood and explained with greater clearness at the time when it received the highest sanction. In all ages, many of those who thought seriously about their salvation, used at times to leave their home and family to have leisure to follow God, disengaged from domestic cares, going out of their own country like the Magi, to repair to Christ.

We read of many saints who, by the inspiration of God, have abandoned houses, and riches, and friends, to travel like pilgrims through strange nations, in order to serve him more at ease and freedom. In this conduct, they imitated not only Abraham but the apostles. They felt that the distractions and ties of a multitude of friends and riches, and worldly concerns, left them not sufficient leisure to attend to the interests of their souls, and the fruits of such pilgrimages were so notorious that it became a proverb. "Exeat aula qui volet esse pius."

Many remarkable examples of this kind are found in the records of the middle age. Frodoard, in his history of the Church of Rheims relates, that in the time of Foulques Archbishop, who had succeeded Hincmar, there came into the province of Rheims, seven brothers, Gibrian, Helan, Tresan, Germain, Veran, Atran and Petran, with their three sisters, Fracia, Promptie, and Possenna, come from Ireland in pilgrimage, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ; and they established themselves each in a separate place on the banks of the river Marne. Gibrian, who was a priest, inhabited the village of Cosse, where he lived many years soberly, justly, and piously, applying himself till the end of his life to combat for his salvation.* In the seventh century, St. Giles seeing that he could not lead an obscure and retired life in his own country, where his piety and learning made him the object of general admiration, resolved to leave it to avoid the applause of men; he, therefore, passed into France, and chose for his dwelling a hermitage in the desert, which was near the mouth of the Rhone. Thence he removed into a place called Garde, and thence into a forest in the diocese of Nismes. The Saxon chronicle relates, that in the year 891, "three Scots from Ireland, came to King Alfred in a boat without any oars; they had stolen away because they would live in a state of pilgrimage for the love of God, they recked not where. The boat in which they came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions for seven nights, and within seven nights they came to land in Cornwall, and soon after went to king Alfred. They were named Dubslane, Macbeth, and Mælinman." From the same

* Lib. IV. cap. 9.

motives monks came from Rome into Ireland, being also drawn thither by the desire of a stricter life, or the love of sacred learning.* Bede relates of St. Hilda, "that after dedicating herself wholly to the service of God, she intended, from the province of the East Angles, to pass over if possible into France, forsaking her native country and all that she had, and there to live a stranger for our Lord, in the monastery of Celles, that so she might the more easily merit the eternal country of heaven." These motives were expressly approved of by the greatest philosophers of the middle ages. "Change of place," says St. Bonaventura, "is sometimes favourable to the spiritual health of novices. In changing place they change objects which may have led them astray. Men often become better and more perfect by leaving for a time their country and their native land."† St. Jerome goes so far as to say that a monk cannot be perfect in his own country.‡ In the last book, we observed that the interests of learning were thought to require absence in a foreign country, and now it appears that a journey to strange lands was deemed no less conducive to those of a spiritual nature. The moderns are for placing the summit of virtue and happiness in domestic repose, but after all, what skills it in this voyage of life, to cast anchor and say to one's bark, "Let us rest here; behold the port which is appointed to yon! here you shall sleep like an island of the sea, which the force of the bitter waves cannot disturb? On the wide seas of this world there is no port, and shipwreck alone casts us upon the shore."§ St. Augustin treats at large upon the social life, and shows to how many evils and offences it is exposed, notwithstanding all the wisdom and prudence which men may bring to it;‖ and besides, he observes, "that after the example of their respective prototypes, the two cities into which the whole race of men are divided, Jerusalem and Babylon, are distinguished from each other by the former being in a state of pilgrimage, and the latter in a condition of apparent rest. Cain, whose name signified possession, founded a city earthly, having this world for its fixed resting place, established in its temporal peace and felicity; but Abel, whose name denoted grief, was a stranger and a wanderer. Seth and Enos were named after the resurrection, and the hope of those who invoked God. For thus the city of God in the time of its pilgrimage is only sustained by hope, which arises from faith in the resurrection of Christ." These are the profound views of St. Augustin;* but in a lower sense, and without reference to saints who approach perfection, it is obvious, that in a foreign country the pilgrim or scholar has more opportunity for recollection. Separated from former companions and occupations, the days of his youth come back upon him like a plaintiff strain of harmony; a tone of mourning pervades his thoughts and looks. Neither personal merit nor family connections avail him there: he is left alone, and has occasion to think upon God and on eternal truths as well as to practise humility in an eminent degree. Introduced to a different language and to different manners, his former associations are broken, and the facilities to vice are diminished: he can hardly be so profligate as to begin the abuse of new words and of new manners. Such solitude was favourable to charity. Under the strong religious impressions which it was calculated to produce, every one seemed a friend, every face was loved, every one was believed to be pious, and just, and innocent. In society it is hard to retain such a temper; hatred, suspicions, and indignation, easily enter and possess the heart. Travelling was a school of humility, when a great man would wander like Ulysses, as a poor unknown stranger. We find the son of Sirach testifying that he has travelled much, and exhorting others to follow his example.†

The ancients were not ignorant of the intellectual and moral good which resulted from leaving home, and visiting distant countries. Pythagoras, we are told, finding himself loaded with gifts and occupations of public life by his countrymen, concluded that it was most difficult to sit at home and to philosophize, and remarked, "that all who had before him studied philosophy, had passed their lives among strangers: therefore renouncing all political administration, he departed from Samos and repaired to Italy, where he established himself in Crotona."‡ "Abducendus est etiam," says Cicero, speaking of him whose passions were to be corrected, "nonnumquam ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia: loci deniqne mutatione, tamqnam ægroti non convalescentes, sæpe curandus est."§ Sophocles introduces a king, acknowledging

* Monastic. Hiber. Introduc.
† S. Bonaventuræ Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 2.
‡ Epist. V.
§ De Lamartine.
‖ De Civitate Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. 5.

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. XV. cap. i. 17, 18.
† Ecclesiast. XXXIV. 12; XVI. 23; XXXIX. 5.
‡ Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 5.
§ Tuscul. IV.

the benefit he has received from having been educated a foreigner in a strange country, where Theseus says to Œdipus,

> ὡς οἶδά γ' αὐτὸς, ὡς ἐπαιδεύθην ξένος,
> ὥσπερ σὺ———.*

And when Pythagoras returned to Samos after an absence of twelve years, we are told that he was received with admiration by the seniors; for that he seemed to have brought home from his peregrination more beauty and wisdom, and greater indication of divinity.†

With respect to the Christian pilgrimages, additional reasons would result in favour of them, from considering what was the particular object in view in their institution. The desire of visiting places, associated with the memory of persons dear and venerable, is a feeling of humanity recognised in all ages by the universal race of men, and interwoven with the profoundest roots of the sentient principle of our nature. If it sprang from mere caprice or some particular error of any age, we should not find that its reasonableness could be every where and at all times understood, as we know that it is. When Chateaubriand was at Sparta, a chief of the law desired to know for what object he had come to Greece. Upon the interpreter replying that he had come to examine the ruins, the chief burst into loud laughter, and regarded him as a madman, until he added, "that he was only passing on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem," when the other exclaimed, "Kalo, kalo," making no more questions, but seeming perfectly satisfied; for all the motives of religion are understood and respected every where. A striking instance of the intensity of this feeling is furnished, by Father Bouhours, in his history of St. Francis Xavier, for he relates, "that after the death of the saint, one of the Indians who had been converted by him, and who was a most holy Christian, not content with visiting the place of his death, made a journey across an immense country, and passed the seas in order to behold the castle of Xavier. Entering the chamber where be was born, he threw himself on his knees and kissed the ground and wept, after which, without paying attention to any thing else in Europe, be returned to India, considering as a great treasure, a little piece of stone which he had picked out of the wall of the chamber."‡ The pilgrimages to certain abbeys like Einsiedeln, or to Shrines, as that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, were themselves facts which, by attesting the truth of ancient prodigies thus transmitted from father to son, continually excited men to greater fervour. Visiting holy places also to kiss the spot which was darkened with the blood of martyrs, or to have a more lively apprehension of the great mysteries which were consummated in Palestine, by beholding a representation of the very places in which they passed, conduced, when performed with what a certain great German author calls "the sacramental sense," from the enjoyment of which none but the race of sophists are excluded, to the experience of a kind of inspiration; and was an act which was known to be holy by its fruits. Generally, as we have already seen, the object of pilgrimages was to deliver men for a time from temporal cares and acquaintances, from the concerns of a family, and from all those solicitudes of the world which so engross the thoughts of men, that whatever they may pretend they cannot think upon God or the state of their soul, or meditate on the eternal years. It was also to give them opportunity of practising humility, the first step in the heavenly life, and of mortifying their bodies by fatigue, which of itself might overcome sensuality. The very idea too that in going perhaps this journey of three days into the wilderness, to sacrifice to the Lord their God, they were also going to a place where thousands and millions had gone before, in circumstances like their own, for the sake of their souls, and where many of them had been permanently converted to God, must have spoken to the heart in powerful language. Yet we find prudence and moderation along with the greatest fervour, as may be witnessed in the letter of Petrus Cellensis to the prior of Canterbury, where he says, "My conscience accuses and excuses me for not going to the tomb of our holy Thomas, the precious martyr of God. I am a monk, an abbot, and an old man, and as such I ought not to leave my cloister, nor neglect my temporal cares, but I should lean my staff against my fig-tree and have in mind the eternal years. It is pious to go, it is pious not to go. The journey is good which is attended with holy devotion; but the detention is religious which is joined with pious commemoration."*

It was ungentle and unjust scorn in Milton to speak of "pilgrims that strayed so far to seek in Golgotha him dead, who

* Œdip. Col. 562.
† Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 5.
‡ Lib. II. 282.

* Petri Cellens, Epist. Lib. VII. 21.

lives in heaven;" a sentence comprising a most false testimony and a most sophistical objection. It was well known by these men who strayed to Golgotha, that the only indispensable pilgrimage was that to our heavenly country, by the purification of the soul which might be obtained without leaving home. "Non enim," as St. Augustin says, "ad eum qui ubique præsens est locis movemur, sed bono studio bonisque moribus."* But yet in spite of Milton's incredulity, the way, to the pilgrims, might not be in vain nor unfruitful.

St. Paul desires that married persons should separate from each other for a time, and abandon the cares of wedded life, to give themselves to prayer.† By a pilgrimage this separation was joined with prayer, and on this ground Wittwyler, in his history of St. Meinrod and the pilgrimage of Einsiedeln, defends the practice as beneficial and holy. But it is said abuses may have followed; undoubtedly it may have been so. But where have not abuses followed? and as Tschudi a German author remarks, "that is at once the greatest abuse when men destroy what is good in order to prevent abuse." "There went," you say, "in the holy throng, men of little worth, and hypocrites most vile, who looked for nought but gold;" God alone, it is true, knows the pilgrim, but this uncertainty furnished no valid ground for objection against such a practice. The devil led our blessed Saviour into the holy city, and we need not marvel to find him conducting thither whom he will. "Nor," as St. Augustin says, "ought the sheep to lay aside their clothing, because wolves sometimes conceal themselves in it."‡ Persons, you complain, used to desert their families to go on pilgrimage; "But," says the historian of Einesideln, who wrote from experience, "did they not return better fathers, better sons, and better men? Were not the proud become humble, the weak strong, the immoral pure, and was not the temporary loss recompensed an hundred fold?"

Let it be remarked, too, that the persons who condemn the pilgrims are themselves wanderers, only differing from them in having no religious motive for their way. They are wanderers, like that hero of Paganism, who was impatient to leave the people and city of the Phœcians, and yet, no sooner is be departed, than we find him crying out,

* De Doctrina Christiana, cap. 10.
† 1 Corinth. VII. 5.
‡ Lib. II. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, cap. 12.

"Ah! whither have I come! Would that I had remained there with the Phœcians"—

αἴθ' ὄφελον μεῖναι παρὰ φαιήκεσσιν
αὐτοῦ* . .

It is not for men, the sole of whose unblessed feet can find no rest, to speak disdainfully of the pilgrim's course, impelled by a reasonable desire, and bounded by a holy vow. Granting that the places in general to which he repaired may have had no recommendation in the estimation of the world, and of those who remain in it, what then? Cannot religion give to particular places a charm and an importance beyond what commerce or pleasure can impart? "Men," saith Pindar, "speak of the Island of Delos, but the gods in Olympus call it, 'The far-famed star of the dark earth.'" Loretto and Walsingham make but a poor figure in the diary of an epicurean or commercial traveller; but in what a tender and hallowed light are they seen by the poor? In the year 1061, an obscure widow, inhabiting a small village, on the wild and tempestuous coast of Norfolk, by erecting a little chapel, resembling that at Nazareth, where our blessed Lady was saluted by the angel Gabriel, is able to impart a renown to that village which extends throughout all England; and such as not all the kings of the earth combined, with all the aid of parliaments to boot, could ever have given to it. Erasmus describes Walsingham in his light manner; and yet, even from his account, one cannot help regarding it with interest:—"Not far from the sea," saith he, "about four miles, there standeth a town, living almost of nothing else but upon the resort of pilgrims. There is a college of canons there, supported by their offerings. In the church is a small chapel, but all of wood, whereunto, on either side, at a narrow and little door, are such admitted as come with their devotions and offerings. Small light there is in it, and none other but by wax tapers, yielding a most dainty and pleasant smell; nay, if you look into it, you would say it were the habitation of heavenly saints, indeed, so bright shining it is all over with precious stones, with gold and silver." Camden mentions, that princes have repaired to this chapel, walking thither barefoot. These places are now plundered, overthrown, and stigmatized, as the proper objects of scorn to men of intelligence; but is it just to prevent the poor from making their innocent

* Od. XIII. 204.

journey to a cross,—to some spot, known in their annals as the far-famed star of the dark earth,—while such immense sums are squandered upon voyages of mere pleasure, to visit springs of mineral water, and brilliant cities, through idleness and vanity? Why are the pious to be condemned for seeking holy places for the sake of edification, in order that the visible and temporal may be made the means for them to gain eternity?

To the great Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln, it was the custom every year for whole parishes of Switzerland to repair, in solemn procession, with cross and banners: vast numbers of nobles and princes also used to make this pilgrimage. More collected or saintly looks I never beheld than in the pilgrims whom I met along the roads leading to it. In the year 1826, there were, among these pilgrims, one hundred and fifty thousand communicants, which only exceeded by a small number the average amount every year. Pilgrims, before setting out to visit holy places, were enjoined to hear mass, in which was to be said the prayer for travellers; and, at the end, the Roman ritual prescribed various psalms and prayers, which the priest was to repeat, in reference to them. In like manner, on their return, they were to receive a benediction, the form of which may be seen in the ritual. Of the ardour for visiting the holy land in ages of faith, there are on record many affecting instances. Raymond, a young man of Placentia, having been early impressed with a veneration for the pious pilgrims who passed through his native city, fell into a profound melancholy, of which no one could discover the cause; at last, persuaded into a confession by the bitter grief of his affectionate mother, he told her that his mourning originated in his earnest desire to visit Palestine. He had concealed his desire till now, from the fear of afflicting her; but, instead of being grieved, as he had expected, she regarded him, for a time, with silent joy, and then embraced him, saying, "I am a widow, and I may imitate the example of St. Anne, who in her widowhood, quitted not the temple of Jerusalem, neither day nor night." Having then informed her son that she was resolved to accompany him on his holy journey, they immediately made their preparations. Previous to their departure, they received the episcopal blessing from the holy prelate of Placentia, who placed a red cross upon their breasts, and begged them to remember their country during their meritorious engagement, and to pray that it might be preserved during the calamities with which it seemed threatened by signs from heaven. They then took up their staff and scrip, and set out on their journey, accompanied, for a short distance, by their friends and neighbours. Nothing remarkable befel them on the way; but when they came in sight of Jerusalem, they are described as weeping at the remembrance of the sufferings of the Lord of Life. Their devotion, on approaching the holy sepulchre, was still more vividly excited; and as they knelt, pouring out their souls at the foot of the cross, they passionately desired that they might die there, where the Saviour himself had poured out his blood. Having visited the other sacred objects in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, they set sail for their native land; but scarcely were they embarked, when Raymond fell sick of a dangerous malady, but he soon recovered, and they arrived safely at land. No sooner, however, were they thus near the completion of their long journey, than the fond mother was seized with a fatal illness, and expired in the arms of her son, spending her last breath in blessing him, and exhorting him to pursue a life of virtue and piety. But a far more memorable example is furnished by St. Jerome, in his immortal letters, describing the pilgrimage of St. Paula:—"Before setting out, she divided all that she possessed among her children; then she embarked, weeping, and afraid to turn her eyes towards the dear objects that she was to leave for ever. She touched at the isle of Pontia, celebrated by the exile of Flavia Domitilla, who generously confessed Christ in the persecution of Diocletian. She visited with respect the modest retreat, where this holy lady spent the long years of her martyrdom; but all her wishes were fixed upon arriving at Jerusalem, whither she hastened on the wings of faith. She passed between Charybdis and Scylla, in the Adriatic, and was obliged to stop at Mithon, to repair her exhausted strength. Thence she arrived successively, at Cythera, at the promontory of Malea, at Rhodes, and at the island of Cyprus, where she had the consolation to find the holy Bishop Epiphanius, who retained her with him for ten days, which she employed to the glory of God, in visiting the numerous monasteries which covered this island, and every where she left abundant alms to the multitude of holy personages, whom the renown of the illustrious prelate had drawn together from all parts of the world. From thence she passed to Selucia and to Antioch, where the Bishop Paulin detained her for some time. Thence she made a painful journey, during

the depth of winter, through Phenicia and Syria. Arrived at the tower of Elias, on the banks of the Sarepta, she addressed her prayers to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and traversed the sands of Tyre. Thence she passed to Cotti, which is now called Ptolemaïde, where she entered the country of the Philistines. She saw the celebrated tower of Straton, and the house of that Cornelius who is mentioned in St. Paul's Epistles, where is now a church. She passed through Lydda, where Dorcas and Enea were raised to life by St. Peter and St. Paul. Then she saw the tower of Arimathea, to which belonged Joseph, who buried our Lord. Thence she passed by Emmaus, which is now called Nicopolis. Here the house of Cleophas is still shown: it is changed into a church. Paula remained some time at Gabaon. Thence, leaving on the left the sepulchre of Helena, she entered Jerusalem. Now she gave proof of her great humility; for, as the proconsul of Palestine, who knew the family of the noble lady, had prepared an apartment for her in the Pretorian palace, she would have no other lodging but a little humble cell. Without taking any rest, she began to visit the holy places, with such an ardent piety, that, without the desire which pressed her to go to prostrate herself in those she had not as yet seen, she could not turn herself away from those which she beheld. O what tears did she pour forth at the foot of the cross and in the holy sepulchre! I call to witness the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were present. She then visited the citadel of Sion, and the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles. After distributing all that remained to her between her servants and the poor, she departed at last for Bethlehem. She went a little out of her way to see the sepulchre of Rachel. Arriving at Bethlehem, and entering into the grotto, she contemplated the holy asylum of the queen of virgins. There I heard her say that, with the eyes of faith, she saw the divine infant, and the magi adoring, and the Virgin Mother, and the shepherds hastening to behold the Word made flesh. In the joy which accompanied her holy tears, she cried, 'Hail Bethlehem, so worthy of thy name; House of Bread! where the Bread of Heaven deigned to descend for us. Ah! how is it possible that I, wretched sinner, should be found worthy to kiss this cradle, to pray in this cave, where the Virgin Mother deposited her Divine fruit? This shall be the place of my rest, since it is the country of my God; here will I dwell, since my God did not disdain to be born here: here will I give myself to that God who gave himself up for me.' Descending then to the tower of Ader, she saw the place where Jacob fed his flocks, and where the shepherds heard the angels singing, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo.' Thence she passed to Gaza and Bethsura, and to the house of Sara: she saw the cradle of Isaac, and the oak of Abraham. Then she passed to Chebron, called Cariath, that is, the town of the four men, because it was supposed to contain the tombs of Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, and Adam. On the following day, at the rising of the sun, she stopped on the summit of Caphar Baruccha, whence she beheld the vast solitude, where once stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. But I return with the illustrious traveller to Jerusalem. Paula visited the tomb of Lazarus: the house where dwelt Mary Magdalen and Martha. She then went to Jericho; and on the way thought of the good Samaritan. She stopped at the place where the blind received their sight. The next day, soon after midnight, she travelled to the banks of the Jordan; and as the first rays of the sun gilded its banks, she reflected on that Son of Justice which there began his divine mission. She contemplated with veneration the tombs of Joshua, and of Eliezer, son of Aaron; and she could not sufficiently admire this latter, which is at Gaban, in the territory of his family, because, being charged with the division of the conquered land, he had kept for his own part the country which was the most scorched and barren. She then visited Silo and Sichem. She entered a church, which has been built on the side of the mountain of Garezim, over the well of the patriarch Jacob, where our Saviour sat with the woman of Samaria. Thence she went to view the tombs of the twelve patriarchs. Weak as she was, she mounted on foot to the summit of the celebrated mountain where the prophet Abdias retired with the hundred prophets in time of persecution, living in caverns, and feeding upon bread and water. Thence she went to Nazareth, to Chanaan, and Capharnaum. She saw the Lake of Tiberiad, sanctified by the honour of having borne the Lord in his navigations, and the desert where he fed the multitude. From the top of Mount Thabor she discovered the mountains of Hermon and Hermonium, and the vast plains of Galilee. She was pointed out the city of Naïn, where the widow's son was raised; but time would fail me to describe all the places which the venerable Paula was prompted to visit by

piety and faith. I pass, therefore, at once into Egypt, where she visited the church which is built over the tomb of the prophet Micah. Then passing over the immense sands of the desert, where she had nothing to guide her but the print of steps, almost effaced, of the travellers who had preceded her in that perilous way, she arrived at the river Seor, and the plains of Tanis. Thence she passed to the city of No, which is now called Alexandria. She then visited Nitria, which had just recently embraced the faith of Christ. The bishop of this city, named Isidore, who had had the honour to confess his religion generously during a persecution, came out to meet her with a crowd of monks, many of whom were priests. At the sight of so many eminent personages, she rejoiced in the glory of the Lord, acknowledging herself unworthy of the honours there showed to her. Then it was that she became acquainted with the Macaires, the Arsetuses, the Serapions, and the crowd of other saints, who were the glory of Christ in these countries. She visited the holy solitaries with respect, and prostrated herself humbly at the feet of each of them. In the least of these servants of God, she thought she beheld God; and it seemed to her that the honours she rendered to them were rendered to Christ, whose image they were to her eyes. O, wonderful ardour! O, courage! almost incredible in a woman, Paula would have wished to have passed the remainder of her days with them, subject to their austere rule, if she had not been recalled to Palestine; so, embarking at Pelusa, she passed to Magunia, and thence returned to Bethlehem; where, for the first three years, she inhabited a small house, until a monastery with cells had been constructed by her orders. There, by the way-side, she built an hospital, which was always open to poor travellers in the very place where Joseph and Mary had found no asylum. Here ended her travels; and from this period (adds St. Jerome) I shall confine myself to describe the progress which she continued to make in virtue."*

The motives for visiting the holy land, as has been admitted by modern writers, were reasonable and holy; and that Rome should have been another place to which pilgrims, from every part of the world, were directed, can excite no surprise, when we consider the religious interest attached to that venerable city, and the indulgences which were extended to those who visited it with a devout intention. We find repeated mention of the pilgrimages to Rome in the Saxon Chronicle; Ina, king of Wessex, who founded the monastery of Glastonbury, afterwards went to Rome, and continued there to the end of his life. Again, in the year 709, we read that Cenred went to Rome, and Offa with him; and Cenred was there to the end of his life. Alfred sent pilgrims to Rome; for kings used often to send pilgrims thither, and to Jerusalem, paying their expences, as we see in the testament of René, King of Sicily, so late as in the year 1474.* On their return, such pilgrims always carried their palms at the procession.

In the remarkable letter which Canute addressed to the bishops and nation of England, he describes, in simple and affecting language, the motives which induced him to make a pilgrimage to Rome: and it is interesting to observe how precisely similar they were to those which still actuate every devout Catholic who repairs thither. Independent of the advantage resulting to the traveller himself, there were reasons to recommend the custom of this particular pilgrimage to the judgment even of those who were politically wise: for, as Spedalieri shows, the Christian pilgrims meeting together in Rome from every country, brought back to their own land a kind of practical and personal conviction of all being children of one mother, so that afterwards every one felt within himself an additional motive for desiring to avert discord, and whatever might interrupt the concord of the common family.†

To estimate justly the disposition of the pilgrim's mind, we should consider what were the difficulties to be encountered on a journey, in the middle age, even, as Thucydides says, "by a well-girded man." It is true, nothing was then more common than travelling. What a great traveller was St. Bernard! and how many journeys did even a St. Theresa make for objects connected with the different establishments which she founded throughout Spain! We find no trace, indeed, of men and families abandoning their native land to travel over the world, through the vanity of that knight in Ariosto, who has squandered his estate, and of whom we are told,

* S. Hieron. Epist. ad Eustoch.

* Mem. de Comines, Preuves.

† De diritti dell 'uomo, Lib. V. 5.

"Ruined, at length he thinks he will begone
To other country, where he is unknown."

We have seen that some travelled in order to conceal their virtues, not their vices; but chivalry and the scholastic life corresponded with devotion in suggesting the advantages of travelling, like Homer, to distant nations, to study, not alone the manners, but also the laws, customs, and institutions, which prevailed in different places; and the influence of the Catholic religion, far more than the wisdom of some of the ancient sages, tended to overthrow those barriers, which national jealousies and pride have so often, and in so many countries, interposed between the mutual intercourse of men as with the Dorians, who prohibited travelling, and excluded all foreigners, through an anxiety to keep up their national character and customs, and particularly as, under the laws of Zaleucus, who made it death to leave one's country for another. Christine de Pisan deems it greatly in praise of Louis de Bourbon, fourth brother of King Charles V. that he was a great traveller: "Moult a voyagé et esté en maintes bonnes et honnorables places."* George Chastellain could boast, in like manner, that he had travelled in France, Spain, England, and Italy; and the poet Ronsard, that he had devoted a long time to this employment.

"J'ay long temps voyagé en ma tendre jeunesse
Desireux de loüange, ennemi de paresse."†

It was during his travels in Germany and his visits to all the great courts of Europe, that the noble and learned Spaniard, Don Diego Savedra Faxardo, collected the materials for his admirable work on the Institutions of a Christian Prince. Like him described by Dante, nothing could overcome, in the ardent spirits of the middle age, the zeal they had to explore the world, and search the ways of life, man's evil and his virtue.‡ Homer is represented saying, that he prefers wandering to remaining in the sacred streets of Cyme:

——— Μέγας δέ με θυμὸς ἐπείγει
δῆμον ἐς ἀλλοδαπῶν ἰέναι ὀλίγον περ ἐόντα. §

Petrarch, in a letter to Andrew Dondolo, doge of Venice, apologizes for his own wandering life, and says, "Heroes, philosophers, and apostles, have led the same." He might have added, that the noblest works of human genius denote clearly that their authors were pilgrims and strangers upon earth. Chateaubriand defends the plan of his Martyrs from those who condemned it as being only that of a journey, by observing that the Odyssey is nothing but a journey; that the Æneid, the Lusiad of Camoens, the Jerusalem of Tasso, and the Telemachus of Fenelon, are also journeys, or chiefly composed of journeys. But there was still a higher consideration which moved men in the middle ages in favour of travelling,—for they remarked, that the life of our Divine Master was like a continual journey and pilgrimage. Consider how often he and his blessed mother travelled, beginning with that journey from Nazareth to the mountains of Judea, which, with the return was a distance of twice ninety-five miles. Then there was the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem of Judea, which was ninety-six miles; from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, with the return, which was twelve miles; from Bethlehem into Egypt, which was about three hundred miles, and back again to Nazareth: from Nazareth to Jerusalem, which was ninety miles, and back again; from Nazareth to the Jordan, which was ninety-two miles. From thence to the desert, five; from the desert to Bethany, fifteen; from thence to Cana in Galilee, ninety-four; thence to Capernaum, forty-five; thence to Jerusalem, one hundred and twelve; thence to Bethbesen on the Jordan, twenty-five; thence to Sichar in Samaria, forty-four; thence to Cana, fifty; thence to Bethsaida, forty-seven; thence to Capernaum, six; thence to the Gessarenet, with the return, which was ten; thence to Jerusalem, one hundred and twelve; thence to the Lake of Genesareth, one hundred and six; thence to Capernaum, six; thence to Nain, with the return, which was one hundred miles. Thence to Nazareth, forty-seven; thence to Sephoris, fifteen; thence to Capernaum, fifty; thence to Corozaim, with the return, sixteen; thence to the confines of Tyre, fifty-five; thence to Sidon, twenty-five; thence to Capernaum, fifty-five; thence to Dalmanntha, five; thence to Bethsaida, five; thence to Cæsarea-Philippi, thirty-eight; thence to Mount Thabor, fifty-eight; thence to Capernaum, forty-five; thence to Jerusalem, with the return, which was two-hundred and twenty-four; thence to Bethabara, on the Jordan, thirty-six; thence to Jerusalem by a circuit

* Livre des fais, &c. II. chap. 14.
† Gouget, Tom. XII. 225. ‡ Hell, xxvi.
§ Epig. IV.

of one hundred and twelve miles; thence to Bethany, twenty-three; thence to Ephrem, twenty; thence to Jericho, sixteen; thence to Bethany, twenty; thence to Jerusalem and back to Bethany. Then twice again from Bethany to Jerusalem, with the return thither. And lastly, the final return to Jerusalem.*

In the middle ages, the manner even of ordinary travelling had many advantages. Young nobles, of high houses, would then make their way on foot "in forma pauperis," with peasant's shoes and staff in hand. Thus would they foster habits of simplicity and endurance, and that amiable taste for the beauties of nature, which is so closely allied to many virtues. What delightful recollections were in store for him who used to rise before the sun, in order to find a more refreshing bed amidst the salt-sea billows of the Mediterranean, where, from amidst them, he would observe, thrown against the blushing sky, the dark and stately form of the pines, which line the rocky shore,—for him who used to wander beneath the marble steeps of Chiavera, or through the forests, on the shore of Chiassi, listening to the gathering melody which rolls from branch to branch, when Eolus hath loosed from his cavern the dripping south? What joy would fill his breast, when he beheld the snow-topt Apennines, like golden clouds, amidst the radiance of the rising sun; and below, far in the distance, for the first time Soracte, and the Tiber, who first unlocks near there his mighty flood, as they appear to him who descends the Mount Ciminus, journeying on his way through Ronciglione to the eternal city! What a sweet, fond theme afterwards, for such as loved him, to hear of his "moving accidents by flood and field, his hair-breadth 'scapes, and most disastrous chances that his youth had suffered." In the middle ages, even this rambling assumed a religious character. Along with their student and castle songs, ἄνθεα ὕμνων νεωτέρων, as Pindar says,† these young wanderers could all sweeten their thoughtful hours with repeating some hymn of holy Church, corresponding with their state. He who was first risen would leave the town before his company, and, as he passed along the shore of the placid sea, spread out, in calm majesty, like the floor of a mighty temple, when already the rising sun darted his beams, and, with his arrowy radiance, gave fearful note of provision for the ensuing hours, he would think of the dangers that might befall him during the meridian heat; he would be reminded of the flames of anger and the sins of an impatient tongue, and then he would repeat, with audible voice, the primal hymn, which prays to God, at the rising of the star of day,

> "Linguam refrænans temperet
> Ne litis horror insonet."

It is not a mere picture of the imagination which ascribes such manners to the common traveller. In a later age the Chancellor D'Aguesau mentions, that when his father and mother used to travel, they always began by reciting the prayers of travellers, which are in the holy book of Priests.

The scenes of life too with which travelling generally familiarised men, conduced to the formation of a noble and thoughtful character. They were not led by it to associate with the wretched godless crew, which, in our own time, is annually discharged upon all the roads of Europe, from the pestilential dens of London or Paris. In general, a modern traveller is only transported from city to city, and from inn to inn, where the same atmosphere, the same dissipation, the same discourse, the same faces accompany him: he is escorted frequently by atheists and epicures, as if by demons—

> "Ah, fearful company! but in the Church
> With saints, with gluttons at the tavern's mess."*

A wanderer in the middle ages, like Dante, might be traced, in his devious course, to an assembly in the sacristy of some Church, or to some knightly castle among the mountains, or to a chamber in some monastery, in a wild and solitary region, or to a tower of some lord near a river, or to a rock adjoining some castle, on which he used to sit, or to a palace of some splendid patron of learned men, or to some banquet hall in the house of some illustrious senator. These journeys had even occasionally the character of a pilgrimage. Peruthgarius, son of Theodald, attached to the court of Count Gerald, being dispatched on a journey by that nobleman, and coming near the Church of the Martyrs, in the town of Kentibrut in Thurgau, was admonished by his page, who here

* Voyages de Jesus Christ. † Olymp. IX.

* Dante, Hell, xxii.

showed himself no Pythagorean, to turn aside a little from the road, for the sake of prayer.* Express and avowed pilgrimages were, however, many of the journeys of the lay nobility. In the Mortuary Hall on the dead body of the knight, which was there exposed, used always to be placed his sword and the staff of pilgrimage, which he had borne to different places during his life.†

Thus far there might seem to be no reason for concluding that the life of a traveller, in the middle ages, had any connection with the character of mourners; but if we consider it with more attention, we shall find that not only, like other occupations of men, it was mixed with joy and sorrow, but that the latter must have predominated at least with the greater part of those who engaged in it. Young men, indeed, may have always rejoiced at the prospect of undertaking a perilous journey, through the same spirit which made the Athenian youth so eager to sail for Sicily: "the desire of seeing distant lands," καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι, as Thucydides says.‡ No sooner returned than they may have been ready to second the proposal of Laertes: "My thoughts and wishes bend again towards France." But no such spirit or encouragement can we ascribe to the pilgrim who left his home and country through penitence and who was often of advanced years, and already bowed down with the weight of calamity. "In the age of the Crusades," says Bonald, "men endeavoured to expiate crimes which were easy to commit, by virtues which were painful to practise."§ We must remember that, after all, the feudal life was especially domestic and sedentary. Long voyages, by men of mature age, were rare, and under all circumstances, painful and difficult. A journey from one province to another was a great enterprise. Hénault relates, that the monks of Saint Maur-des-Fossés, near Paris, excused themselves from going into Burgundy, "on account of the length and dangers of the journey." Thomas Poucyn, elected Abbot of Canterbury in the year 1334, travelling to Avignon, to receive the Pope's benediction, arrived there after a journey of three weeks and three days, of which the expences came to the sum of twenty-one pounds eighteen shillings. Frequently men had to travel over lands without a road, and through a people speaking a multitude of different idioms. It was not till the thirteenth century, that some inns began to be found in Italy. Hence, before going on a journey, men went to confession. Thus Alcuin writes to Dametas: "Make safe your journey by confession, and remember to guard it by alms."* St. Anselm writes in like manner to his brother Burgundius, who was going to Jerusalem: "I advise and entreat you not to carry your sins with you, but get rid of them effectually by a general and exact confession of all your offences from your youth."† Since thou hast far to go, bear not along the clogging burden of a guilty soul.

Abbot Rodulf, in the beginning of the twelfth century, describes his journey across those Alps, which saw pass, in the eleventh, that terrible red flag of the children of Rollo, which was to put to flight the eagles of the eastern empire. It was in winter, on his return from Rome, and scarcely, he says, was the suffering endurable by the human body. "We were detained at the foot of the Mount Jove,‡ in a village called Restopolis, from which we could neither advance nor retreat in consequence of the quantity of snow which had fallen. At length 'the Maroniers,' or guides, conducted us as far as St. Remi, which is on the same mountain, where we found a vast multitude of travellers; and where we were in danger of death from the repeated falls of whole tracts of snow from the rocks above us. We remained some days in this unhappy village, till at length the guides said that they would lead on, but demanded a heavy price. Their heads and hands were guarded with skins and fur, and their shoes armed with iron nails, to prevent them from slipping on the ice, and they carried long spears in their hands, to feel their way along over the snow. It was very early in the morning, and with great fear and trembling the travellers celebrated and received the holy mysteries, as if preparing themselves for death. They contended with each other who should first make his confession; and since one priest did not suffice, they went about the Church confessing their sins to each other. While these things were passing within the Church with great devotion,

* Mabillon, Acta Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. IV. 5.
† Tristan, Tom. V. 134. ‡ Lib. VI. 24.
§ Legislation Primitive, III. 275.

* Alcuini Epist. XLVI.
† S. Anselmi Epist. Lib. III. 66.
‡ Great St. Bernard.

there was a lamentahle shont heard in the street—for the guides who had left the town to clear the way, were suddenly buried nnder a great fall of the snow, as if under a monntain. The people ran to save them, and pulled them out,—some dead, some hut half alive, others with hroken limbs. Upon this, we all returned to Restopolis, where we passed the Epiphany. Upon the weather clearing, we again set out, and snceeeded happily in passing the profane mount of Jove."*

In these holy pilgrims, the spirit of self-denial and mortification was continnally pnt to the test. S. Aderal of Troyes, in the tenth century, made twelve pilgrimages to Rome in honour of the apostles, travelling the entire way on foot: and once being ohliged to pass a swollen river, he boldly entered the torrent, and swam across. He passed the Appennines in a season of intense cold, harefooted, that he might suffer something for Jesus Christ, and each time that he crossed the Alps, he beat the rocks with bare feet.† One of the old chronicles, relating the crusade of Frederic Barharossa, says, that to paint the sufferings and the heroic resignation of the crusaders, would require the tongue of an angel. Snch pilgrims did not resemhle these modern travellers, who would all follow Hercules to the infernal regions in search of the poets, hut, like Bacchus, taking especial care to bargain for a way that was neither too hot nor too cold.‡ Their's was a way over the cold Alp, the nnrse of snows through all the year, and through scorching deserts, where every shape of painful death surrounded them. Nicephorus relates that Evagrius came to Macarius the Anchorite, about the meridian hour, asking for some cold water, being quite exhausted with the heat and fatigue, to whom Macarius placidly replied, "My son, he content with the shade; for many travellers and navigators are this moment wanting it."§

Nor were sufferings wanting even in nearer lands. Many a pilgrim to Camaldoli, might mourn while traversing those desolate scorched hills of hroken earth, where wretched peasants spread before the sun, to be dried on the slaty hed of torrents, the little corn yielded hy that ungracious soil. Hastening on their way to invoke God at the shrines of saints, these poor pilgrims would come to rivers, where they would have to give their last loaf to be transported across, having nothing else left to offer.* When a nohle left his ancestral hall on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, if he had enemies they might rejoice, and say, like the suitors of Penelope, when they heard that Telemachus was setting out, "that he went to perish far from his friends, wandering alone like his father." They might indnlge such a hope; for there were not wanting grounds to make it highly prohahle that it would be realized. William, Dnke of Guyenne, was a prond violent prince, ahandoned to all kinds of profligacy, and so haughty, that he seemed to look down upon the greatest nohles. He chose to recognise the antipope Anaclet, notwithstanding the efforts of St. Bernard and of the Bishop of Soissons, who in vain endeavoured to draw him from the schism. St. Bernard after retiring for some time to his Ahbey of Châteliers, wrote from there to the duke, ordering him to come to him. Thongh this letter was little respectful in appearauce, it produced the effect intended. The duke, immediately on receiving it, set ont for the ahbey, where the saint after receiving him with all the honours due to his rank, proceeded to remonstrate with him without sparing him, speaking to him, during the seven days that he retained him, with such force, of death, the last jndgment, and the pains of hell, that William appeared touched to the qnick, and departed in the best dispositions. After some relapses, he was at length finally converted to a holy life. So, after making a devont testament, he resolved to set ont on a pilgrimage to Compostella: and in such ohscurity did he travel, that, after leaving his states, he was never more heard of. Suger supposed that he died on the road. All that is known for certain respecting him is, that, after traversing Biscay and the north of Castille, he reached the city of Leon; hut beyond that, all was conjecture. The general opinion was, that God took him to himself towards the end of the first Lent of his pilgrimage, and that he received the viaticum on Good Friday. Many were the pilgrims who thus perished without ever having seen the day of retnrn, the νόστιμον ἦμαρ, or without any thing having been ever heard of the manner, or place, or time of their death.

* Chroniç. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. XII. p. 496. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VII.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 250.
‡ Aristoph. Ranæ, 119.
§ Lib. XI. c. 43, Hist. Eccles.

* Mabillon, Acta Ordinis S. Bened. Sæc. IV. 5.

If Eurylochus, in Homer, departed weeping, thongh along with two and twenty compauions, how must he have mourned, who had to set ont, throngh nnknown ways, alone! The sign of monrners was even prescribed to be worn hy those who had charge of receiving the pilgrims, as at Paris in the Hospital of St. Jaqnes-dn-haut-Pas, founded hy Galligus, guardian of another house of the same order in Italy; for there the members were enjoined to wear the sign of Tau woven upon their breasts. Well, then, might one of these pilgrims hear words of affection addressed him on his departure like those which were directed to retain Telemachus. "Dear child! what hath filled yonr mind with this desire? Wherefore, beloved, do you wish to go alone over much of the earth?

——— *ἰέναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν*
*μοῦνος ἐών.**

Remain at home aud enjoy what you possess. There is uo necessity for you to suffer evils on the cruel sea, or to wander thus

——— *οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ,*
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον κακὰ πάσχειν οὐδ' ἀλάλησθαι."

His reply, if made, as it well might be, in the Virgilian line, would not seem to deny the justice of ranking him as a mourner.—

"Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
Jam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur."†

We read in the life of Lietbertns, Bishop of Camhray, that when that holy hishop had resolved npon making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1054, setting ont from his city of Camhray, he was accompanied for three miles hy a multitude of people of both sexes and of all ages, who took leave of him with sighs and tears.‡

Those who remember with what horror a sea voyage was contemplated during the middle ages by the greatest part of those who travelled throngh devotion, can easily appreciate the degree of constancy which they must have possessed to undertake it. Perfectly in the style of Homer was their constant exclamation,

τίς δ' ἂν ἑκὼν τοσσόνδε διαδράμοι ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ἄσπετον;

When the king St. Louis and his host had emharked at Marseilles, Joinville describes how the priests and clerks came upon the deck, and "began, with all the ship's company, to sing aloud the 'Veni Creator Spiritus.' Then the sailors, while singing, spread out the sails in the name of God, and the wind soon filling them, we began to make way, and soon lost sight of land, and saw only the water and the sky. 'Et par ce veulx-je bien dire, (continues the brave Joiuville) qne icelni est hien fol, qui sceut avoir aucune chose de l'antrui, et quelque péché mortel en son âme, et se boute en tel dangier. Car si on s'endort an soir, l'on ne scest si on se trouvera au matin au sons de la mer.'" Undoubtedly the pilgrim who returned from Jerusalem, or from some other distant land, bearing his hranch of palm, and then placing it as an offering on the altar of the Church of his home, coming back alone after wandering for ten years, like Telemachus, or perhaps for twenty, like his great father, suffering many woes, might now with good reason have been felicitated as a man peculiarly favoured, to whom it was not destined, as Mercury says to Calypso of Ulysses, to perish far from his companions, hut to whom it was still reserved to see once more his friends, and to come to his lofty-hattlemented house, and to his father-land.* Guizot, in affirming that the crusades could have involved the chivalry of Enrope in no painful service, because they required uo change of life from men who were always roving, seems to forget the express testimony of history to the monrning and affliction of the crusaders in leaving their homes for these expeditions, which they undertook as a work meritorious.—Thus we behold one of them only persnaded after a long couversation with St. Bernard, who speaks to him on the passion of Christ, till dissolved in a flood of tears, he couquers his preference of house and land, and resolves to take np the cross. Joinville, in quitting his home, cannot endnre the sight of his ancestral towers, and so keeps his face turned from them.

Bnt among the instances on record of the penitential spirit in which many of the crusaders departed for the Holy Land, there is uone more striking than that of

* Odyssey, II. 363.
† Æneid, Lib. III. 493.
‡ Vita Lietberti, Episc. Cameracensis, cap. 31, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX.

* Hom. Od. V. 114.

William, Count of Poitiers, who speaks as follows, before setting out for Palestine: "I wish to compose a chant, and the subject shall be that which causes my sorrow. I go into exile beyond sea, and I leave my beloved Poitiers and Limousin. I go beyond sea to the place where pilgrims implore their pardon. Adieu, brilliant tournaments! adieu, grandeur and magnificence, and all that is dear to my heart! Nothing can stop me. I go to the plains where God promises remission of sins. Pardon me, all you my companions, if I have ever offended you. I implore your pardon. I offer my repentance to Jesus, the master of heaven: to him I address my prayer. Too long have I been abandoned to worldly distractions; but the voice of the Lord has been heard. We must appear before his tribunal. I sink under the weight of my iniquities."

I am not ignorant, indeed, with what bitter scorn and insulting censure the modern writers speak of the influence which occasioned this wondrous progress of nations to the East; but neither am I in doubt respecting their unreasonableness in so doing. Pope Urban II. in the Council of Claremont, conceding the indulgence to all who should join the enterprise which was to deliver Jerusalem from the yoke of the Saracens, made this provision, which is read in the second canon: "Quicunque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia ei reputetur."—"Can one conceive, (asks Guizot,) that at present a people of proprietors would all of a sudden abandon their property and family, and leave their homes, without an absolute necessity, to seek such distant adventures? Nothing of this kind (he adds) would have been possible, had not the daily life of the possessors of fiefs been a kind of training for the crusades."* Nor would it have been possible then, he might have added, if religion had not imparted a sanctity to mourning, and taught men to embrace such sufferings as meritorious. Besides, without taking into account what this author had elsewhere admitted, that the feudal life was favourable to domestic habits, and to the importance of women, it is a manifest truth, that by a law of nature and the very constitution of the human mind, men in general, with the exception of certain peculiar tribes, must in every age be similarly affected with regard to the love of home and of country. To be driven out from one's native land—a wanderer among foreign nations—seemed to the Greeks a greater punishment than death, and to be the appropriate penalty for an impious man.* Before the influence of the universal Church had counteracted the pride and cruelty of the national spirit, which alienated man from man, the condition of a foreigner was truly wretched. St. Augustin says, that a man would rather keep company with his dog, than with another man who did not understand the language which he spoke.† And even had it been otherwise, who could be insensible to the feelings expressed by Hippolytus, when he bids adieu to the land of his birth, the scene of his youthful sports, and the witness of his happy days? The Catholic religion, notwithstanding the universality of its sphere of action, had not destroyed or diminished these feelings. St. Ambrose, speaking of the eminent virtues of the patriarch Abraham, remarks in the first place the command which he received to go forth from his country, and from his acquaintances, and from his father's house, and then he adds, "It would have been sufficient to say from thy country," but the rest was added in order to prove his affection.‡ "Why do you fly?" asks St. Ambrose, addressing those who dreaded the advance of the barbarians. "Perhaps," he continues, "you fear captivity. Do you not know that this is the greatest captivity, not to behold your country? And what can be more grievous than the banishment of a journey?"§ How well is that described by the great poet—who passed so many years of his own life in wandering—where, describing the first glimmering dawn, he adds,

——— "That breaks
More welcome to the pilgrim still as he
Sojourns less distant on his homeward way."‖

St. Bernard, in the age of the greatest fervour for pilgrimages, in the age of the crusades, himself the preacher of the crusade, reckons the love of our country among the fruits of justice.¶ Judge then from all this, whether the pilgrim in distant lands, who could say of himself,

* Discours sur l'Hist. Mod. Tom. IV. 5.

* Eurip. Hippolyt. 1050.
† De Civitate Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. 7.
‡ S. Ambros. Lib. de Abrah. Patriarch.
§ S. Ambrosii Serm. LXXXV.
‖ Purg. XXVII. ¶ De Ordine Vitæ.

like Ulysses, that he had never entered his country since he first followed Godfrey or Richard to Jerusalem to help the Christians, but had always been wandering full of sorrows, that his constant wishes and expectation were, to arrive at his home, and to see the day of return—

οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι.*

Whether, I say, this pilgrim, be he layman or priest, knight or palmer, ought not to have been reckoned among the tribe of mourners?

But let us note some details relative to the manner of their journey, and to the consolations afforded them on the way.

Before setting out, the pilgrim provided himself with a commendatory letter, called a letter of communion, which was composed so as to prevent the possibility of its being forged. These letters used to be given, not only to all clerks who travelled to a different diocese, and who, by the canons of the Council of Tours, in the year 461, were prohibited from travelling without them, but also to all laymen, in evidence of their being at peace with the Church: for, as Optatus Milevitanus says, "The whole world was formed into one society and communion."† Thus the testimonial of Catholic faith answered to the σύμβολα, or Tessera of the ancients, which were tokens of hospitality, made so that a person, by producing one piece, might be recognised by another who had its corresponding part. Jason tells Medea that he will give her these symbols to insure for her an hospitable reception from his friends in the country to which she is going.‡ Thomassinus alludes to this subject in treating on hospitality, to whose observations the reader may refer.

Humility, simplicity, and charity, characterised the pilgrim's way. In the old fabliaux of the two rich citizens and the labourer, the former going on a pilgrimage, and being joined by a peasant, they all three travel on lovingly together, and join their provisions in a common stock. The duty of the Teutonic knights as pilgrims was denoted on the seal of their order, which represented the mother of Christ seated on an ass, holding the infant Jesus in her arms, with Joseph walking and leading the animal, the star going before them as when they fled into Egypt.* Little difficulties were not to interrupt the course. "The morning rain stops not the pilgrim," is the proverb we have derived from these ages. In the rules given to the Knight Templars, they were directed to travel two or three together, and when they come to any place in which there was a house belonging to the order, they were obliged to take up their lodging there with the brethren, and they were directed to provide themselves with a light, which should be kept burning during the night, near where they slept. "When you go on a journey, (says St. Bonaventura) live in great peace with him whom the superior will have given to you for a companion. Never engage in any dispute with him, although you should be in the right, but yield to him with tranquillity, and keep silence, because it is seldom that any one is convicted by disputing, or made to change his opinion. Preserve your own peace, that you may give peace to others, and begin by appeasing yourself, and then you may appease him; because, what you would say in trouble and agitation to him who is troubled and agitated, would only trouble and agitate him the more; and you will more easily win him by your gentleness and patience, than by all the reasons you could allege: for virtue is not taught by vice, nor humility by pride. Be accommodating and agreeable on the journey, but without dissipation or compromise of your duty."†

Monks, like minor friars, were bound to travel two and two. On their way they were commanded to shew respect to every one, and to salute all strangers whom they met, to take every occasion of consoling, instructing, and edifying those in whose company they found themselves, and never to show harshness or rudeness in reproving such as acted wrong in their presence; but to admonish them with gentleness and humility, so that in this way going through the world, they might literally accomplish the order of Jesus Christ to preach the gospel to every creature. St. Martin converted a robber who happened to travel along with him. They were always to endeavour to arrive at the place of sleeping before late, that there might be no hurry to themselves or inconvenience to their hosts.‡

* Odyss. V. 220.
† Vide Joan. Devoti Institut. Canonic. Lib. II.
‡ Eurip. Medea, 613.

* Voigt Geschichte Preussens, II. 57.
† S. Bonaventuræ de Reformat. Hominis exter. cap. 36.
‡ S. Bonaventuræ Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 29. 31.

Monks on a journey were advised to take little books with them, and Mabillon describes the volnmes for this purpose, which were in a monastery of Cistercians. St. Gregory the Great says, "that the Abbot Æquitins nsed to carry sacred pages in leather cases on each of his sides." There were books expressly composed for the pilgrims, containing prayers, and hymns, and litanies suitable to their engagement. The moral work entitled Le Dialogue du Crucifix et du Pélerin was written by one of these pilgrims, William Alexis, the humble prior of the monastery of Bury, in the diocese of Evreux. He wrote it in the year 1486, at the reqnest, as he says himself, of some pilgrims of Rouen, who were with him on the holy voyage, "for their spiritual consolation, and to excite them to devotion and patience." Gouget observes, "that it is a most pions work, and that the anthor had always in view the engagements of his state."* Companies of pilgrims travelling together recited the psalms and sung litanies on the way.

St. Gerard, bishop of Toule, made a pilgrimage to Rome for the sake of devotion. So leaving not a little substance for the support of the poor, he set out on his journey with twelve companions of the clerical and monastic order, who with him might continually chant psalms or jubilations. They seemed to make the whole road to Rome one church, the standard of the cross always preceding them. Who could describe the abundant alms which they dispensed on the way? Upon arriving at Pavia, they were received by the holy Maiolus abbot of Cluny,† and the blessed Adhelbert, who was afterwards a martyr.‡ "O what spiritual exultation was theirs! What conversation on the supernal kingdom ever to be desired! What divine discourse upon the divine word! Each hung upon the other's lips. Each believed that he heard Christ in the other, who certainly dwelled in them."§ When pious travellers entered a town, they used to visit first all the places of devotion which it contained; then they used to offer their alms to the hospitals, and serve the poor that were in them. In the time of Petrarch, when the emperor Charles and the empress came to Rome to be crowned on Easter Sunday, arriving there on Maunday Thursday, on the two following days, he visited the chnrches in a pilgrim's habit. Many travellers of the modern school feel themselves strangers and aliens as they pass through the nations of the Catholio church, and seem as if never to be at ease, or capable of perfect refreshment, till they arrive at that little city of Calvin, where the law at present forbids men to proclaim the divinity of Christ; but the pilgrim of the middle ages had the consolation of finding his home in every church which he passed on the way. Every where he found the same holy rites, the same language which had been familiar to him from childhood. Did his heart for a moment fail at the thought of his course being unaccomplishable, and did the memory of home and the prospect of danger prompt him to return without seeing the place of his desire? in prayer, at the foot of the altar, he gathered fresh strength and courage to continue on his way, for he felt as if he were then but for the first moment setting out from home. The Missa Sicca or Nautica used to be celebrated on ship-board. When St. Louis was a prisoner in the hands of the Sarassins, he had a Missa Sicca celebrated in his presence. The rubric prescribed that the priest should be clad as usual in the sacred vestments; that he should read the mass till the preface; that the canon was to be omitted; that the pater-noster was then to be said; but that all tho secrets were to be omitted, and that neither chalice nor host was to be on the altar. In later ages Pope Benedict XIV. gave permission to have mass said on board the ships of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, provided the sea was calm and the sky serene.* Guido de Monte Rocherii, who wrote about the year 1333, approves of the custom of celebrating a Missa Sicca before travellers who should arrive late and after the priest had said his mass. In this case he says, "that the priest after reading the mass of the day, should show relics instead of continuing the canon." Even in desolate and benighted regions, religion supplied the wanderer with an idea which served as a substitute for home; for, as the Athenian general said to his soldiers in his affecting speech on the retreat from Syracuse, "that they were to consider it as if they themselves, wherever they happened to rest on

* Bibliotheque Français, Tom. X. 119.

† Who ruled from the year 948 to 994.

‡ Bishop of Prague, crowned with martyrdom in the year 997.

§ Acta Tullensium Episcoporum apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ II. 48.

the way, immediately constituted the city,"* so these bands of Catholic pilgrims, when they had to traverse infidel lands, were consoled with remembering, that wherever the hand of Providence might conduct their steps, they were themselves holy Sion and the walls of Jerusalem.

Bounty to the poor was the virtue more than all others pre-eminently to distinguish the pilgrims, who never forgot that it was when travelling, the good Samaritan practised that memorable work of charity, and that a hostel was the scene of it. The joy and devotion expressed by pilgrims on first coming in sight of Jerusalem or Rome, or the temple of their vow, was a subject which has employed the genius of the noblest poets and painters. Clarke thus describes his first view of Jerusalem: "'Hagiopolis!' exclaims a Greek in the van of our cavalcade, and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen upon his knees bare-headed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. The effect produced was that of perfect silence throughout the whole company. Many of our party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; presently beginning to cross themselves with unfeigned devotion, they asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed bare-footed to the holy sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited." So also we read, "that after the first transports of joy on beholding Jerusalem, deep repentance succeeded through the whole host of the crusaders," for Tasso, at this point, closely follows history.

"Scantly they durst their feeble eyes dispread
Upon that town, where Christ was sold and bought;
Where, for our sins, he, faultless, suffer'd pain,
There where he died, and where he liv'd again.
Soft words, low speech, deep sobs, sweet sighs, salt tears,
Rose from their breasts, with joy and pleasure mixt:
For thus fares he the Lord aright that fears,
Fear on devotion, joy on faith is fix't:
Their naked feet trod on the dusty way,
Following th' ensample of their zealous guide;
Their scarfs, their crests, their plumes and feathers gay,
They quickly doft, and willing laid aside."†

The hill whence the pilgrims gain the first view of St. James of Compostello, is called Montjoye, or Mons Gaudii. The number and devotion of the pilgrims at various holy places would be so great, that whole towns used to spring up and be established in consequence. At St. Maur, it used to be a great privilege to the inhabitants who alone had the right to sell candles to the pilgrims for the procession.* The greatest concourse was always at the principal festival, celebrated at that particular place. Never shall I lose the memory of the devout multitude which flocked to the Seraphic mountain of Alvernio, when that simple and joyous family of Christ, dwelling there in great innocence, and ministering in all things to strangers, commemorated the stigmata of its blessed founder. Thither came men and women, old and young, rich and poor, and all entered as if it were into their own house, so sure was the humblest pilgrim of receiving food, and fire, and welcome. Then when the bell sounded for the first vespers, this throng of pilgrims which had filled the courts, and cloisters, and corridores, and halls of the convent, hastened into the church, where they met before the altar like one family. On the evening of the next day, which closed the pious solemnity, these pilgrims descended from the mountain, if not like St. Francis bearing the signs of our redemption on their bodies, yet assuredly as far as one could judge from their saintly looks and by their whole demeanour, having the cross in their hearts imprinted by the Spirit of God. Sometimes, without regard to particular festivals, the penitential seasons of the ecclesiastical year were spent in these pious journeys. King Robert of France used to spend whole Lents on pilgrimages.

With respect to the assistance afforded to pilgrims on their way, there are some facts which deserve notice. In the eye not only of religion but of the state, they were privileged persons. In the remarkable letter of Canute to the bishops and nation of England, after describing his pilgrimage to Rome, he mentions having taken occasion to obtain from the emperor Conrad and other princes, an exemption for all his subjects who should make the pilgrimage to Rome, that they might not be detained at the barriers, nor subjected to any exactions on their way. "As for pilgrims," says a capitulary of Pepin-le-bref, "who make a pilgrimage with a view to

* Lib. VII. 77. † Book III.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. V.

God, let no toll be demanded from them."* In the year 1358, Rudolph Archduke of Austria and Lord of Rappersweil, undertook the amazing work of erecting a bridge over the lake of Zurich, though the breadth in that place is eighteen hundred paces. This was done in order to assist the pilgrims who were travelling to Einsiedelin, as they used frequently to be prevented from crossing the lake by storms which opposed the fulfilment of their pious vows.† The erection of hostels for the reception of pilgrims was a work of charity to which communities and individuals devoted themselves. Cities and private persons made foundations to procure asylums for their fellow townsmen in places of pilgrimage, or for such as were on their way thither. In the year 1752, the magistrates of Avignon wrote to the council of Rheims, to say that every native of Rheims or of Champagne passing by their city had a right to be nourished during three days, and to receive an ecu on proceeding forward.‡ At Lille, we read of two ancient hospitals for the pilgrims. There were five at Douai, and there was one at each of the towns of Orchies, Armentiers, and Seclin, where the grey sisters and other pious persons exercised hospitality.§ In the year 1353, several hostels were founded at Einsiedelin, for the gratuitous reception of pilgrims, rich and poor, who were all to be received without respect of persons, for God's sake.‖ At Freyburg, in Switzerland, shortly after entering the city from the side of Germany, and before ascending the steep hill, you see the small ancient hostel for the pilgrims of St. James of Compostello. The image of a pilgrim with his bottle, cockle, hat, and staff, stands in a gothic niche over the door. At Paris there was the hospital of St. James to receive pilgrims who should be going to Compostello. Some thought that it had been founded by Charlemagne, but it was not established till the year 1315, and it was the work of some Parisians, who, having made this pilgrimage, and wishing to perpetuate the memory of it, formed themselves into a fraternity. Every year on the first Monday after the festival of St. James the Greater, the brethren assembled in the church of the hospital, and made a solemn procession with the staff of a pilgrim in one hand and a lighted taper in the other. Over the gate of this hospital of St. James, was the following inscription: "Nullos fundatores ostento, quia humiles, quia plures, quorum nomina tabella non caperet, cœlum recipit; vis illis inseri? vestem præbe, panem frange pauperibus peregrinis."* In the great hospital of the Knights of St. John, at Paris, there was an immense square tower which contained four vast halls, one over the other, furnished with beds for the pilgrims of Jerusalem, and for the sick who asked hospitality.† At Milan, Barnabo Visconti founded an hospice for the entertainment of pilgrims. At Rome, besides the vast hospital for pilgrims where every one is received, there were a multitude of similar foundations, though of a confined nature, which were of great antiquity. The Hospital of the Holy Spirit still bears a name from its proximity to the hospice which had been founded for their countrymen by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Alfred was the founder of this house, which, on the change of religion in England, was converted by the Catholics into a college. The French had also their hospitium for French pilgrims; and there was an hospitium for foreign secular priests of all nations who should be travelling. But, as connected with great events and illustrious titles, no foundation was so remarkable as the Pilgrim's Hospital at Jerusalem, which gave rise to a renowned order, whose fame must endure as long as the world lasts. The Bull of Pope Honorius III., speaks of it in these terms: "Those who, with various perils by sea, visit, through devotion, the holy city, and the sepulchre of our Lord, know well how dear to God, and how venerable to men, is that place which affords an agreeable and useful asylum for strangers, and for the poor in the German Hospital of St. Mary at Jerusalem: for there the indigent and the poor are refreshed, obsequious attention is paid to the sick, and they who have been fatigued by divers labours and dangers are restored and refreshed; and in order that they may proceed with greater security to the holy places, sanctified by the corporal presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, there are brethren especially appointed, at the expense of that hospital, to wait upon them."

The hostels, or inns, which have succeeded in most places to these ancient

* Cap. Pipp. A. 755. Baluz. Tom I. Col. 175.
† Einsiedlische Chronik by Tschudi 73.
‡ Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. III.
§ Hist. des Saints de Lille, Douai, &c. 672.
‖ Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik, 69.

* De Saint-Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom, II. p. 490.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, I. 6.

foundations of charity, have, in Catholic countries, still retained an aspect which gives them an interest in the estimation of devout or of romautic travellers. The innkeeper of the middle ages took care to have holy images in the apartments of his hostel for his guests. There was a room, or at least a table, separate for persons who were excommunicated.* All which did not prevent persons from fancying that there were some inns which the demon had kept, and which were served by his imps. The very signs of inns continued to favour the idea that every journey was a pilgrimage; for such were the associations connected with images of the three kings, of the flight into Egypt, and of the pilgrim, which were so generally placed over the gate to invite the traveller to pull his rein. At Bacione, the last stage to Rome, there is a lone huge inn, which, from the throng and variety of guests, may remind one of a pilgrims' hostel; and on the bleak wild mountain of Radicoffani, there is another solitary inn, in which is a chapel, where mass is said. Arriving here on the festival of St. Michael, I had the happiness of finding that a priest was just arrived for the purpose of saying mass, and all the people of the inn proceeded to assist at it with great devotion. Arriving about the Ave Maria, at any inn in the states of the church, where oue so often meets companies of ecclesiastics travelling, the sound of their solemn voices, repeating their holy office aloud, seems to impart to the inn the sanctity of a cloister, and consoles the solitary pilgrim, who can feel himself as if domesticated under a holy roof; while the sacred dramatic show, which sometimes succeeds during supper, completes the charm, at least in the estimation of one who seeks in travelling, not luxury, but the simple and holy manners of the antique world. Lord Marmion's train arriving at the hostel where the palmer sits by the fire, furnishes the poet with a picture, of which the colouring denotes a more northern clime, though the substance is familiar to us all—

> "Down from their seats the horsemen sprung,
> With jingling spurs the court-yard rung;
> Soon by the chimney's merry blaze,
> Through the rude hostel might you gaze;
> Might see where, in the dark nook aloof,
> The rafters of the sooty roof
> Bore wealth of winter cheer;
> Of sea-fowl dried, and Soland's store,
> And gammons of the tusky boar,
> And savoury haunch of deer."

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. III. 487.

But not merely in the inns and hostels was the pilgrim a welcome guest: every where alike, whether to the cottage, or to the castle, he might direct his steps, at any hour of the day or night, and feel secure of meeting with a kind reception. No where in a Catholic land would he find the φυγόξενον, whom Pindar mentions; nor the "stranger-hating house," which Admetus speaks of in the Greek play. As in the primitive days of Christian society, if a stranger showed that he professed the orthodox faith, and was in the communion of the Church, he was received with open arms wherever he went. To have refused him eutrance would have been thought the same thing as to have rejected Jesus Christ himself.* Even without any knowledge of his character, the wanderer was admitted to hospitality; and the general sentiment of the host, on such occasions, may be learned from chivalrous tales, as from that of Gyron le Courtois; for we read there, that when Dauayn le Roux and his varlet were riding one night in the forest, they espied a fire in the distance, and coming up to it, they found that it came from a tent, in which a knight was lodging with his company. The squire went up to the knight in the teut, and said, "Sir knight, here is a knight all armed, and we do not know what he wishes to say." "Bien soit il venu," replied their lord, "par advanture vouldra il ceste nuyte demourer avecques nous. Se il est preudhomme, moult en suis lye et joyeux de sa compaignie avoir, et se il est autre, Dieu le conseille. Sa bonte le conduyra, et sa mauvaistrie luy demourra quant il se partira de nous."† The Church took the lead here. St. Hildegard styles Pope Eugene, "The Father of Strangers."‡ In fact, at Rome, on Maunday Thursday, the holy father shows himself the servant of strangers, repairing to the hospital of the poor pilgrims, who have come thither from every clime, and there humbly ministering to wash their feet. To secure the protection, not alone of pilgrims, but of all persons who travelled through the world, was a constant object of solicitude with the Holy See, and various councils raised their solemn voice to further it, in opposition to local abuses, and even to the civil legislation. Vincent of Beauvais cites a Council of Lateran, which says, "They who with damnable cupidity pillage the substance

* Benedict XIV. De Canonizatione Servorum Dei, Lib. I.

† F. 411. ‡ S. Hildegardi Epist. I

of Christians suffering shipwreck, whom, by the rule of faith, they are bound to assist, become subject to excommunication, unless they restore what they have taken. Nothing must be taken from shipwrecked persons, whether found on sea or on shore; nor will any custom, statute, or prescription, excuse offenders in this case; for it is against the precept of our Lord, who says, 'Do unto others what you would they should do unto you.'"*

In the year 1377, Archbishop Albert, of Prussia, published a charge, for the utility of the faithful navigating, to declare that such persons, merchants, or others, are placed under the protection of the Apostolic See; and, in the event of any of them suffering shipwreck, to call upon all who are near to hear them assistance, for God's sake, and for the sake of natural equity, and as they would wish to be themselves assisted in similar circumstances."† Even in times of war, pilgrims always found an efficient protection in being under the safeguard of the Holy See, which gave them free liberty to pass into hostile nations. We must hope, therefore, for the honour of Buccleugh, that no credit need be paid to the old harper, who sings of the Lady of Branksome, gathering a band to surprise Lord Cranstoun, as he went on pilgrimage to the chapel on the edge of St. Mary's Lake. The general obligation of respecting and succouring the stranger was an express precept of the Almighty to his chosen people; and it was a primeval tradition, which we find transmitted in the writings of many of the ancients. "Advenam non contristabis, neque affliges eum," is the command to the Jews,‡ which is elsewhere repeated. "Advena sit inter vos, quasi indigena; et diligetis eum quasi vosmetipsos."§ And the Athenian, in Plato, observes that offences against a stranger, or host, are visited with a more severe punishment from Heaven than those committed against one's own countryman, of which the reason is given, in the following most amiable words, which savour not the least of modern political economists—*ἔρημος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ξένος ἑταίρων τε καὶ ξυγγενῶν ἐλεεινότερος ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεοῖς.*‖

But to return to the pilgrim, and to view him seated beneath the hospitable roof. Those vast chimneys of the feudal castle, over which used often to be carved the hunting of St. Hubert; and in which a whole cart-load of wood used to be burnt every day in winter, used to hear strange variety of sweet and solemn words,—the song of the page, the counsels of the chaplain, the fable of the troubadour, the wanderings of the palmer and his woes. What were those pilgrims' tales of which the men in our age speak so scornfully? Were they related by men resembling, indeed, those wanderers, who used to visit Ithaca, of whom the swine-herd says, in Homer, that they are apt to lie, nor do they wish to tell truth; but they have always some idle stories about Ulysses, by means of which they hope to gain the favour of Penelope; and she loves them, and, weeping, asks them a thousand questions,* or, like these modern writers of travels, these narrators of scandal, and calumniators of Catholic nations, who, if they were honest, might say with the Sycophant, in Plautus—

> "Advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia, atque Arabia,
> Quas ego neque oculis, neque pedibus unquam usurpavi meis."†

Ah, no! it was a different race of men from all these. In their journeys they were never to affect to bear news, however good and probable: "For," as St. Bonaventura said, "it was not the part of religious men to be news-bearers. The wise man had given them this precept, 'Avoid spreading reports, lest men should say you are the authors of them.'"‡ "Let him who wishes to hear good news," says a great writer of the time, "hear Christ speak concerning the kingdom of God, the future judgment, the heavenly Jerusalem, the felicity of the supernal citizens, the eternal rejoicing of the angelic choirs. Let him hear the prophets announcing the mysteries of Christ, and denouncing penalty against sinners; let him hear the apostles and evangelists relating the works and miracles of Christ; let him hear the doctors and other masters beautifully discoursing, expounding the happy way, and refuting errors."§ Their journeys had no features to amuse the profligate, like those which belonged to that famous voyage to Brundusium, to the account of which the moderns are never tired listening. Travellers of the modern discipline would have had nothing to fear from landing upon Scythian Taurus,

* Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. X. cap. 62.
† Voigt Geschichte Preussens III. 509.
‡ Exod. xxii. § Levit. xix.
‖ Plato de Legibus, Lib. V.

* Od. XIV. 125.
† Trinummus IV. 2.
‡ S. Bonaventuræ Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 32.
§ Thomas à Kempis, Hortulus Rosarum, cap. 12.

while the temple of Diana stood, if the daughter of Agamemnon said true, that nothing but what was holy could ever be offered to the goddess. She would refnse to sacrifice any one of these men, saying—

*οὐ καθαρὸν ὄντα· τὸν δ' ὅσιον δώσω φόνῳ.**

Bnt the case would have been different in the middle ages; for the wandering scholar-boy, or the hoary palmer, would then have touched there to enrich the poet's mournful themes; and, therefore, the tales and discourse of those who had avoided that danger would be pure as the oracles of God. Their conversation also, though relative to foreign lands, had nothing to recommend it to the ears of that race of men most foolish, as the poet styles them, "who always vituperate things domestic, and look on all sides for distant objects, seeking vain things with idle hope."† Their devout and solemn narrations suited not the childien of vanity, nor those who had not their treasure with them; yet, though it was far from the gentle pilgrim to be a common laugher, still, as St. Bonaventura prescribes to the monk, in lodging with seculars on his journey, he was to be simple and humble, gentle without flattery, gay and affable without dissipation. It was his duty to moderate, on these occasions, the austerity of his manners; and for the sake of charity and honest utility, to lay aside his gravity for a time.‡

To jndge merely from what occurs in our age, it would be impossible to understand or credit the interest which these pilgrims could inspire in every circle of listeners, whose attention to their tales they craved, for Christ's dear Church's sake. Of all descriptions of men at present, the traveller is perhaps, the most insipid and disgustful; it seems as if he can only add the description of eating and drinking to the commonplace narrations which are to be fonnd in every library made up of scandal, reviling of holy things, calumny and pretended discoveries in the intrigues of government, and in the science of economy; and, besides this, if travellers were themselves of a higher order, men would be wanting in feeling to appreciate them: they would rather trust their pompous journals than their unpretending guest. The truth is, that religion is the source of all deep and powerful interest, so that where there is no religion, there can be no really intense intellectual interest experienced on any subject: for, let the understanding be ever so anxious to create one, the heart will still prove, on its demands, a cold and powerless organ. Hence no one now has sufficient regard for a wanderer, as even to ask him, in the Homeric style—

*τίς πόθεν εἷς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠ δὲ τοκῆες;**

It is only, How stood the exchange, and what majority had ministers?—or, rather, ten to one it is, if possible, more prosaic still,—what money have you in your purse? But in ages of faith, when the hearts of men overflowed with the love of Christ, when in thought and in the deepest affection of their souls they ever stood on Calvary, and wept at the holy sepulchre, no sweeter moment was there than that in which they listened to the pligrims describing the wonders of Jerusalem. To hear of Rome, too, —of sacred Rome,—and of Christ's vicar, who meekly sways the race of pre-elected men, full of reverence and amaze, desire in their minds grew with satiety. He it was who could tell of such things that held both keys to their heart, turning the wards, opening and shutting with a skill so sweet that besides him into their inmost breast scarce any other could admittance find. As Martial says to a Roman, who was with him in the country, "Romam tu mihi sola facis;" so, he who had been in these sacred places was to them Rome and Jerusalem; and, like the Abbess of St. Hilda, they would style him holy Palmer; for, surely, they would add—

"—— He must be sainted man,
Whose blessed feet have trod the ground
Where the Redeemer's tomb is found."

His very face was as a book, where men might read strange mournful, yet beatific things. The ideal of noble chivalry, with all its sufferings, seemed united there with that of the saintly life; and in fact, the knightly pilgrim, like the Ulysses of the Odyssey, seems to be more in his genuine element when wandering in the midst of adventures and tempests, and in disguise, than when openly counselling and fighting on the plains of Asia. In Marmion, we have a fine description of the palmer, when Young Selby proposes that this stranger should be Lord Marmion's guide—

* Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 1029.
† Pindar, Pyth. Od. III.
‡ Id. cap. 31.

* Od. XIV. 187.

"Here is a holy palmer come,
From Salem first, and last from Rome.
One that hath kiss'd the blessed tomb,
And visited each holy shrine,
In Araby and Palestine;
On hills of Armenie hath been,
Where rest of ark may yet be seen;
By that Red Sea, too, hath he trod,
Which parted at the prophet's rod;
In Sinai's wilderness he saw
The mount where Israel heard the law;
He shows Saint James's cockle-shell;
Of fair Montserrat, too, can tell;
And of that grot, where olives nod—
Where, darling of each heart and eye,
From all the youth of Sicily,
Saint Rosalie retired to God.
To stout Saint George, of Norwich merry;
St. Thomas, too, of Canterbury;
Cuthbert, of Durham; and Saint Bede,
For his sins' pardon hath he prayed.
He knows the passes of the north,
And seeks for shrines beyond the Forth;
Little he eats, and long will wake,
And drinks, but of the stream or lake:
This were a guide o'er moor or lake."

The English knight approves of the plan, and says, that he loves such holy wanderers, who can always cheer the way with some legendary strain; but young Selby, with an altered countenance, and finger laid on his lip, intimates that he is, perhaps, an over solemn and mysterious guide; and he is going on to describe his air and manner, when Marmion interrupts him, and says, that he will have no other guide but the palmer—

"So please you, gentle youth, to call
This palmer to the castle-hall.
The summon'd palmer came in place—
His sable cowl o'er-hung his face:
In his black mantle was he clad,
With Peter's keys, in cloth of red,
On his broad shoulders wrought;
The scallop-shell his cap did deck;
The crucifix around his neck
Was from Loretto brought;
His sandals were with travel tore—
Staff, budget, bottle, scrip he wore;
The faded palm-branch in his hand
Show'd pilgrim from the holy land.
When, as the Palmer came in hall,
Nor lord, nor knight, was there more tall,
Or had a statelier step withal,
Or look'd more high and keen;
But his gaunt frame was worn with toil,
His cheek was sunk, alas the while!
Poor wretch! the mother that him bare,
If she had been in presence there,
In his wan face and sun-burnt hair,
She had not known her child.
Danger, long travel, want, or woe,
Soon change the form that best we know."

The palmer consents to guide the knight, but observes, that they must set out with morning-tide, adding—

"For I have solemn vows to pay,
And may not linger by the way,
To fair St. Andrew's bound.
Within the ocean-cave to pray,
Where good St. Rule his holy lay,
From midnight to the dawn of day,
Sung to the billows' sound."

The remembrance of the palmer might turn our thoughts to muse upon the Platonic notion of the pilot, where Socrates explains what renders him so conscious of the little value of his services to those whom he guides over the watery way; for, if that passage be compared with the description of the saintly wanderer, there will be found the same countenance and language in them both. The latter guides the knight, and seems not to imagine that he has performed any great office; he participates in his sufferings and success; and though full of charity, yet, whether he sees him cast down or elevated, he changes not his tone. Alike to him seem the prosperous and adverse course of his companion; he rejoices with him as though he rejoiced not; and enables him to see at length the day of return, and no sound of congratulation passes his lips. What is this but the same phenomena which Socrates observed in the pilot? "Witness the pilot," says he, "by whose skill our lives and properties are preserved from such great danger; and yet how modest he is and humble, and how far from making great boast, as if he could perform any thing wonderful; but if he preserves us safe coming from Ægina, he only demands two obols; and if he leads us back safe from Ægypt or Pontus, with our sons and wives and riches, he asks but two drachms; and the man who possesses this art, and who can perform these things, goes down to the shore, and walks by the sea-side about his ship, in a lowly unassuming manner; for he perceives, I think, that it is very uncertain whether he has done a service or an injury to those whom he has saved from being drowned in the waves, knowing that he has put them on shore no better in body or soul than when he received them into his ship; he considers, then, that if any one, pressed with incurable maladies of body hath been saved by his means from perishing in the sea, the same is to be pitied, and has received no benefit from his hands; and if any one should have many incurable maladies in his soul, which is so much more precious than the body, it will be of no utility to him to preserve him from the sea; for he knows that it is not for the advantage of a wicked man to continue to live, since

he must needs live ill; therefore, there is no law to ordain that a pilot should be honoured, although he saves us."*

Many instances are on record of persons of profligate lives having been subdued and converted by a casual meeting with these holy wanderers, whose dignified and saintly presence would strike even brute violence with adoration and blank awe. Here, again, one's thoughts may return to what is told in pages of the old philosophy; for we read that, when Pythagoras descended from the sacred top of Carmel, where he had remained in solitary meditation, arriving at a bark, he uttered nothing but these words, Εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὁ ἀπόπλους; Are you bound for Egypt? And they answering in the affirmative, he embarked, and remained silent during the whole voyage, for two nights and three days eating nothing, and constantly composed and motionless, so that the sailors concluded it was a demon that passed from Syria into Egypt; and they were careful to utter no bad words among themselves, and to abstain from all impropriety till they had set him safe on shore.† The licentious songster, or the rude and worldly knight, the lover of wine and minstrelsy, bent perhaps upon some dark deed, would little suppose that the palmer's presence could interrupt their merriment, yet, when confronted with him, "how would one look from his majestic brow, seated as on the top of virtue's hill, discountenance them, despised, and put to rout all their array?"

It was not necessary to ascribe to the palmer that knowledge of more than could be learned by holy lore, of which young Selby spoke, in order to account for the solemn and half terrific scene at the hostel hearth—

"Resting upon his pilgrim-staff,
Right opposite the palmer stood:
His thin dark visage, seen but half—
Half hidden by his hood.
Still fix'd on Marmion with his look,
Which he, who ill such gaze could brook,
Strove by a frown to quell;
But not for that, though more than once
Full met their stern encountering glance,
The palmer's visage fell."

His silence was a commentary which made the song of Fitz-Eustace fall sad on Marmion's ear; and when at length he spoke, though it was only these words, "The death of a dear Friend,"

"Marmion, whose steady heart and eye
Ne'er changed in worst extremity;

* Plato Gorgias.
† Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 3.

Marmion, whose soul could scantly brook,
Even from his king, a haughty look;
Whose accent of command controll'd
In camps the boldest of the bold—
Thought, look, and utterance fail'd him now,
Fall'n was his glance, and flush'd his brow:
For either in the tone,
Or something in the palmer's look,
So full upon his conscience strook,
That answer he found none."

But it is time to return to our antique chronicles in search of instances that will illustrate the manner of a pilgrim's life from real history. An abstract of the narrative of Brother Nicole, tho Carmelite, will, perhaps, supply what is yet wanting in our conception of this character in the middle ages, and with this testimony the present chapter shall conclude. "In the prologue, he states that he has accomplished this very holy and meritorious voyage, by the mercy of our sweet Jesus. I wish (he adds) to to make known these noble and glorious places, to warn you to be mindful of our Lord Jesus, and that this book may be an amusement to many lords and ladies, who are curious to inquire respecting the land of promise. What I have seen, I will declare, to the best of my poor ability; and though this treatise be vile, and in need of much correction, nevertheless I pray all readers or hearers, who shall have made the same pilgrimage, if they should find any thing here contrary to our holy faith, that they will dispose it in good order through charity in honour of Jesus our Lord; for I protest that, neither in this present treatise, nor in any other which I have made, or may hereafter make, do I pretend to say or write any thing whatsoever which should be against faith or good manners; and I pray them, therefore, by charity, to correct my labours; for, whatever is presented, ought to be well arranged." Speaking of the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem, he says, "So often as any one being faithful, or loyal in faith, enters within to contemplate the place, as many times does he behold, with the eyes of his mind, our Saviour Jesus there entombed." And speaking of Golgotha, he exclaims, "O great God, who hast delivered us from hell and from eternal death, is there a spot on the earth more glorious, more virtuous, more worthy of honour!" These are places which many Catholics kiss, shedding torrents of tears. The devout visitation of the holy places leads to holy meditation, to good resolutions of amendment, and to compunction for sin; and, in my judgment, there is no Catholic pilgrim who does not return more virtuous, better, more

perfect than he ever was before. What Christian, on entering that holy land, is not dissolved in tears? Who is there that will not feel compunction, when merely from beholding that region, hearts are pierced, and laid bare with wondrous sighs? Let a man be ever so wicked, it is impossible but that he must be changed at the mere view of what is before him. Sainte et salutaire progression et très meritoire peregrination oultre la mer en Hierusalem: qui souffira a dicter ta value! Who is there that does not desire to amend his life, and to do penance for the time which he has lost, when he beholds before his eyes things so wondrous, and so calculated to incite to virtuous deeds? There, without doubt, is the grace of God diffused and imparted to all souls who do not place obstacles in its way by a malignant will. "Persons in all ages," he continues, "have travelled far to see places and men that deserved reverence, witness Pythagoras, and Plato, and the noble queen Saba, and now we know, that after all the labours of men under the sun, one thing, and one thing alone is necessary to know, Jesus Christ crucified, and risen again, and ascended into heaven; and therefore St. Paul declares that he desires to know and to write nothing but only Jesus, and to glory in nothing but in his cross, by whom we are saved and delivered; therefore no longer do any wise men glory in their wisdom, or in their riches, or power, or virtue, but all remember what St. John saith in his gospel, 'that eternal life is to know one only sovereign God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent.' And although to attain this holy and salutary science, the gospel and the apostolic writings, and the daily preaching and proclaiming of the faith be widely sufficient, nevertheless to this not a little may contribute the said pilgrimage and the beholding of the holy places through simple love for our sweet Jesus, who in dying, has destroyed our death. Therefore, for the present, I conclude with St. Jerome, 'that to have been in Jerusalem is not a very holy thing, but to have lived devoutly in Jerusalem, virtuously in holy conversation amidst a perverse generation, is to be praised, and renders the pilgrim worthy of renown.' After many vanities, alas, when the flower of my age had been lost, I began to consider the follies in which I had long slept; and the grace of Jesus awakening me to a sense of the worldly vanities by which I had been going to eternal perdition, I resolved from thenceforth to render testimony to the justice of the commandments of God and of my holy religion. I set out on my pilgrimage from the convent of Pontean, in the diocese of Rouen. The reverend master Prior of the said convent, Geoffroy the Recluse, with a great company of the brethren of the convent, conducted me, during the space of three days, till we came to Chartres: en larmes et en pleurs fut nostre departement. There I waited for the setting out of a nobleman who is now a knight, the Seigneur de la Mouriniere, with whom I set out in Easter week, 1487, and rode through Savoy and Turin, till we reached Venice for the festival of St. Mark. We took up our lodging at the Savage Man in St. Mark's Place. Here we found many noblemen and clerks of France, some of whom joined our company, and among them was a Seigneur de Rochefort from Auvergne, and also there came to us a gracious and wise child, a native of Lyon, called Sir Henry de Encharmois. At Venice, they agreed with the patron of the galley, who was to supply all their expenses of journeying and food during the whole pilgrimage, both from and back to Venice, and each pilgrim was to pay him forty fresh ducats, half at Venice and the other half at Jaffa. He remarks, that at Cyprus one could procure twelve sheep for a ducat. They staid at Venice six weeks, in order to visit all the relics which are there and in Padua. At length setting out, they sailed to Corfu, Candia, Crete, Patmos and Rhodes. He found the inhabitants of Corfu, 'Devote à Dieu, gent tres-humaine, et de grant honneur pleine.' We arrived at Rhodes about ten o'clock in the night on the eight of July, and passed under the castle of St. Peter, which is an impregnable fortress in the possession of the Knights of Rhodes. The dogs of this castle keep wonderful guard, for they go out at night, and if there should any Christians escape from the rocks, the dogs are sure to find them and to lead them to the castle; and if they find a Turk they kill him if they can, or they bark so loud that it is known within the castle.* It is wonderful how this castle can be preserved to Christendom, for it seems only six miles from Turkey, which is separated only by a narrow arm of the sea. The hospital of the church of Rhodes is a wonderful place, built like a monastery, and in the great hall there are thirty-nine beds for sick people of all nations and degrees, if they

* F. VI.

only believe in Jesus Christ; and in the middle is a beautiful chapel where masses are sung every day; and the poor sick people are all served on silver by the seigneurs of Rhodes moult curieusement, and besides this, there are twenty-four chambers surrounding the cloister to lodge the pilgrims, who are received most fraternally, and they are invited most affectionately by the hospitaler who refreshes them, and serves them very joyously.

"On the Friday we had a fair wind in the stern, so that at six o'clock in the evening appeared the holy land. Then you might have seen and heard the devout hearts; then were groans and tears, and chants of devotion. We had to remain at Jaffa thirteen days to wait for the father guardian, and so we tarried in good patience, praising our Redeemer. At length we set forth; on approaching Rama, we were obliged to alight from our asses, and each pilgrim had to carry his burden with great pain, on account of the dreadful heat and of the dust, which was so thick that one could not see the other. The Moors would not suffer us to enter Rama mounted, so we entered it thus on foot, and there we were lodged in the hospital founded by the money of Philip of Burgundy. May God absolve the noble duke! From Jaffa to Rama we were escorted by Mahometans, to protect us from the other Moors who kept throwing stones at us every step we made. Sometimes they have killed pilgrims: such was our peril. On the morning of Sunday, the fifth of August, mass was said at four o'clock by one of the monks; and then at the offertory, the Father guardian instructed us how we were to behave on our journey towards the people of the country, speaking to us from the altar in Latin, Italian and German. 'Dear and well-beloved brethren in Jesus Christ, take heed to the following advice, that you may not lose the fruits of this holy journey. First, if any of you should have incurred sentence of excommunication, the father guardian of this place, by the power of the holy father, can absolve you therefrom, to whom you must apply, and take consolation in this rejoicing which our Lord has granted to you, in beholding with your eyes the places on which he has trod in accomplishing the salvation of all men by his sacred blood. Secondly, you must believe firmly the articles of faith, for otherwise you will lose the merit and fruit of the pilgrimage. Thirdly, you must have great confidence as to your conscience, that you will have remission; and you must have contrition and a true intention of never again returning to sin. Fourthly, you must consider for what end you are come, and it must be for devotion and contemplation to see the holy places, weeping after Jesus Christ. Fifthly, I say to all, take heed, that you walk honestly and that you commit no evil. You must make no more mention of wine unless you can carry some from the ship; there is no cellar here where you can buy any.' We set out from Rama on foot as we entered it, and under great heat. On coming to the place where our asses were waiting, each pilgrim claimed his own; so it was four o'clock in the afternoon before we began our march. We travelled till midnight. From Rama to Jerusalem is thirty Italian miles. On the fall of night, we entered the mountains which were very rude and hard for me, because I was obliged to leave my ass. 'Oncques ne fus plus lasse.' It is the greatest danger for pilgrims when they are left too far in the rear, for the people would desire nothing more than to destroy us one by one. At midnight we stopped to lodge under the shelter of an olive grove near a fountain, which was very refreshing to our thirst. Here we made our collation, and then under these olive trees the knights slept for three hours. An hour before day we mounted our asses, and rode till we saw the town of Arimathea. It was nothing but up and down hill, and it was laughable to look at our train one after the other. On reaching the summit whence we had the first view of Jerusalem, every one kissed the earth and raised his eyes to heaven. So we all entered the city, and the brethren of Mount Sion led all the monks to their convent where we had refection. The others were lodged in the vast hospital of Saint John, and there sufficient victuals were given them. God knew how weary they all were. The next morning all the pilgrims were summoned to Mount Sion to hear mass and the sermon. Regulars and seculars each by devotion celebrated with great compunction. After the sermon there was a procession to Mount Sion. Then the guardian invited all the pilgrims to dinner, and every one was seated, charitably and honourably served with abundance, and then we all went in very noble guise to the church to return thanks. After vespers, we spent the time in contemplating the holy places." It appears that they proceeded to visit each of the holy places

in solemn procession, each carrying a lighted taper, and a sermon pronounced at each each station. Every year the good duke Philippe of Burgundy, used to give 1000 ducats in compassion and devotion for the support of the true Christians there serving God. That night after the procession, they remained in the holy sepulchre; the first part of the night was spent in confession, and after midnight, the masses were said in order, some on the holy sepulchre, others in it, and others on Mount Calvary. Lastly, the Bishop of Cambray sung high mass with great solemnity, and many received the holy communion, and then each went about according to his devotion, and at eight o'clock in the morning the gates were opened, and the pilgrims returned to the hospital or to their brethren. "On the Assumption of our Lady, we went at midnight to chaunt at the holy sepulchre, in the crypt of the church at Josaphat; and then returned to high mass on Mount Sion, where she died. 'Tout ce jour se passa en contemplation.' On going to visit the church of St. George near Rama, there were about sixty pilgrims, and the greatest part of them Englishmen. Horrible are the exactions and insolences of the Moors. One pilgrim was moved to strike a Turk, for which he was near forfeiting his hand. 'Pourtant Pélerins soyez tous enclins à tout endurer toutes les injures, griefs ou forfaictures au nom de Jesus, car il endura.' The poor Franciscan friars at Jerusalem live most virtuous and holy lives amidst these Sarassins and heretics."

The details on his return may be given in few words. For once he indulges in a poetic tale. "From the top of Mount Sinai," says he, "you behold a region stretching to the Red Sea, and in this plain there is a monastery of holy men, but no one can discern the way to it. You hear the bells toll: and some, it is said, have reached it, but none have ever returned. The monks of St. Catharine have gone in search of it, and have heard the bells, but have never succeeded." During this passage of the deserts of Mount Sinai, they seem to have carried a portable altar, so that mass used to be said even amidst those vast solitudes. "On returning, while at sea, on the night of the 12th of September, trespassed a noble knight, who had received the order of knighthood at Jerusalem. He was doctor in utroque, and named Master Symon, a gracious man and wise. God pardon him. And on the 16th inst. at six o'clock in the morning, trespassed a seigneur of the Church, subdeacon of Angers, named Messire Gilles, a native of Brittany, a man of great virtue, and full of good manners. Jesus be propitious to him and to us all!" At length, after a long and stormy passage from Alexandria, they arrived at Modoust, a city on the coast of Achaia; and now their long desire of hearing mass was gratified. Entrez en la cite on alla à la messe tres fort desiree a ouyer, car de long temps on ny avoit este.

Such is the style of a pilgrim's narrative; such were the sufferings and woes he had to endure: and yet a far deeper source of mourning to him was found in the reflections of philosophy, which were excited by what he had seen in journeying to the Holy Land. "O subject worthy of tears and bitter sighs! (exclaims Nicole) that these beautiful countries of the East, once so carefully cultivated by the holy apostles, should be now subverted and lost! Ah! who can think without groans of Asia and Africa, which had such noble churches, which heard a St. Augustin, a Chrysostom, a Cyprian, an Athanasins, a Cyrill, a St. John Damascene, a Gregory Nicene, a Gregory Nazianzen, a Basil of Cæsarea, and so many other great bishops? Helas Lucifer trebuscha du ciel a mis son siege present en orient. En orient sont les tenebres de peche qui ont tout aveugle et n'y voit on que l'ymaige de mort." They have broken unity, they have been rebellious to the see of Peter, to whom Jesus said, "Thou art called a rock; and on this rock will I build my Church:" and therefore, without doubt, those who are disobedient to this mother and mistress of the faith, fall into the guilt of heresy. St. Ambrose in his time said, he wished to follow the Roman Church in all things; so said St. Jerome at the time of the Arian heresy; so said St. Irenæus in the apostolic age; so say all good Christians: for where the body is, there will be the eagles: where is the chief, there will be the members. But the inhabitants of the East have left the ark, and therefore is their glory perished: "quiconques mangera laignel hors de l'Eglise Sainct Pierre necessairement est prophane."

These wise pilgrims of the middle age, who had found in the East, Mahometans, Greek schismatics, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Abbasins, and Eutychians, had meditated on the difficulty which is now so often adduced, founded on the variety of religions, and the comparative smallness

of the number who hold the true faith: but the result of their observations only led to reflections which confirmed their faith. This poor brother Nicole, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, pursued the same argument from analogy which has been so well developed by later philosophers; and he shows that the same difficulty presents itself in the natural world, with respect to things noble and base, where the phenomena of external nature would lead to the same reflection on the wide existence of evil, as a fact which did not admit of being denied. Happiness, wisdom, and virtue, are not given to all men. Every kind of excellence is comparatively rare and precious, and we must be prepared, therefore, for finding that such is the case respecting that highest of all excellences, which consists in the splendour and eternal felicity of souls that attain to final beatification and glory. And, after all, he argues that we should be slow either to excuse or to condemn. We cannot presume either upon the innocence or the guilt of erring men. Negligence of inquiry and the evidences of our faith are great; and therefore, the ignorance of many must needs be highly sinful: and the apostle says, that the unknowing shall be unknown. God will never desert those who sincerely turn their hearts to him. And if any seducer, under the habit or name of a Catholic doctor, should preach to any simple creature any error, and the simple ignorant creature should believe it to be Catholic truth, in turning himself to God totally, he will be preserved, and his heart shall not be suffered to incline to folly: for David says that God will guard those who love him. But the understanding of men is created for the embracing of holy and salutary truth, and negligence here is no doubt worthy of damnation; and as every thing tends easily to its natural end, so our natural intellectual virtue is more near to find God than it is to find his contrary. For God is always ready to aid those who seek him with a good and honest heart; and thus we find that Cornelius, though a Pagan, yet living religiously and fearing God, St. Peter was sent to convert him and all his family. "Il est a croire totalement que jamais Dieu ne laissa ceux qui veullent adherer a luy diligentement." And therefore all error that receives damnation, springs from malice. "L'homme n'est pas moins tenu a Dieu des operations de l'entendement que des operations de sa volonte ou affections:" And there are laws to regulate his will and affections, and therefore we may be sure that there are laws to fix limits to his understanding, to determine what he should believe, and what he should not believe: and therefore, ignorance is damnable, for they ought to believe what they do not: and they ought curiously to inquire what are these laws. Whereas the multitude run with all their strength to sin and death as their end; and it is not strange, therefore, that they should find it. And we know that the justice as well as the mercy of God will be the subject of eternal admiration and joy to the just in heaven. And the first and great cause of all these errors is negligence of inquiry, and the second is aversion to believe what ought to be believed of God, and a hatred for the things that would enlighten and convert the soul; and if they will not heed either holy words or miracles, it is not strange that they remain in error; and another cause is the folly and presumption of men in supposing that their natural understanding is able to comprehend the mysteries of faith, and another cause is the abuse of the Scriptures, and another cause is a sensual life, like that of the Epicureans.*

These are the sorrowful and profound reflections, suggested to the traveller of the middle ages, by what was seen on the journey to the Holy Land. The reader will now pass on with a still more full conviction, that the pilgrim was indeed a mourner.

But there is another side, from which we must contemplate the mourning of men in ages of faith, which will place us in the presence of scenes of great sublimity, yet not without the charm of a profound tenderness. We are come where I have said we should see the departure of exiles to their country, amidst the mourning of friends who remain behind. The approach must not intimidate us, though we should be at first confronted with a tribe like that which Dante beheld, that came along the hollow vale, in silence weeping. Let us imagine that we behold some reverend stranger, with finger lifted, placed against his lips. This will suffice to warn us, that we may enter as the spot requires—silent and devout.

* F. 40—44.

CHAPTER VI.

"IF I were a maker of books," says Montaigne, "I would compose a register of different deaths, with a commentary: for whoever would teach men how to die, would teach them how to live." It is not merely devotion that is interested in this theme; history itself must acknowledge its importance; for, as the same philosopher observes, "death is the most remarkable action of human life. It is the master-day—the day that judges all the others." The path which we are pursuing, leads us necessarily within view of death, towards which we must turn our eyes. For though the nature of death is changed since the accomplishment of man's redemption, it is still the punishment which God has left to be inflicted upon sin; and whether considered in relation to nature or to grace, it is an event which involves mourning of one sort or other, according to the spirit with which it is received, or the previous preparation which may have been made against it. Men of the modern school, indeed, seem practically to consider this whole subject of death as one, independent of a scientific observation of the progress of the physical malady, beneath the attention of philosophers. Viewing it merely as the dissolution of organs, the decomposition of a worn-out machine, which is incapable any longer of being subservient to animal existence, as an extinction of the powers of life, either through the nervous system constituting death by syncope, or through the circulation in the arteries of a different kind of blood, causing death by asphyxia,—in other words, examining it merely with the eyes of a physician, it is not strange that they should be insensible to the high moral grandeur which so often distinguishes the closing scene of mortal life, or that they should be surprised and offended at the importance which religion ascribes to this last act in the combat of her children. Far differently, it may be remarked, did the monarch of sublimest song estimate the dignity of the human struggle, when, in the concluding scene of the Iliad, he represents the two heroes of Greece and Troy at length confronted with each other; when all mortal beholders are dissolved in tears and horror, and celestial powers prepare to join in the conflict; when even the King of gods looks down from his high throne of heaven, to sympathize in the dangers of great unhappy men, to pity their dreadful labours, and to raise at last that awful balance, which is to determine their irrevocable doom.*

I have said that the nature of death is changed since Christ dried up the fountain of tears by his resurrection: and this is a fact to which the history of the ages of faith bears such remarkable testimony, that if there were no other object in consulting it but merely to examine that testimony, there would be no hazard in affirming that the result would be more than sufficient to compensate for any labour that the inquiry might have occasioned; fully justifying the opinion, that the study of no other period of the history of man can present so rich and solemn a spectacle for the instruction and correction of the human race. When we first set out upon this track, I observed, that men could not with any justice accuse religion, or the history of the ages of faith, of leading them through dark and gloomy ways, which they might have avoided with other guides: and here I must repeat that remark; for it is not religion, but nature, which obliges all men sooner or later, to be familiarised with the image of death. Nature takes care that even in youth they should be taught to feel its reality: and oh! if the heart be left to nature, how bitter, how terrible, is that stern lesson! Infinite is the youthful mourning consequent upon the first experience of the changeableness of earthly things, which, to the inexperienced mind, comes so necessarily, so unavoidably, that changeableness of things so closely and invariably interwoven with individual existence. A first announcement of death is a rent which is never forgotten, but which remains afflicting the soul like a night spectre, unless faith should change it into a joyful desire

* Il. XXII. 168.

of that day, which will summon us to a securer world, and to a more consoling knowledge.* "Here," as a great French writer observes, "there is no need of consulting history. The Muse of sorrow is of every age. Who is ignorant of the funeral chant? Who has not followed to the grave some tender, beloved relation, and felt the secret fall of that one pearly drop, which, from the manly eye, more than a flood of tears, bears witness to the affection with which a son can love his mother?"

The ancients, notwithstanding their superstitious language, seemed to have had a passion for dwelling on the thought of death, and of its necessity. Pindar makes it enter into the definition of man: for, speaking of the human race, he says, "Those to whom death is inevitable." The heroic world, indeed, had it boastful eloqnence to reconcile men to the king of terrors. What madness to repine at death! What complaint is this?

"*ἄνδρα θνητὸν ἐόντα, πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἴσῃ,*
ἂψ ἐθέλεις θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ἐξαναλῦσαι;"†

And yet this mortality, this fate, this death, how must they have been, to the feelings of nature, replete with images of terror, fearful, revolting, horrible! To these unhappy men, with nothing to assist their frailty, death could not have appeared more amiahle than it did to Adam, when he beheld, with looks of dismay, its first victim.—

"But have I now seen death? Is this the way
I must return to native dust? O sight
Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!"

Milton makes it an object of horror to the angel:

"———— Death thou hast seen
In his first shape on man: but many shapes
Of death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave, all dismal."

Since the Son of God endnred it on the cross, such langnage would not only he unworthy of an angel's tongue, hut without recurring to what is related of Spartan fortitude, it would argne ignorance and pusillanimity in a boy. The author of the Martyrs describes the image of death as it appeared after the great fulfilment of primeval prophecy. "One hand of the skeleton, (he says) holds a scythe like a mower; with the other it attempts to hide the only wound that it has ever received, that which Christ inflicted npon it, when he conquered on the top of Golgotha."* Crnel enemy! well may it seek to hide that wound which has destroyed its sting irremediahly. Unlike the formidahle conqneror which it once hoped to be, only the weak and wicked can it affright or injure. We are so constituted, indeed, that this crisis naturally impresses every one with a feeling of awe. The pinched and pallid features, the cold, clammy skin, the heaving, laborions, rattling respiration, and the irresistihle force of that disease which no earthly remedies can overcome, speak of something appalling, and suggest the idea of an Almighty Power manifesting displeasure and inflicting punishment. Yet this is not the language which they speak to the Christian observer. He sees these formidahle symptoms only as the means or the conseqnences of good. In the midst of all this apparent confusion, he can see much that he can understand, indicating the connsel and foresight of a wise and good Creator, hy whom the progress and elevation of the human species is an object of constant care. Death, though something foreign from the original order of the natural world, has been converted into an agent of mercy: it has become homogeneous with the laws and constitution of a pnre and innocent creation: it forms part of that great scheme, of which every discoverahle purpose is marked with beneficence as well as wisdom. Death is still endnred hy the saints; for, as St. Augustin observes, there could be no faith, if immortality of the body were to be the immediate conseqnence of the sacrament of regeneration; hut, by the wondrous grace of our Savionr, the penalty of sin is changed, so as to serve justice. Formerly it was said, "You shall die if you transgress;" but now lt is said, "Die rather than transgress." Thns, hy the lneffable mercy of God, the punishment of vice becomes the armour of virtue, and the just gain merit, where the sinner found his doom.† Those penmen whom the Holy Spirit moved, in many a passage of their sacred book, predict or attest this admirahle manifestation of our Creator's love. They speak of death as heing henceforth amiable in the eyes of men, sanctified in the estimation of angels, precious in the sight of God. "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus." Their death

* Novalis Schriften, I. 24. † Il. XVI. 441.

* Lib. VIII. † De Civit. Dei, Lib. XIII. 4.

is precious: it is their nativity: the entrance to rest, the exit to glory. And who can justly estimate the wondrous change which is here made manifest? Consider what poor consolation for the human heart was supplied in those eloquent treatises by ancient philosophers, which they entitled "De Contemnenda Morte," in which it is so gravely discussed whether death be an evil. And if they are so unsatisfactory when read in health, notwithstanding all the brilliancy and magic of their style, what must they have been if proposed to the dying, with the hope of dissipating the terrors of their departure? But since the Orient from on high hath visited the race of men, there is no longer occasion for engaging in such discussions, or for endeavouring to inspire contempt for that which is no longer an object of terror. During the ages of faith, the Catholic vision, the Catholic idea, that which shed a lustre over the whole course of human life, which consoled and exalted the mind in every vicissitude, and in every stage of the mortal course, that which determined the direction of all the intellectual faculties, and the whole shape of men's conceptions, that which alone gave a charm to prosperity and a value to existence, that vision had nothing to fear from the prospect of death. Unlike every thing that is subjected to human perception, it ended not there, but led on the soul to that passage, and enabled it to depart full of joy and confidence: while to the human philosopher, without the supernatural light and consolations of faith, every thing dear to his imagination, every thing interwoven with his mental habits, and with the very constitution of his heart, seems to end for ever, when he is clad in clay. "In death," says Durandus, "we pass from one Church to another, from the militant to the triumphant Church."* "For the just," says another holy writer, "natural death, is only a passage from God to God, from one Paradise to another Paradise."† By the passion of our Saviour Christ, death was sanctified, death was become a holy and a blessed thing, a means of imitating Jesus, and of entering upon eternal life. St. Basil says, "The nature of sadness is changed since the cross of Christ. At first the death of the saints was honoured with lamentation and tears, but now, we rejoice at the death of the saints, for we believe it to be the passage to a better life."

Death, in the middle ages, had quite a different character from that in which it appears to Nature's eye. Who has not made this remark on beholding those ancient paintings which represent dying men, like those of Le Sueur exhibiting the death of St. Bruno? What a placid smile on the countenance of the returning exile! With what peaceful reverence and wonder do the brethren stand or kneel round him! See that humble monk, who stands at a distance with clasped hands, on whose face one may read unutterable thoughts of love, so calmly regarding him as his spirit passes, while another still holds up the crucifix to his fading eye, though, by his attitude, turning round to those behind him, he seems to ask for assent to his own opinion, that he is already gone. "The souls of the just are in the hand of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them." Here are no bitter lamentations, or wringing of hands, or tearing of the hair.

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair."

St. Ambrose wrote a Treatise "On the Advantages of Death," in which he shows the happiness of dying, because death has nothing terrible in itself, and is a deliverance from snares and sin. "With faith to enlighten you," say the philosophers of the middle age, "why fear death, which to you should appear only as a higher revelation of life? How many things do men voluntarily undertake, which are more painful and distressing than the act of death? Compare it with the setting out on a long and toilsome journey, alone, without friends, leaving all who are dear and familiar to you, going among strangers, where there will be no one to welcome you; and all this merely, perhaps, to satisfy vanity, and with the hope of gain! What sleepless nights, what fatiguing days, what profane and disgusting associates by the way, what interminable troubles and interruptions, perhaps amidst wars and civil tumults and persecutions of the Church. Compare death to this. You are at home, in the bosom of relations and friends, with those you love around you; no cares to trouble you, no solicitude; you are going a journey of necessity, a journey sanctified by the Saviour, and by the passage of all God's holy saints; a journey you must accomplish if you would be with

* Durandi Rationale, Lib. IV. cap. 6.
† L. P. Judde, Œuvres Spirituelles, Tom. II. 263.

that which you seek, if you would follow where all that is amiahle and good is fled: whither all your hopes are gone before: where, perhaps, you will have father, mother, sisters, brethren, and saints, to welcome you: where you will find the friends of your childhood and youth, and where all your tronbles will be at an end.— "Hæc peregrinatio mediocris vohis videri potest?" Why linger, why turn back, why shrink or fear to depart from earth's shadows, which change and pass so quickly? How different the length of the two ways! How tedious, and difficult, and painful the one! how short, and easy, and calm the other! You fall asleep,—and when you awake, perhaps you find yourself in your country. You closed your eyes npon a flickering taper, and you may open them to behold heaven's light which will for ever shine. The last sounds you heard were the prayers of some priest, feeble and worn down with his labours in this valley of tears, perhaps the mourning of nature struggling with faith, the longings of desire, the sighs of the dove, and now you hear joyful hallelujahs, and the music of exulting angels. "Let us reflect from time to time," says St. Cyprian, "that we have renounced the world, and that we live here below as guests and strangers. What man, obliged to dwell in a foreign land, would not strain every nerve to return to his native country? What traveller journeying homeward, does not pray to heaven for a favourahle wind, that he may the sooner embrace his dear parents? Our country is Heaven. We have for fathers first, the patriarchs. Why do we not hasten, why do we not run to behold our country and to salute our parents? A vast nnmber of friends are waiting for us, a crowd of relations, of hrethren and children, sure of their own salvation and only anxious for ours, desire nothing hut to behold us united to them for ever. What joy for us to meet them again and to emhrace them! What a pleasure to die without fear! What profound and perpetual felicity to live in eternity!" "All my hope is in death. I die of regret that I cannot die," says St. Theresa in her celehrated glose after communion, and the effusion of beatific light seen hut in a vision, made the poet of the ages of faith exclaim,

"Whoso laments that we must doff this garh
Of frail mortality, thenceforth to live
Immortally above; he hath not seen
The sweet refreshing of that heavenly shower."*

* Dante's Parad. XIV.

But methinks I hear some one reply, to die young is surely a calamity to be deplored even hy the most spiritual? Indeed, what new doctrine is this to be delivered hy men professing wisdom? Bacchus was for deciding against Æschylus merely hecanse in one verse he represented death as the greatest of evils;* and the fable of Silenus, alluded to hy Cicero, conveys the deepest conviction of the ancient world, who, when he was taken hy Midas, is said to have given for his ransom this lesson, "that it was the best thing for man not to be born, and that the next hest was to die as soon as possihle:"† the latter part of which sentence must remind every one of what is read in the sacred scriptures, that Enoch pleased God, and appeared no more, because God took him away.‡ "It was because he pleased God," says St. Cyprian, "that he was transported far from the contagion of the world."

"In the ages of faith, he who was to be ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων," as Thetis says of her son,§ "would not have been regarded as unhappy." In fable, indeed, a mighty king is made to exclaim, "haa mort villaine! comment as tu este si hardie dassailir un tel homme comme estoit mon nepneu qui de bonte passoit tont le monde." Yet not Orcus, as Euripides says, but Heaven seemed to have greater glory when the youthful died.‖ As far as relates to the thought of an untimely death, faith and reason clear, had nndeceived men. Whether their flesh parted shrivelled from them, or whether they died when the cheek was first clothed in down, or before the coral and the pap were left, the difference was to eternity compared, "a briefer space, than is the twinkling of an eye to the heaven's slowest orh." But death in years of boyish innocence, even to nature's eye, was not a hideous or a fearful spectacle. What tender and even lovely scenes were those in which occurred the death of a St. Stanislas, or a St. Louis Gonzaga. "I die without reluctance, I die full of joy, though the gifts of yonth are mine to make life grateful to me." There was here, enough to make men exclaim, "Death, death; O amiable lovely death."

The heroic spirit of the scholastic romantic ages would not disdain to urge the motive which Achilles adduces to reconcile the yonthful son of Priam to meet death.

* Aristoph. Ranæ, 1393.
† Tuscul. I. 45.
‡ Gen. v. 24.
§ Il. I. 505.
‖ Alcestis.

'Αλλὰ φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
Κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
Οὐχ ὁράᾳς, οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
Πατρὸς δ' εἰμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ·
'Αλλ' ἐπί τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή.*

Why do you repine at death? Are not these dead in the flower of youth and beauty, cut off from beloved friends and brothers, from sweet and holy studies, from that golden world which is made joyful by piety and innocence, and yet did they not die with resignation and even with delight? Die then like them, and exult to follow such bright examples. For the generality of men to die young, was known to be, on every account, an excellent lot. "Priam," as Callimachus remarks, "wept much oftener than Troilus;" and in relation to spiritual good, Henry Suso observes, "that for the most part, with age sins are increased, and that you will find far more who become worse than who become better. Our blessed Saviour chose not to protract his life beyond the flower, and it was an Antipope who prolonged his usurpation beyond the years of Peter."† Men never leave the world with such becoming grace as when young; as when they seem to make death proud with pure and princely beauty. To die young seems like a genuine heroic act. "Love is sweetest in death: for one who loves, death is a mystery of sweet mysteries; it is a bridal night," to use the expression of Novalis.‡ If it be the most beautiful art and gift, as the Greek poet says:

εὐκλεῶς λιπεῖν βίον.§

then assuredly we should die young. In the death of youth there is nothing hideous or revolting, but only a most sweet solemn form of loveliness. In allusion to her death, Beatrice speaks thus to Dante:—

———— "never didst thou spy
In art or nature, aught so passing sweet
As were the limbs that in their beauteous frame,
Enclos'd me, and are scatter'd now in dust."

The death of youth, the striking down of these fair flowers, was often made the occasion of eternal good to men, by converting their hearts to a love of God. Adverting to this, Beatrice continued to admonish Dante:

"If sweetest thing thus fail'd thee with my death,
What, afterwards, of mortal, should thy wish
Have tempted? When thou first hadst felt the dart
Of perishable things, in my departing
For better realms, thy wing thou should'st have prun'd
To follow me; and never stoop'd again
To bide a second blow."*

In the middle ages, men were conversant with what Frederick Schlegel terms "the beautiful side of death." They marked that full and perfect consciousness, that peculiar clearness and almost foresight which so frequently attend the soul in her last moments previous to departure, to which Shakspeare alludes in these lines:

"O, but they say, the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention, like deep harmony."

They marked that courage with which she prepares to enter upon a new sphere, upon regions that never saw man that could after measure back his course,† that higher clearness in hope and faith, nay, even that expression of countenance which indicates a change to bliss, when they beheld with astonishment, a sweet melancholy smile steal over the face, like that which comes upon a sleeping child.‡ The emblematical figure which is placed at the end of the sentence which this great Catholic philosopher was prevented from finishing by death, is quite in accordance with this view, and furnishes a striking contrast to the designs of that detested triumph which employed the pencil of the Basle Painter. It represents a beautiful figure with extended wings, and holding with outstretched arms, the rings and links of a broken chain. It flies upwards through the serene air, as if it had just escaped, and the globe of this earth is seen below, half enveloped in clouds, while an eye at the summit of the picture indicates the seat of God, towards which it is ascending. St. Charles Borromeo ordered a painter to substitute the golden key of Paradise for the skeleton and scythe by which an artist had represented death. In the chronicles of the middle ages, we read of many who made a swan-like end, fading in music, who died, as the poet says, "like the dolphin whom each pang imbues

"With a new colour as it gasps away,
The last still loveliest, 'till 'tis gone."

* Il. XXI. 106.
† Called by some Benedict XIII.
‡ Schriften, II. 312.
§ Eurip. Heraclid. 534.

* Parad. XXXI. † Dant. Purg. I.
‡ Philosophie der Sprache, 112.

So Shakspeare says of one who had passed from this world, "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it: he died as one that had been studied in his death."

"Speaking accurately and strictly," says Frederick Schlegel, "according to this Christian view of life, there is no such thing as death, but only a change of life and its passing form. There is no death in nature, that is to say, death is not essential and original, but it has been introduced into the creation subsequently and by accident. For men, the immortality of the soul, and the idea of this immortality form not so much an article of faith and of the highest hope, as a real phenomenon of nature, an unquestionable matter of fact, which is attested by all history."* "To die," says Novalis, "is a genuine philosophic act."† He alludes probably to that saying of the Pythagoreans, "that in three modes man could render himself better, by converse with the gods, by doing good to others, and by dying, which was the total separation of the soul from the body,"‡ But whatever may be thought of this speculation, we may appropriate to ourselves the sentence, and say, in reference to death in the middle ages, that "to die was a genuine religious act;" an act converted by the spirit of resignation and of love for Christ from a natural necessity, to be the voluntary offering of a devout and obedient heart. It must, however, be carefully remarked that this "beautiful side of death" is connected essentially with the Catholic form of life. It is the manners and customs of the impious city which make sickness and death horrible. To the quiet retirement and contemplation of nature, to the charity and spirit of obedience to God in which the Catholic was accustomed to pass his days, the silence of the sick room was no contrast; he had learned to live alone without visits, without cares, without political debates, and without flattery; but from a perpetual tumult of pleasures or business, with some constant external excitement, the transition to it was undoubtedly something as dismal to the imagination as the idea of death itself to the natural eye. And this leads me to notice the objection which some may advance, who though willing to admit that the act of death may have been stript of terror, cannot conceive how the passage to it through a long sickness, could ever have been any thing but a fearful and unmixed calamity. Unquestionably it belongs not to the principles of the true philosophy to imitate that stoical indifference which affected to deny that the sufferings of the body were an evil, or to adopt, as St. Augustin says, "the proud error of those who attribute to the strength of the human will that constancy which is derived from the Divine assistance." "There are but few," says that holy doctor, "who are not punished in this life but only after it. The evils of diseases in the body are so numerous, that they cannot be all described even in the books of the physicians. Who does not shudder at the bare recital of them? Life itself begins with weeping, for Zoroaster alone is said to have laughed when he was born, which monstrous act portended no good to this inventer of magical arts, who found them of no avail even to preserve the vain happiness of the present life from the power of his enemies, since he was conquered by Ninus, king of the Assyrians. 'Grave jugum super filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum, usque in diem sepulturæ in matrem omnium.' And yet such is the mercy of God towards the vessels of mercy, that even from this yoke of the present life, the grace of our Saviour Christ, in a great measure delivers them,"* though not wholly, lest religion should only be loved for the sake of temporal advantages. What, let us ask, was sickness to the members of the city of God during these supernatural ages? Like every other condition to which mortal life was subject, it had experienced the mysterious and gladdening influence of the glorious light of faith. Sickness now disproved the definition of a happy man, as given by Metrodorus; for like death, it was become amiable, sanctified, and precious; it belonged to the condition not of wretched, but of blessed mourners; it was a holy condition full of instruction, full of peace; it was solitude, meditation, repose; it was the life of blessed eremites and of men perfect. Hear how a writer of the middle ages speaks to the sick. "We are commanded to weep with those who weep, and Jesus himself wept. Disobedience is inhumanity. I will weep therefore lest I should be disobedient and inhuman, and not an imitator of my Jesus. You are oppressed with sickness, my sweet son;

* Philosophie der Sprache, 269.
† Schriften II. 142.
‡ Anonym. de Vita Pythagoræ.

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXI. 14. XXII. 22.

you are perhaps about to go the way of all flesh. But whither? to life. By what way? You cannot err: the way is Christ. You cannot be deceived: Christ is truth. You cannot but live; Christ is life. But, beloved, confession and penance are necessary that you may be in perfect charity. The love of your neighbour worketh no evil. What shall I say of the love of God? These are the two wings with which you must fly to heaven. Love God and God will love you. Love God and you will love whatever he loves, whatever he sends you. Do you suffer from a cough, from inflammation, from weakness of stomach, from any of the innumerable diseases to which our frame is subject? These are the gifts of God. These are his chastisements for your good; condemn them not, but revere and love Him who, as a Father, corrects you not in anger but in mercy. O with what a joyful heart ought you to hail the Divine visitation, the spiritual remedy, the antidote to the sting of death! Lift up your heart to God and say, 'Tu es spes mea, Deus meus: diffido de meis meritis, sed confido de miserationibus tuis: et plus confido de tuis miserationibus, quam diffidam de malis actibus meis. In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.'"* St. Chrysostom writes as follows to Olympias and says, "Do not suppose that you lead an idle, useless life for your salvation, when sickness confines you at home attached to your bed. What you support is above what they suffer who are delivered to the executioners. 'In vestra patientia possidebitis animas vestras.'" "He does not say," adds St. Augustin, "your villas, your honours, your luxuries, your comforts, your health, but your souls; and if the soul can suffer, as is proved by experience, so many things for the sake of that by which it may perish, what ought it not to suffer that it may never perish? What ought it not to suffer, in order, by the tranquil endurance of pain and death, by a patient passion, to obtain the inestimable good of a happy immortality?"† "Jam ægritudinem laudare, unam rem maxime detestabilem, quorum est tandem philosophorum," says Cicero.‡ In fact, some of the ancient philosophers were able to discern the advantages which resulted from it, to the intellectual nature, and at least, in speculation to forestall the judgment of those happier sages, who directed their discipline to temper and moderate those excessive energies of the body which tended, by their full development, to weaken and impair the higher faculties. "The sickness of a certain friend," says Pliny, "gave me occasion lately to remark, that we are the best men when we are infirm. For when does avarice or lust solicit a sick man? He has no thought of pleasure; he does not seek honour, he neglects riches; then he remembers that there are gods and that he is a man; he envies no one; he admires no one; he despises no one; and he neither attends to malignant conversation nor is he nourished by it."* These were a heathen's reflections, but the Christian had far greater and holier considerations to cheer his hours of sickness. "Let a wise man be brave in enduring pain; that is sufficient for the discharge of duty. That he should be joyful I do not require," continues Cicero, "for unquestionably it is a sad thing, rough, bitter, hostile to nature, difficult to endure."† Yet faith enabled the Christian to find a source of satisfaction even in the pains of sickness, by reminding him that these supplied him with an opportunity of being more conformable to his divine Saviour. In health there were many distractions calculated to make him lose all similitude with that great prototype; but on the bed of suffering he lay stretched like the blessed Jesus on the cross, and in the offering up of these pains, he found a sweetness and a consolation that surpassed all the exhilaration and joy of the most vigorous health, "as much," to use the words of St. Augustin, "as the wisdom of Job in sickness exceeded that of Adam in the strength and freshness of youth wandering in the groves." This was a phenomenon which suggested many reflections to men of philosophic observation, though, in their speculations, they too often overlooked the real secret cause of this mystery of the moral nature. The testimony to the fact which is borne by Novalis, is assuredly remarkable, when he says, "the moment in which a man begins to love sickness or pain is perhaps that in which the sweetest pleasure is in his arms, and the highest positive delight runs through him. May not sickness be a medium of higher synthesis? The more fearful the pain, the higher the secret pleasure. Every sickness, is, perhaps, a necessary beginning of the inward union of the two existences,

* De Visitatione Infirmorum, Lib. incerti auctoris. † De Patientia. ‡ Tuscul. IV. 25.

* Epist. Lib. VIII. 26. † Tuscul. Lib. II.

a necessary beginning of love. Hence men can become enthusiastic for sickness and pain, and, above all, for death, as a closer union of the two existences. In general, do not the best things begin with sickness? Half of sickness is evil, the whole sickness is pleasure?"*

This passage, by a modern philosopher, would furnish an interesting commentary on what is related of many of the saints whose sentiments in sickness and death, are viewed with such contempt or incredulity by others of his religion who wanted the genius and penetration which he possessed. The Spaniards have a saying, "Where evil is, good is;" and these were occasions to demonstrate its truth. To the state of sickness in the ages of faith, there were certain duties and manners belonging, the observance of which gave rise to many lovely and astonishing scenes, which are described with beautiful simplicity in the ancient chronicles. The characteristics of the sick, like those of the dying, were changed, and wholly different from what they had been by nature. Like nectar now, men slowly sipped the most nauseous medicines, when they were reminded of the vinegar and gall. The Nurse, in the Hippolytus, says, "It is better to be the sick person than the attendant," the latter had so much to endure from the waywardness and impatience of the sufferer.† What a different portrait was seen in an Abbot Stephen, a St. Philip Neri, a St. Clare, a St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi! What a different one was drawn by the poet who had the experience of Christian ages!

> "He faded, and so calm and meek,
> So softly worn, so sweetly weak,
> So tearless, yet so tender-kind,
> And grieved for those he left behind."

How changed, too, were those who attended on the sick! It was in ages of faith that arose those institutes of mercy in which holy women, like ministering angels, devoted their lives to serve the sick. Such are those sisters of charity, and those grey sisters, who continue to perform so many miracles of charity in our unbelieving age. Men visited the sick now not only through humanity and friendship, but as an act of devotion. "I was sick, and ye visited me," said our Lord, meaning, as he proceeded to explain, that whosoever would visit the least of his disciples

* Schriften II. 287. † Eurip. 187.

in sickness would be recompensed hereafter as having visited him. Hence the sickness of the lowest attendant would be enough to reverse the plans of a whole family, and to interrupt the progress of a man in the highest authority. St. Gregory of Tours, describes his distress, on one occasion, as he was travelling, and one of his younger attendants fell sick:—"This event involved us in great loss, for the sickness of this boy put a stop to our proceeding further on the journey. I prayed earnestly to God that he might be healed; for he was always most patient of labour, and most pious."* This help of intercession, so consoling to the sick, and often through Heaven's mercy so instrumental to their recovery, was never wanting in these ages of love. When Bayard was sick in Grenoble, the writer of his life relates, that every one was praying for his recovery. Not only his uncle, the bishop, but also all the noble citizens and merchants, with all the holy religious people, monks and nuns, interceded for him, day and night. He was soon restored to health. "Et nest possible," adds this devout writer, "quen tant de peuple ny eust quelque bonne personne que Dieu ne voulust oyur.†"

Among the advantages of sickness, even among the romantic ages of chivalry, was considered its exemption from the danger of a disturbed and nnsanctified death. To the eye of religion, it would have been a happier end for Bayard to have died of the distemper which attacked him in the Episcopal Palace of his holy uncle at Grenoble, than to have perished as he wished, with the Duke of Nemours, in the slanghter on Easter Sunday, at Ravenna. Aristotle, indeed, will not allow that courage can be evinced in sickness;‡ so that with that idea the young knight might hold it in abhorrence: but, yet, experience in any thing, as the Stagyrite admits, may give rise to courage; and, therefore, Socrates nsed to call courage knowledge; and, for the same reason, they who were acquainted with sickness and death might have had occasion to evince conrage.

With regard to physical sufferings, the deep and loving familiarity in which men lived with nature, enabled them to perceive that sickness and the approach of death are not what people in health imagine them to be. "Nature, then," as Paschal

* S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. II. c. 66.
† La tres Joyeuse Hystoire, &c., chap. lv.
‡ Ethic. Lib. III. cap. 6.

says, "gives passions and desires conformable to the present state. It is the fear which we give ourselves, and not nature, which troubles us; because it joins to the state in which we are, the passions of the state in which we are not."* But let us now draw nearer to these mourners, and behold them stretched on the bed of sickness, that we may have proof that during the ages of faith theirs was truly a blessed sorrow. In the monastic histories, we have many scenes of this kind described in minute detail. The author of that affecting book, which relates the deaths of certain monks of La Trappe, writes as if from the other world, for he had been sick almost to death, so as to have received the last sacraments of the Church; and he had made what he supposed his last discourse to the brethren, when it pleased God to delay his departure. He relates, that many of the monks of La Trappe had originally gone to that house of austere penitence, in a state of the greatest weakness and suffering of body, and had been admitted into it, from a conviction that they would give as much edification, by patience and resignation in their sickness, as others by the labours and exercises which belonged to those of robust health.† The father abbot of La Trappe asked brother Euthyme, whether he did not feel the solitude of the infirmary very wearisome, and whether he was not tired with having nothing to do? To which he replied, "My days seem very short. I pass them in prayer, in reading, and in working, with my hands. Un chretien peut il s'ennuier?"‡ Yet these solitary men contemplated a state of real solitude, that which inevitably awaits the worldly race, with the utmost horror. Dom Isidore II., in his last sickness, said, on one occasion, to his brethren, "How will a soul that has neglected its Judge, and which has chosen to serve the creature and not its Creator, be able to accommodate itself to that fearful solitude in which it will find itself at the hour of death? What nakedness! What dereliction! This soul, which reposed in the creature as its centre and its happiness, beholds itself all of a sudden abandoned and deprived of every support. It is not sustained by God who has rejected it: neither is it by creatures, for they are without power to give it any succour. What a solitude! What a void!"* The Abbot de Rancé says of Dom Paul Ferrand, when sick in the infirmary, "I used to visit him every morning at four o'clock. I used to find him on his knees saying his Breviary."† Dom Basile, in his last illness, though during severe cold, used to rise and say mass a little after four o'clock. So also Dom Isidore continued to hear mass every morning; and only two days before his death, he was able to hear it in the church without being supported.‡

In the middle ages, the sick had the consolation of being able to assist at the holy rites of the Church till the last hour of their life. Hospitals were so constructed, that the patients who were in bed could each see the altar in the chapel; and those who were infirm in private houses were visited by the clergy, who were charged to administer this consolation to them. When sick persons were unable to leave their chamber, leave used to be given to say mass, even on the most solemn festivals, in a private oratory.§ It was the custom also, that the psalms should be chaunted to every dying person, as may be collected from Morinus, the sacramentary of St. Eloy, and from other liturgical monuments: "The ministers of the holy Church of God, with the utmost reverence, ought to sing before the sick every day, the office of vespers, matins, and lauds, with the antiphons, responses, lessons, and prayers, pertaining to them." St. Gregory, of Tours, relates, that when St. Gall, bishop of Arvernum, was at the point of death; just as the morning broke, he asked what was singing in the church? They said that they were singing the Benediction; and he, commencing with the fiftieth Psalm and the Benediction, proceeded to sing the whole office of matins. But we must proceed now to the consummation of earthly woe, to the last suffering of the blessed mourners.

* Pensees 1. Part IX.
† Relations de la Mort de Quelques Religieux de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, Tom. II. 147.
‡ Id. I. 102.

* Relations de la Mort de Quelques Religieux de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, Tom. II. 127.
† Id. I. 32. ‡ Id. II. 138.
§ Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, II. 24.

CHAPTER VII.

"WHEN man," said Simonides, "is in the sweet and precious flower of youth, having a ligbt mind, he thinks of many unaccomplishable things: for be never supposes that be will either grow old or die; nor, wben in bealth, bas be any thougbt of sickness. Such is their foolish mind, nor do they know how short to mortals is the time of yonth and life."

Θνητῶν δ' ὄφρα τὶς ἄνθος ἔχῃ πολυήρατον ἥβης,
Κοῦφον ἔχων θυμὸν πολλ' ἀτέλεστα νοεῖ.
οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίδ' ἔχει γηρασσέμεν, οὐδὲ θανεῖσθαι,
οὐδ' ὑγιὴς ὅτ' ἂν ᾖ, φροντὶδ' ἔχει καμάκου.
νηπὶοις ταύτῃ κεῖται νόος· οὐδὲ ἴσασιν
ὡς χρόνος ἔσθ' ἥβης καὶ βιότου ὀλίγος
Θνητοῖς.*

Were we to judge from the spirit and tone of the literature of the middle ages, we migbt suppose that these beautiful lines of the ancient poet had ceased to be a just representation of the human mind with regard to the remembrance and contemplation of death. The Abbé Gouget observes, that the greatest number of the old poets of France loved to recall the image of death, and that tbey used even to introduce it into those works wbich seemed the least serious. The danse macabre was a common termination of their pieces.† The ancients did not dare in common so mucb as to prononnce the word which denoted it; so that, with the Latins, to die was implied in that remarkable expression, "to rejoin the majority."‡ Not so in Christian Ages, when even by poets and orators, every particular instance of death is made an occasion for reminding men that they will themselves experience it, as in the words of Talbot, on the death of Bedford—

"A braver soldier never couched lance,
A gentler heart did never sway a court;
But kings and mightiest potentates must die,
For that's the end of human misery."§

* Stobæi Florileg. Tom. III. 288.
† Bibliotheque Français, Tom X. 185.
‡ Plautus Trinummus, II. 2. 14.
§ Hen. VI. II. P. 2.

And yet nothing extravagant, useless, or unnatural, was sanctioned by religion with regard to the importance which is attached to the remembrance of death. It only said, to use the words of Lombez—"Live with the same circumspection and the same humility as if you expected death every bour, and think no more of death than if you were never to die."* It is related, bowever, of the Arcbduke Leopold, of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II., that be used to repeat every nigbt on going to bed the prayers for the dying in recommendation of the soul, as if bis sleep were to be followed by death: but of the spirit of the ages of faith in all these exercises connected with the meditation of death, we may say, in the words of Cicero, "Quæ non hoc affert, ut semper mœreamus, sed ut numquam."† Who donbts, who denies that, in a certain sense, death is a solemn and awful subject for the contemplation of mau? From high descends the virtue, by whose aid alone be is able to meet it without terror. "In the first place," as Montaigne says, "we all come apprentices not masters to death." We find ourselves presented with a multitude of thoughts, which are, to the greatest part of men, wbolly new. "Know this well, O Socrates," says the aged Cephalus in Plato, "that when any one thinks himself near death, a fear and reflection come to him concerning things about wbich he had never thought before."‡ Of this fact poets bave sometimes availed themselves, and I know not if their fearful pictures be not sometimes more calculated than the gravest discourse to prepare men for contemplating their end. Witness the account given by the Monk of Melrose respecting the last hours of Michael Scott—

"When Michael lay on his dying bed,
His conscience was awakened:
He bethought him of his sinful deed,
And he gave me a sign to come with speed.
I was in Spain when the morning rose,
But I stood by his bed ere evening close;
The words may not again be said
That he spoke to me on death-bed laid.
I swore to bury his mighty book,
That never mortal might therein look."

* Chap. II. † Tuscul. III. 16.
‡ De Repub. Lib. I.

This account so wrought upon the imagination of the listening knight, that when the magician's grave was opened, and he in terror took

> "From the cold hand the mighty book
> With iron clasp'd, and with iron bound,
> He thought, as he took it, the dead man frown'd."

Fable and romance derive, after all, their greatest charm from their concordance with truth. Leaving them, however, for more austere studies, how fearful is it to hear a holy man, Adam de Persenna, of the Cistercian Order, speaking of the day of judgment, and saying, "Nescimus utrum dies illa nobis futura sit lucis æternæ diluculum, an, quod Deus avertat, crepusculum æternæ noctis." The dying man knows also that he will not have long to wait without being informed of this momentous doom. "Hades, Ἅιδης, is so called," says Socrates, "not as is generally supposed, from 'not seeing,' but much rather from 'seeing and knowing all things clearly.'"* Speaking of a man dead, the Greek poet says, "He knows all about it now: ᾄδου δ' ἐν δόμοις παιδεύεται."† Theologians say, "that the secret judgment of God takes place in the chamber where a man dies."‡ "The place of the particular judgment, which is passed the first instant after the soul is parted from the body, is commonly thought to be that wherein a man dieth. So that God being immense and every where, raiseth in that very place his invisible seat, before which the poor soul, scarce yet out of the body, suddenly appeareth."§ Then each one confesses all, and to judgment passing, speaks, and hears his fate; thence is conducted to the dwelling which suits his condition. How terrible is the thought of such a speedy and short trial! We can estimate its fears by the impressions which we feel on merely reading of the fate of the Platæans, who obtained a similar hearing from the Lacedæmonians, who took their city, though upon them it was only a temporal punishment which could be inflicted. Each one of us may be reminded of what awaits himself when he hears the question that was proposed to these unhappy citizens as they came forth at the summons of their conquerors, one by one, and each was simply asked, "Whether he had done any good service to the Lacedæmonians, or to their allies, during that present war?" They begged permission to be indulged in a few words, and not to be confined to giving a direct answer; they wished μακρότερα εἰπεῖν, and their chief speaker was for declaiming at length upon their ancient deeds of patriotism in resisting the Medes. But they were not allowed to avail themselves of any past services, but still the one short and terrible question was proposed to each as he came out; and as he was constrained to confess the truth, that he had done nothing, he was put to death, and thus they all perished.*

Strange and terrible visions and events are recorded to have taken place in various ages of the church in attestation of this speedy doom which follows death, which are not the less solemn, if explained on the ground chosen by St. Augustin, who ascribes them to the operation of angels acting by divine command. Among the letters of St. Boniface there is one relating a most awful vision, which was described to him by a man who had been miraculously restored to life, who revealed to him what his soul had seen in the other world. Guilty spirits, too, were known to come forth from their sepulchre, and to start up from their biers to announce to the earth the punishments of divine justice, and to say to men, "Pray not for me! I am judged, I am condemned!" Who has not heard of that vision of Alberico, from which Dante is supposed to have taken the idea of his immortal poem? But while we are on such themes, gentle reader, as Socrates says to Theætetus, "Look around and examine μή τις τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐπακούῃ, lest there should be present any of those persons who think that there is nothing existing but what they can grasp in their hands, and to whom πᾶν τὸ ἀόρατον is inconceivable and inadmissible. Truly replies the disciple, you speak of dry, hard, repulsive men. O boy, they are not exactly the children of the Muses, (adds Socrates,) Εἰσὶ γὰρ, ὦ παῖ, μάλ' εὖ ἄμουσοι." Trusting, however, that they are far from us at present, let us hear what was the substance of this history. Alberico, then, we read, born of noble parents at a castle near Alvito, in the diocese of Sora, in the year 1101, was seized, on completing his ninth year, with a violent fit of illness, which deprived him of his senses for several days. During this trance, he had a vision in which he seemed to be conducted by two angels through purgatory and hell, and then to be taken up into Paradise, to behold the glory of the

* Plato Cratylus. † Eurip. Ion. 965.
‡ Drexelius Tribunal Christi, Lib. I. cap. 6.
§ Meditations for the Use of the English College at Lisbon, IV.

* Thucyd. Lib. III. 68.

blessed. As soon as he came to himself again, he was permitted to make profession of a religious life in the monastery of Monte Casino. As the account he gave of his vision was strangely altered in the reports that went abroad of it, Girardo, the abbot, employed one of the monks to take down a relation of it from the mouth of Alberico himself. Senioretto, who was chosen abbot in 1127, not contented with this narrative, ordered Alberico to revise and correct it, which he accordingly did, with the assistance of Pietro Diacono, his associate in the monastery, and a few years younger than himself, and whose testimony to his extreme and perpetual self-mortification, and to a certain abstractedness of demeanour, which showed him to converse with other thoughts than those of this life, is still on record. It is conjectured that Alberico lived to a good old age.

There was a similar narrative that used to be told in Melrose Abbey, respecting St. Drithelm, whose relics reposed there. This extraordinary man, the noble Thane of Cunningham, in Northumbria, subsequently a monk and confessor, after a severe illness, rose, as it were, from the dead, and reported his vision of the other world to Hemgils, a priest, from whom Bede derived his information, as also to King Alfred himself. This vision is also related by Alcuin. These are strange relations, but there are others more fearful still, which seem to confirm the belief of Origen, that God sometimes permits the spirits or souls of the dead to become visible to men;* notwithstanding the doubt of St. Augustin, who adduces but negative arguments to disprove it, as where he concludes from the fact of his mother having never appeared to him, that the dead can never really return to the living;† though, in another place, in reply to Dulcitius, he reasons upon the ground of the possibility of their appearing.‡

In the year 1150, it is related that, on the vigil of St. Cecilia, a very old monk, an hundred years of age, at Marchiennes, in Flanders, fell asleep while sacred lessons were reading, and saw, in a dream, a monk, all clad in armour, shining like red hot iron in a furnace. The old man asked him who he was?—and hearing that he had lived among the monks of that convent, he stretched out his hand toward the spectre, but it charged him to beware how he touched it, adding, that he had yet to endure this fiery armour for ten years more, to expiate the having injured the reputation of another.* Those who are inclined to hear such narrations will observe, that the doubts of St. Augustin do not amount to denying that such a vision may have appeared, for he only infers that it was effected by the instrumentality of angels; however, Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, relates an event somewhat similar, which, from being attested by him, is more calculated to make a deep impression upon all. "There was a monk at Cluny," saith he, "named Bernard Savinellus. One night, as he was returning to the dormitory, after singing nocturns and lauds in the church with the brethren, he met Stephen, vulgarly called Blancus, Abbot of St. Giles, who had departed from life a few days before. At first, not knowing him, he was passing on, till the other spoke, and asked him, whither he was hastening? Bernard, astonished and angry that a monk should speak, contrary to the rules, in the nocturnal hours, and in a place where it was not permitted, made signs to him to hold his peace; but as the dead abbot replied, and urged him to speak, the other, raising his head, asked, in amaze, who he might be? To whom it was answered, I am Stephen, called abbot of St. Giles, who have formerly committed many faults in the abbey, for which I now suffer pains; and I beseech you to implore the Lord abbot, and other brethren, to pray for me, that, by the ineffable mercy of God, I may be delivered." Bernard replied, that he would do so; but added, that he thought no one would believe his report; to which the dead man answered, "In order, then, that no one may doubt, you may assure them that, within eight days, you will depart from life:" he spoke and vanished. "The monk, returning to the church, spent the remainder of that night in prayer and meditation. When it was day, he related his vision to St. Hugo, who was then the abbot. As is natural, some believed his account, and others thought it was some delusion. The next day the monk fell sick, and continued growing worse, and constantly affirming the truth of what he had related, till his death, which occurred within the time specified."† But we have wandered too far amidst this darksome wilderness, where every man would rather ask than pretend to point out the way. Let us regain our road.

* In Cels. Lib. II. † De Cura pro Mortuis.
‡ Lib. de Octo Dulcitii Quæstionibus.

* Hist. des Saints de la Province de Lille et Douay, p. 377.
† S. Petri ven. de Miraculis, Lib. I. cap. 10.

To all men death, comes in part as the fulfilment of the original sentence upon sin. "Mors," says St. Anselm, "is derived a morsu pomi vetiti." It is so far essentially connected with mourning, either from a consideration of sin or from a remembrance of what was paid to cancel it; or, in fine, from the natural impulse of our poor humanity. Our first mother had the consolation of hearing an angel, and of learning that glorious decree of Heaven's mercy, which ordained that her seed was to overcome the serpent: hut still, nature felt the terrors of the irreversible sentence, and we read,

"——— So much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dyed her cheeks with pale."

Our all-perfect and almighty Saviour, Christ Jesus, wept over the grave of dead Lazarus: and when he heard of the death of St. John the Baptist, we read, "Secessit inde in navicula, in locum desertum seorsum."* We find St. Paul saying that God had mercy on Epaphroditus, raising him from sickness, lest, by the death of so dear a friend, he should have sadness upon sadness.† We behold holy Mary too, the queen of heaven and mistress of the world, overwhelmed with sorrow beneath the cross, when

"She saw her sweet and only child
In desolation calm and mild,
In life's expiring throes."

"Where is the man," exclaims the holy Church, "who would not weep if he beheld the mother of Christ in such suffering?" Far be it from the humble followers of a crucified Saviour to profess a scorn for death, which he condescended to endure. It is disarmed, it is vanquished; yet its aspect still bespeaks its origin, and the eye naturally turns from it in mourning. But if death be thus solemn to the just, to the chosen vessels, to the highly-favoured of heaven, what shall we say respecting it, as affecting those who die subject to the wrath of God? The ancients were able to discern that there were two forms of death, widely different from each other, determined by the previous lives and character of those who suffered it. Plato speaks of these in the Phædrus, the Phædo, the Gorgias, and in the tenth book of the Republic. "The way to Hades," we read in the Phædo, "is not simple and only one; for, in that case, there would be no want of a guide, since it would be impossible to go astray: hnt it seems that there are many cross-ways and circuits—and those who have committed sacrileges or murders, or other great crimes, fall into Tartarus, whence they never get out. ὅθεν οὔ ποτε ἐκβαίνουσιν."* And Socrates would remind the wicked, that, when they die, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τῶν κακῶν καθαρὸς τόπος, will not receive them, but they will have to keep company for ever with those things that resemble them, κακοὶ κακοῖς συνόντες.†

To the natural terrors of a guilty conscience there was added, in ages of faith, the conviction, from the knowledge of express revelation, that punishments were prepared for every lost soul of man, in the future and eternal state; and what tongue can describe that perspective of the horrors of hell, at which incredulity may for a moment laugh, hnt before which Voltaire himself, when dying, turned pale beyond the ghastliness of death! "This I hold, this I think certain," say St. Jerome, "that he who led an evil life cannot have a good end." "O what a difference in death," exclaims the venerable Bede, describing the last moments of a reprobate. "Stephen, in dying, beheld the heavens opened, and this unhappy man saw, as awaiting himself, hell opened!"‡ What think you of that night in which Chrysorius died, horribly crying out, "truce till morning, truce till morning!" as St. Gregory relates in his dialogue?§ "Now say thou, who goest to spy death, if any else be terrible as this? 'Mors peccatorum pessima.'" Would you hearken for a moment to their complaints?

"Thoughts, my tormentors, arm'd with deadly stings,
Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts.
Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise
Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb
Or medicinal liquor can assuage;
Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
And sense of Heaven's desertion."

"Mors peccatorum pessima." The great men of this world die full of voiceless gloom, and impenitent, die as they have lived, like the Sarassin described by Tasso:‖

"Argantes died, yet no complaint he made,
But as he furious liv'd he careless dies:
Bold, proud, disdainful, fierce, and void of fear,
His motions last, last looks, last speeches were,‖

* Matt. xiv, 13. † Ad Philippens. II.

* Plato, Phædo, 114. † Plato, Theætetus.
‡ Lib. V. Hist. Anglor. cap. 15.
§ Lib. IV. cap. 38. ‖ Lib. XIX. 26.

'Superbi formidabili, feroci
Gli ultimi moti fur, l'ultime voci.'"

Or theirs does often resemble that terrible death which closes the poem of the Orlando Furioso,

"The indignant spirit fled, blaspheming loud,
Ere while on earth so haughty and so proud."

"Mors peccatornm pessima," mark again,

"Approach the chamber, look npon his bed,
His is the passing of no peaceful ghost;
Which, as the lark arises to the sky,
'Mid morning's sweetest breeze and softest dew,
Is wing'd to heaven by good men's sighs and tears!"

Hearken to that holy monk who is assisting the dying Marmion on the bloody field:

"O look, my son, upon yon sign
Of the Redeemer's grace divine:
O think on faith and bliss!
By many a death-bed I have been,
And many a sinner's parting seen,
Bnt never aught like this!"

"Mors peccatorum pessima;" I will look no more. It is every where the same, and yet this horror is hut the prelnde to that greater dismay when the trumpet of the judgment angel shall sonnd within their sepulchre cryiug, "Surgite, mortul!" already, however, are they made acquainted with their doom:

"They have slept the evil sleep,
That from the future tore the curtain off."

On the other hand, it is true that the judgments of God are sometimes seen in the profound obscurity in which the future is involved to the eyes of the dying and impenitent siuner, who is permitted sometimes to console himself with the epicurean's affirmation, "that death is the last line of things."* Pliuy remarked the error of the common opinion, "that nniversally the testaments of men are a mirror of their manners, since Domitius Tullus appeared far better iu his death than in his life."† But it is in the modern society that these examples of an nngrounded tranquillity are chiefly found, to which no parallel is furnished by the history of the middle ages. The Tartarus of the ancients, the cross and sinister ways that Socrates speaks of, the testimouy of original revelation, and primeval tradition respecting the future inexorable judges, "at whose bar," as Cicero says, "no one can have a Crassus, or a Marc Antony, or a Demosthenes, for his advocate, bnt every one must plead for himself," the terrible announcement of eternal fire by the voice of Him who cannot deceive, seem all alike to them, like idle tales to which they give no credit; they deny that there can be material fires, or spirits and bodies subject to them. Satan says to them, "thou shalt not burn," as he did to Adam, "thon shalt not die:" he prevents them from remarking, that there may be a doom to penal fire joining wicked souls that first had been with fleshly bodies united in ways eqnally wondrous and equally true. The death of a distinguished member of the Huguenot sect in France, was thus described lately hy his friend. "His last words were respecting the things he had always loved; the joys and sorrows of his friends, literatnre, civilization, liberty, and the future prospects of France." What would Socrates have thought of one who confiued his disconrse to such topics at his death? When these examples were first becoming known to Christian society, they excited a horror mixed with astonishment, which is forcibly expressed hy Madame de Sevigné, on relating the death of Charles II.: "Il me semble que la mort dn roi d'Angleterre devient plus philosophe et Angloise que Chrétienne et Catholique. Adieu roi me fait qnasi un nœud à la gorge."* Bnt I mnst hasten on from the dark, and deformed, and sorrowful side of death, well pleased to leave so cruel sea behind, to illustrate from the history of the ages of faith, what we have allnded to as its beautiful side, and to view the fulfilment of this deht of nature in reference to the mourners who were blessed. Matter this not unbecoming even an heroic theme, as Homer will attest; for the qneation which Telemachus addresses to Nestor, after expressing the greatest reverence for his age and wisdom, was simply this "how died Agamemnon?

πῶς ἔθαν' Ἀτρείδης εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων;"†

and with reason, since it is hy their death men can be known. "In fine hominis, denndatio operum illius." But who has a tongue to celehrate worthily the admirable

* Horace Epist. I. 10.
† Epist. Lib. VIII. 18.

* Lett. Roy. 724.
† Od. III. 248.

and glorious triumph of the meek children of grace over death and the grave? Who is able to penetrate the depth of their mysterious consolations, or to conceive the ineffable sweetness and constancy of their hope? It is in reference to them that one may well be anxious to inquire from history; for who does not feel impelled to ask, in the words of Echecrates to Phædo, "What was it that these men said before death, and how did they die? for it would be a sweet thing to hear this."* Let us look upon them as we find them lying on their death-bed, where, as in the instance of St. Dunstan, they saw so many strange visions of heavenly joys, showed unto them for their great comfort. Let us leave the history of the middle ages to speak for itself, and remain but mutes or audience to this act, while it displays before us, in the language of these ancient times, the form of death, which is pronounced to be precious in the sight of God.

In the ancient monasteries, there are necrologies, in which the deaths of the brethren and benefactors are minutely described; but besides these, the monastic histories abound with similar examples. "Now that we have described the holy deeds of St. Richarius," says a venerable chronicle, "what remains but to relate the death of the just? But that should not be called death which constitutes the birthday of a saint; for when dead to the world, then he is truly born to Christ in heaven. It is miserable to love the place of death any longer, and after experiencing its dangers, to seem unwilling to enter the port. You should rather rejoice with him, that being saved from the wreck of the world, he should now live secure and crowned with Christ, eternally safe and happy. Therefore we shall not call it the death, but the transit of this Father, who on this account is truly happy, because, despising the world, he had this transit always before his eyes. The day before his departure, when he was to receive the object of his long desire, and to be joined for ever with God, he called Sygobard his fellow soldier, saying to him, 'I know, my son, I know that my end is not far off, and that I shall soon behold my King whom I have long desired to see. Do you then prepare a vessel in which my body may be placed, not with superfluous study, but for necessary use, and my son, prepare also yourself with all diligence, that when that day, so near to me, and which is not far from you, shall arrive, it may find you prepared. I go the way of all the world, only may the Saviour of the world be gracious unto me, and defend me now from the enemy, who formerly redeemed me from the enemy; that whom I had as the consoler of my present life, may be a dispenser to me of eternal life." The disciple hearing him thus speak, wept much, but obeyed his orders, and when he had prepared the sarcophagus, the holy father had scarcely breath; yet still he continued to pray and to give thanks, while he fortified himself for his passage, by receiving the body and blood of Christ: amid thanksgiving and words of prayer his spirit departed."* In the same chronicle occurs the following scene: "After four years of sickness, Gervin still continuing to perform all his service to God, being inflamed by a devotion which nothing could interrupt, was apprized of his approaching deliverance in this manner. In the beginning of the year of our Lord MLXXIV., on the day when the church celebrates the presentation of our Lord Jesus Christ in the temple, he said mass in the crypt of the church of our monastery, and being more afflicted than usual, it was with difficulty that he was able to complete the mysteries. However, by the grace of God, having accomplished them strictly, being fatigued by such exertion, the brethren supporting him on the right and left, led him back to his room, and then he said to them, "My sweet sons, do you know I have received from St. Mary leave to depart this day?" And they asking him whither he meant to go? "whither," said he, "but to that place to which I have always desired to go, and for which I have always besought God;" but the brethren replying, "that he could still live long, in order that sacrifice to the omnipotent God might be offered by his hands," he said, "never again will brother Gervin sing mass." In fact, he never rose again from his bed, and in the beginning of Lent, on the fourth feria, he called together the elder brethren and such as were priests, and spoke to them as follows: "As the blessed Germain said to his brother bishops, so I say to you, my sons, I commend to you, dearly beloved, my passage hence, for I perceive that the hour is at hand, when the salvation which I have long sought

* Plato Phædo.

* Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, Lib. I. cap. XXI. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

for from the Lord, will come to me; and this was always the intention of my prayers, that the merciful God would order my death to take place during the holy days which have lately commenced; and now since I trust that he is about to grant my petitions, I wish to confess before you, in the sight of God, all the evils which I have committed, and on account of which, I fear for my soul; believing that this confession, through the tender mercy of the Lord and your intercession, will cleanse me." Having said this while the brethren wept round him, he recited before them some grievous sins, which they all knew he had never committed; the brethren being astonished, having known the innocence of his life, said to him, "But good father, you accuse yourself of things of which it is manifest you were never guilty. Certainly you never committed adultery nor homicide." "Spare me, brethren, spare me, I beseech you, and do not load my soul; for if any have perished under my care, truly in the judgment of God, I shall have to render an account of their souls; and as for adultery, hear what Christ says: 'qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam mœchatus est eam in corde suo.' With these and other words he commended the care of his exit to God and to their prayers. Still he caused one of the brethren to sing the whole psalter to him every day, because he was himself unable. The brethren seeing that he approached his end, according to the mandate of St. James, anointed him with blessed oil, and asked him where he wished to be buried; but he would not point out any place, leaving it to their own choice, but being continually urged to do so, he said, "I will tell you what I wish you would do, but I know you will not fulfil it; fasten a rope to my foot, drag me and throw me on the dung-heap, because I do not think that I deserve any other sepulchre." He besought them, however, to carry him in his last hour into the church of St. Richarius, that there he might render his soul to God. Accordingly, on the third feria of the second week in Lent, after matins, the brethren found him in the agony, which he perceiving, with his hand he made signs to carry him into the church, and the brethren carried him there, and having spread sackcloth, they placed him before the altar of St. John the Baptist. Then having placed the crucifix before him, the congregation began the litanies, and when they came to Sancta Maria, 'ora pro eo,' he repeated the words in death; and when they chaunted 'S. Richari, ora pro eo,' he let fall tears, and stretched out his hands, and repeated the words, and then he lapsed into quietness; and the litanies being finished, the brethren began the commendation of the faithful; and when they came to 'suscipiat te Christus,' his spirit departed."* Ingulphus describes the last days of Turketul, Abbot of Crowland:—"Worn down by age and labour, he expected the day of his release, devoting himself with greater assiduity to vigils and prayer, and celebrating the holy mysteries, allowing himself leisure for holy meditations, and relieving all the poor, giving food to all that sought alms, and to all the needy, and exercising every other act of charity, despising the present life, and desiring the future, neglecting nothing of the regular observances, and yet always speaking of himself as an unprofitable servant, and from his heart imploring the mercy of Christ. Once every day he used to visit the schools of the children and sons of the nobles who were educating for the priesthood or the cloister, and to examine the reading and labour of each, bringing with him some figs or raisins, or nuts, or apples, or other such little presents, to reward those who were doing well, that all might be excited, not only by words or stripes, but by prayers and rewards: he assisted divers old monks that were sick to death, and would never leave them by day or night, but would sing the regular office before them, and perform, like the cleverest youth, all proper service with his own hands. At length, in the year 975, after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, he was seized with a fever; and on the fourth day, he assembled all the monks, forty-seven in number, with four lay-brothers, and exposed to them the state of the whole house. Then, having communicated in the sacred mysteries of Christ, he embraced the crucifix within his arms, and kissed it, with sighs and tears, and spoke such devout words to each of the wounds of Christ, that the brethren who stood near, wept abundantly; and from the hearts of many of them, as long as they lived afterwards, the memory of his devotion never departed. On the day before his death, he made a short sermon to the brethren, and warned them to be careful against accidents of fire. He departed on the day of the translation of S. Benedict, at the completion of the regular office,

* Ibid. Lib. IV. cap. xxxv.-vi.

and passed from the cares of his abbatial government to the bosom of Abraham."*

Serlon, Bishop of Séez died in the year 1123. Some days before his death, perceiving his end to be near, after celebrating mass in his cathedral, he called the canons and officers of his church, and said to them, "I feel very weak, through age and sickness, and I see that my hour is not far distant. I commend you to God, who chose me to be your pastor, and I conjure you to pray for me. Let my tomb be prepared, for I have but a very short time to remain with you." After this discourse, he went with his clergy before the altar of the Blessed Virgin; and there, with his crosier, he pointed out the spot where he wished to be interred. Then, after saying some prayers, he sprinkled it with holy water. After this, the workmen opened the pavement, and dug the grave, and the masons built the vault: he then descended into it, and laid himself down as if he had been dead. The following day, which was Friday, he returned to the church, and wished to say mass. He had already put on his amice, but he found himself so weak, that he was afraid he might not be able to finish the celebration, and so he caused his chaplain to say mass; after which, he assembled the canons, and said to them, "Come, all of you to me after dinner, for I wish to distribute, according to rule, the treasures which I have amassed from the revenues of the church, that no one may be able to accuse me before God. Sicut nudus in hunc mundum intravi, sic me decet nudum egredi." At three o'clock, the bishop sat down at table to dine, but he could eat nothing. During the whole repast, he spoke of God with great unction and grace. As the assistants were about to rise from table, he expired.† "When one visits the sick," says the Abbot de Rancé, "one has generally to console them; but this man, Dom Paul Ferrand, consoled those who came to see him die."‡ We have already visited the infirmary of La Trappe to watch the sick; let us now return to it to behold death. Dom Paul Ferrand assisted at tierce, high mass, and vespers, till the very eve of his departure. At the beginning of Lent, he had predicted that God would remove him hence on the same day as that on which he was pleased to die for sinners. On Maunday Thursday, he rose at half-past three in the morning, and between four and five went to the church and received our Lord. On his return to the infirmary, he said that he wanted nothing more than a bed of ashes and straw: he was most anxious to hear the death-hammer, which is always struck at the moment of a soul's departure. In the evening, he went into the church with a firm step, and received extreme unction. When the monk, who had charge of the Infirmary, asked him, on his return, whether the exertion had not made him very weak? He replied, 'Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Moriatur anima mea morte justorum, et fiant novissima mea horum similia.' On the morning of Good Friday he expired."* When brother Joseph was dying, and already stretched upon the cross of ashes and straw, all the prayers being finished, as he seemed to desire something, he was asked if he wanted any thing, and he replied that he felt a great thirst. The monk brought him some diet drink; but this perfect disciple of Jesus Christ, who had followed his Master with such fidelity in life, desired still to follow him on Calvary. He refused to taste it, and said, "Jesus Christ felt thirst upon the cross, and would not drink." These divine words were the last he spoke; and shortly after, full of joy and consolation, he resigned his soul into the arms of Jesus Christ.† When Dom Isidore lay at the point of death, having been silent for a long time, at length, about nine o'clock in the evening, as if he had just awoke from a profound sleep, he began to chant the praise of God with a loud voice, and with such force, that he was heard distinctly in all the adjoining chambers. He began with the litanee of Jesus, and with that of the saints, adding the collects, and many other prayers, the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Psalm Laudate Dominum de Cœlis, with the hymn and prayers in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and he departed in the very act of singing to resume the chant in the choir of angels.‡ When Dom Alberic Godinot was stretched on the cross of ashes at the point of death, an ancient friend, who had come to see him, was weeping by his side; but the holy man rebuked him, saying, "You ought to be ashamed to weep for me. Rejoice, my

* Hist. Ingulphi, p. 51.
† Recherches Historiques sur la Ville et le Diocèse de Séez, par De Maurey D'Orville, 119.
‡ Relations de la Mort de Quelques Religieux de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, Tom. I. 28.

* Id. Tom. I. † Id. Tom. I. 152.
‡ Relations de la Mort de Quelques Religieux de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, I. 383.

brother, and be not afflicted. Behold the time of my joy and of my happiness."* "Dom Dorothee died without appearing to suffer any agony, after he had had a full presentiment of the hour of his death. During the last hours of life, Dom Isidore never ceased invoking the saints, and saying, 'Benedicite spiritus et animæ justorum Domino, benedicite sancti et humiles corde Domino.' In the evening, he desired himself to be placed on the bed of ashes; and all the community, on coming out from the collation, came to him, and recited the prayers for those who are in their agony; but he was in an ecstacy of joy: he continued to speak of God and of his mercies till eleven o'clock, when he made signs to the monk who watched over him, to raise him up so as to sit upright; but the monk not understanding him, he repeated the sign; and still the monk, not knowing what to do, the other monks came round, and began to consult together what it was that he wished to say. Dom Isidore, fearing that their zeal to serve him would lead some of them to speak, and so break their rule,† raised his hand on high, and said, in a low tone of voice, full of sweetness and reverence, 'Silence, my fathers, silence!' A few moments after he expired, in peace and perfect possession of his faculties."‡ "When the father abbot of La Trappe had administered extreme unction to brother Euthyme, the holy sufferer said, aloud, 'That he hoped in the goodness of God, and that he trusted in his mercy.' 'I asked him,' says the Father Abbot, 'if he expected all from his goodness, without depending in the least upon his works, and if he sincerely renounced his past life.' 'I renounce it,' replied he, with a firm tone; 'and I hope all from the goodness of God; it is so great, that he has compassion and mercy upon those who are unworthy as I am.' This poor brother died in such peace, that it was like a lamp which goes out without any one perceiving it. We did not know whether he was dead, or whether he yet breathed; but he had departed."§ "Brother Peter Durant was three months sick; and during the whole time, he never failed a single day, not even on that of his death, to say his office on his knees. He went to the church at four o'clock in the morning to receive the last sacraments. Two minutes before his death, he was regarding the crucifix with affectionate eyes, and saying, 'The just crucified for the unjust!' The brethren who recited the prayers around him did not perceive when he was dead, so gentle and happy was his passage."* "When brother Zeno was dying, after the community had recited the prayers of the agony, he saluted all the brethren with inclinations of the head, and with an air of sweetness, and cheerfulness, and gratitude; and, above all, with an expression of peace which filled them with consolation. A quarter of an hour before his death, one asked him what were his dispositions at the moment: and he replied in two words, 'Patience and mercy.' Some instants after, without any convulsion or effort, he rendered up his soul into the hands of Jesus Christ."†

But let us repair to other places for illustrations of death in ages of faith.

Frodoard, in his History of the Church of Rheims, speaks as follows of the abbot, St. Theodulph. "He lived to the age of ninety, enjoying the finest old age, distinguished by his long white hair, amiable and smiling in his countenance, temperate in his manners, full of charity, liberal in alms, magnanimous in contempt for the world; and never did any pain or fever, or fatigue of body, or accident, or pain of the soul, prevent him from his prayers, and from performing the works of the Lord, as long as his blessed soul animated his body. At length, one day, as he entered the Church to matins, being seized with slight symptoms of fever, he felt moved to recommend his soul to God, and continued in devout prayer till sunrise, when he returned joyfully to his cell; and when his hour arrived, making his peace with all the brethren, with eyes and hands raised to heaven, he rendered up his blessed soul to his Creator."‡ When the humble and blessed friar James, who was a simple, unlearned lay brother, of the order of St. Francis, came to die, having begged pardon of all the religious who were assembled, he took a wooden cross, which he had at his bed's head, and kissed it, and put it to his eyes, and then, with great tenderness, although he was simple and unlearned, said in Latin, "Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera, quæ sola fuisti digna sustinere Regem cœlorum et Dominum." All who were present were astonished—for none of the religious had

* Id. II. 33. † It was after Complin.
‡ Id. II. 147.
§ Relations de la Mort de Quelques Religieux de l'Abbaye de la Trappe, II. 147.

* Id. II. 269. † Id. 303.
‡ Liv. I. chap. 25.

ever heard the humble man say such like words in Latin. Having uttered these words, he gave np his spirit to our Lord.* St. Isidore, of Seville, feeling the approach of death, went into the chnrch, assembled the people, made them a fine exhortation, then offered prayers to God, and rendered np his soul in presence of them all.

There are some affecting details recorded of the sickness and death of the great Abbot Suger. In his last illness he came down, supported on both sides, into the chapter-room, where the monks were assembled, and then he made a discourse on the jndgments of God, the most moving they had ever heard. He then fell at their feet, and prayed them, with tears, to pardon the many faults of his administration and condnct during the thirty years that he had governed the house. They conld only reply hy their tears. Then he told them that he came there to judge himself, and that he concluded himself to have been unworthy of the office of abbot, and that he deposed himself, and remitted into their hands his crosier and all anthority, conjuring them to proceed at once to a new election, that he might have the happiness to die a simple monk. He wished St. Bernard to come to assist him, hnt the saint was unahle: however, he wrote to him a most affecting letter. "Brother Bernard wishes, to his very dear and very intimate friend, Suger, hy the grace of God, ahbot of St. Denis, the glory which springs from a good conscience, and the grace which is a gift of God. Fear not, man of God, to put off the earthly man, of which the weight sinks you down to the earth, and drags you almost to the abyss, that man of sin which torments, oppresses, persecntes you! What have you in common with these vestiges of an nnhappy mortality, yon who are about to be clothed with glory?" Such was the commencement of his letter. Towards Christmas the weakness became so great, that Suger believed his last moments were arrived, and he felt happy at the prospect of his deliverance; bnt thinking that his death would interrupt the joy that onght to accompany those holy solemnities, he prayed to God to prolong his life till after the festival. His prayer was heard, and after three weeks he expired.†

In the year 1148, St. Malachy, from Ireland, was seized with illness while staying in the Ahbey of Clairvaux. Having celebrated the festival of All Saints with great joy, he assembled the monks on the third of November, and told them that God had heard him, and that he was to die in their arms. He departed after midnight.

In the year 1370, when Pope Urban was seized with his mortal illness, soon after his return to Avignon, he ordered the doors of his palace to be set open, that all the world might be more impressed hy witnessing his death. "It must have been a very affecting and edifying sight, (says a writer of that time) to behold a Pope extended like a poor man, on a sorry bed, clothed in the habit of St. Benedict, which he always wore, his crucifix in his hands, and showing the signs of the greatest piety, penance, and resignation." Pope Leo IX. died in the chnrch of St. Peter at Rome, while sitting near the tomb which he had prepared for himself. St. Chrysostom died on his forced journey to the shores of the Enxine, in the church of St. Bailisqne, into which the soldiers had allowed him to enter.

These are affecting and memorable records. But how deeply interesting to be ahle to assist at the last moments of the great and blessed St. Francis of Assissi! We read that at his death he said he wished to appear before his Judge naked and stripped of every thing. Then causing the passion ont of St. John to be read, he began to recite the Psalm, "Voce meâ ad Dominnm clamavi, voce meâ ad Dominnm deprecatus sum. Effundo in conspectn ejus orationem meam, et tribulationem meam ante ipsum pronnntio. Ednc de custodia animam meam ad confitendum nomini tuo: me expectant justi, donec retribuas mihi." With these words he departed.

Arnulph, a nohleman of Flanders, converted miraculously by St. Bernard to a religious life at Clairvaux, coming to die, after receiving the sacraments, exclaimed suddenly, "Vera snnt omnia, domine Jesu, vera sunt quæ dixisti." Some thonght that he was raving; hnt he went on to explain, saying that the promise of Christ was fulfilled, which affirmed that there was no one who had left house or brethren, or sister, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for him and for his Gospel, who did not receive in this world an hundredfold, and in the future, life everlasting.*—St. Anthony found the dead body of St. Paul tho Hermit kneeling on the ground,

* Ribadeneira, Lives of the Saints, Novem. 11.
† Hist. de Suger, Liv. VI.

* Drexclius, Tribunal Christi, Lib. I. cap. 10.

the head raised, and the hands spread towards heaven. At first he thought that he was alive, and was praying.—Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, describes a very solemn scene connected with the death of a poor novice in that abbey. "I came to him, (says the holy abbot) as usual after vespers with the brethren, and we found him in great suffering. He then received from my hands the celestial food of our Lord's body; after which, he lost his speech. In silence he remained all that night and the whole of the following day, till the vesper hour, when suddenly he broke forth aloud, to our great astonishment, with the words, "Domine miserere, chare Domine miserere, Domine misericordiam;" and so he continued repeating these words, and invoking St. Martin. With this long and uninterrupted supplication for mercy, in the presence of us who knelt round him praying, and on the day of the Holy Innocents, did this innocent soul depart from the miseries of this life, and as is allowable to believe, attain to the mercy which he so devoutly invoked."*

It was in the year 1157, that Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, went the way of all flesh. His departure was in this manner. On the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, entering the chapter as usual, in good health, he heard the announcement of the blessed festival, and after the manner of Cluny, he adored with the most humble prostration. After the lesson and the absolution of the dead, he began a sublime discourse on the preaching of the nativity and the announcement by the prophets; when suddenly, in the midst of his discourse, his eyes overflowed with a torrent of tears, and falling down, he was borne out of the chapter by the hands of his children, who were almost distracted through grief: he remained very ill the whole of that day and the following night, till the first dawn of the morning of the Nativity; and at the very hour in which Christ is believed to have come into the world, did he leave the world, and proceed to celebrate the solemnity of our Lord's birth with angelic spirits.†

Paschasius Radbert relates that St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby, in the ninth century, said mass to the last, and preached twice on the day before his death. He expired a little after midnight on the Circumcision; and his last words were full of joy. With hands and eyes raised to heaven, he said aloud the Nunc Dimittis: then, after adding that he only desired the divine will might be done, he continued with a joyful voice, though full of the gravity of faith, "I shall go hence and repair to my God. Joyfully I shall repair to him; joyfully I shall die, and joyfully I shall pass the mighty gulf of this life, since I am about to arrive at everlasting joys, which have been for a long time promised to me."*

How quickly were these mourners comforted by their Divine Master! Behold St. Francis Xavier in the island of Sancian, on the confines of China, dying in a wretched open cabin on a desert mountain, without any worldly assistance—but yet overwhelmed with all kinds of spiritual benediction! Claudius Poujol, a monk of Einsiedelin, of most holy life, was not prevented by his mortal illness from going to communion in the church on the last morning of his life!† The death of Hugue of St. Victor can only be related as we find it in Durandus; for the circumstances attending it are such as to defy comment. When this great doctor lay on his deathbed, he asked for the body of our Lord; but as his stomach could retain no food, the brethren, distracted between the impulse of humanity and reverence for our Lord, offered him an unconsecrated host, which he rejected, asking God to pardon them for what they had done: then they, in great astonishment, brought him the body of our Lord, which he was unable to receive. Upon which, raising his hands to heaven, he prayed aloud saying, "Ascendat filius ad patrem, et spiritus ad eum qui fecit illum;" with which words his spirit departed, and the body of our Lord was no more seen.‡

Hitherto, it is true, we have only beheld the last moments of men who may be considered as real philosophers—men who had followed the path of perfection in a religious life. But, during the early and middle ages, we might discover innumerable instances of the same form of death, within the walls of the palace, the castle, or the cottage. Every where alike, the priest and the dying man would speak together respecting the future world; and as Chateaubriand remarks, the sublime scene which antiquity presented but once in the

* Pet. Ven. Abb. Clun. IX. Epist. Lib. I. 4, Bibliothec. Cluniacens.
† Abbat Clun. Chronologia.

* Vita S. Adalhardi, Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Benedic. Sæc. IV. p. 1.
† Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik. 218.
‡ Durandus Rationale, Lib. IV. 41.

death of the chief of its philosophers, was repeated every day in the humble cabin of the lowest Christian who expired. St. Servulus was a beggar and a paralytic from his childhood, who used to be carried daily into the portico of the church of St. Clement at Rome, where he was supported by the alms of the faithful, and where he himself used to relieve other poor. He used to get pilgrims and poor people to read the Holy Scriptures to him, and to repeat the Psalms. His death occurred in the year 590. As he was dying, while they chanted round him, he suddenly ceased to sing, and said, "Hark! do you not hear that sweet melody in the sky?" And with these words he expired.

St. Vincent de Paul was summoned to St. Germain-en-Laye, to assist Louis XIII. in his last moments. The first words of the holy priest, as he approached the dying king, were, "Sire, Timenti Dominum benè erit in extremis." The king was so familiar with this sacred language, that he immediately replied in finishing the verse, "Et in die defunctionis suæ benedicetur!" Suger describes the edifying conduct of the King, Louis-le-Gros, when he was seized with the sickness which he thought would prove fatal. Suger was then constantly present with him by night and by day. The religious prince had, through all his life, cherished the desire to die in the Abbey of St. Denis, where he had been educated; and he wished to be transported there on this occasion, but he found himself too weak to bear the motion. Assembling all the bishops and abbots of his suite round his bed, he made his confession, and received absolution from them all. Then he distributed to churches and hospitals all his gold, silver, and precious furniture, giving even his clothes and the hangings of his bed, in order to imitate, as he said, "the nakedness and poverty of his Saviour, who died for him." Thus reduced to poverty, he prepared himself to receive the last sacraments. During all his sufferings, which were very great, he never testified the least impatience or trouble: gentle and affable to every one, he consoled all who approached him. Causing himself to be carried into the chapel, there on his knees, though obliged to be supported, and with every expression of the utmost humility, he adored our Lord. Then he made a discourse to his son, exhorting him to prove himself a good prince, to be always the protector of the church, the father of the poor, and never to commit wrong. Then, after making his confession of faith with as much precision as if he had been a most able theologian, he received the communion, and almost immediately afterwards found himself better, so as to be able to return to his chamber, where, however, he was again placed on his bed; on that poor bed which was now stripped of all the ornaments which had so lately adorned it. At this moment Suger, struck with such an alteration, could not refrain from tears; but the king said, "Dear friend, do not weep to see me in this state, but rather rejoice that God has given me grace to prepare myself for receiving death by this voluntary act of renunciation." In a few days he was sufficiently recovered to ride on horseback to St. Denis, to return thanks to God for his recovery, where he remained for a long time prostrate in prayer. Suger remained in his abbey spiritually refreshed by such an example of piety. When, at last, this great king came to die, he wished to be transported to St. Denis, but again he was too weak to bear movement. He caused some tapestry to be spread on the ground, and ashes in form of a cross to be strewn over it, and himself to be placed upon it; and upon this bed of penitence he expired in the act of making the sign of the cross.

In like manner, Henry III. of England, in the year 1272, after confessing his sins at first secretly, and afterwards in public before all the prelates and monks, who were present at his last moments, caused himself to be placed upon a bed of ashes, on which he expired.

Christine de Pisan gives a minute account of the last hours of the great and wise King of France, Charles V. "In order to give some recreation and comfort to his servants, whom he saw greatly afflicted on account of his sickness, he caused himself every day to be raised up, dressed, and placed at table; and, however weak, he would still address to them some words of consolation and of good advice, without any complaint or sign of grief, but only invoking the name of God, of our Lady, and of the saints. Two days before his death, after a most grievous night, he rose in this manner, and spoke to all his attendants with a very joyous countenance, saying, 'Rejoice, my good loyal friends and servants, for within a short hour I shall be out of your hands.' They supposed, from the joy of his countenance, that he alluded to his recovery; but he said this to intimate his approaching departure from this world of sorrow. On the day of his death, which was the Sunday, he desired to behold the crown of thorns of our Saviour and his own

coronation crown, which were both brought to him by the Bishop of Paris and by the Abbot of St. Denis. That of the thorns he received with great devotion, tears, and reverence, placing it before his face; and that of his coronation was put under his feet. Then he began this prayer to the holy crown. 'O precious crown, diadem of our salvation! how sweet and delicious is the joy which thou givest by the mystery which is comprised in thee, if, indeed, He be propitious to me, with whose blood thou wert bedewed, as my spirit rejoices in the visitation of his worthy presence:' and then a long prayer he said very devoutly: after which, directing his words to the coronation crown, he said, 'O crown of France, how art thou precious and preciously vile! precious, considering the mystery of justice contained in thee; but vile, and viler than all things, if we regard the labour, anguish, torment of heart, body, and conscience, yea, peril as to the soul, which thou bringest to those who bear thee! And he that should well consider these things, would rather leave thee lying in the mire than lift thee up from it to place thee on his head.' Then the king uttered many remarkable words, full of great faith, devotion, and gratitude to God, so that all who heard him were moved to great compassion and tears. After this, mass was celebrated, and the king desired that lauds and benedictions should be sung to God with organs and melodious chant. Then he received the last sacraments, after which he blessed his sons and all who stood by his side, and then the history of the Passion was read to him; and near the end of the Gospel of St. John, he expired in the arms of the Seigneur de la Riviere."*

Is it not true, that the death of these Catholic kings was a sublime and instructive spectacle? But, that our knowledge may extend to the full, let us go now and mark the mien worn at the last by those men, whose profession of arms, and lives spent amidst the distractions of war, would lead one to fear that theirs, at least, could not have been a holy death. We shall find that, in the middle ages, even these rough warriors, who died begging pardon and pardoning all the world, corresponded in their last moments, in some degree, with that type of sanctity, which faith had so widely diffused; and that they were far from experiencing those fearful horrors and dreadful agitations, which attended the departure

* Christine de Pisan, Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy, Charles V. Lib. III. chap. 71.

of those who die the death that hath no end. To most of them, one might have applied the words of Macbeth, alluding to Duncan,—"He is in his grave. After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well." For mark their last moments. Behold them heavy with death, bowed unto the ground, yet making "their eyes unfolded upward, gates to heaven:"—

"Praying forgiveness of th' Almighty Sire
Amidst that cruel conflict, on their foes,
With looks that win compassion to their aim."

Such spirits Dante found in Purgatory. They said to him,

"———— We all
By violence died, and to our latest hour
Were sinners, but then warn'd by light from heaven,
So that, repenting and forgiving, we
Did issue out of life at peace with God,
Who with desire to see him, fills our hearts."*

In the same circle Manfredi appears to him, and says,

"—— When by two mortal blows
My frame was shatter'd, I betook myself
Weeping to him, who of free will forgives.
My sins were horrible; but so wide arms
Hath goodness infinite, that it receives
All who turn to it."

Further on he meets a spirit, who can give a more consoling history of his end. "Wounded I came to the bank of Archiano,

"—— Fleeing away on foot,
And bloodying the plain. Here sight and speech
Fail'd me: and finishing with Mary's name,
I fell, and tenantless my flesh remain'd."

Shakspeare makes Hotspur exclaim, when Prince Henry's sword had robbed him of his youth, that he could prophesy, but that the earthly and cold hand of death lay on his tongue.

When William the Conqueror was laid on his death-bed, he confessed aloud to many priests, and in presence of the nobles of England and Normandy, all the sins of his life from his youth, and then, with many tears, implored their suffrage. Villars, in a later age, furnishes another example. Wounded at the battle of Malplaquet, he is in such danger, that it is proposed he should receive the sacraments, and in private. "No, no," said he, "since the army has not been able to see Villars die like a hero, it shall see him die like a Christian."

But what shall we say of death as connected with that chivalry, which in the middle

* Purg. V.

ages, sought to restore to the Church the cradle of Christianity, and to the arts their ancient country, which pushed forward its forests of brilliant lances to the summits of the Alps and of the Pyrenees? Let the Muse of Tasso come to our aid. Hear how Godfrey, unmoved in look, in gesture, or in thought, addresses the Christian warriors on the approach of the Pagan host:—

"—— A crown prepare you to possess
Of martyrdom, or happy victory;
For this I hope, for that I wish no less,
Of greater merit and of greater glory.
Brethren, this camp will shortly be
A temple sacred to our memory,
To which the holy men of future age,
To view our graves, shall come in pilgrimage."*

And hear again how he speaks of the crusaders slain:—

"But such a death and end exceedeth all
The conquests vain of realms, or spoils of gold;
Nor aged Rome's proud stately capitol
Did ever triumph yet like their's behold;
They sit in heaven on thrones celestial,
Crowned with glory for their conquest bold.
But thou who hast part of thy race to run,
With haps and hazards of this ytoss'd,
Rejoice for those high honours they have won,
Which cannot be by chance or fortune cross'd."†

But why have recourse to poetic fabling, when history is so rich in splendid instances? Ulrich Baier, the Komthun of Tapian, fell in the battle of Sudauen, in the year 1281, fighting against the infidels in Prussia. "His death," says the historian "was felt bitterly by the whole Teutonic order. As he had wished, so he died: like his Saviour, he had received four wounds in his hands and feet, and the mortal wound in his heart. By his side lay four other knights slain. His wish was, 'Ut possem vulnerari ab eis V vulneribus, sicut Christus pro me fuerat vulneratus:'‡ and the historian relates, 'Recipit in pedibus et manibus vulnera et quintum in corde.'" In fine, the death of the laity, in ages of faith, had often all those characteristic features of a sanctified and blessed end, which have appeared so admirable in men whose lives had been wholly and professedly devoted to God. John Corvinus, waivode of Transylvania, general of the army of the Hungarian king, who saved that country from the Turks, and one of the greatest heroes of Christendom, when on his death-bed, would not allow them to administer to him in his apartment the last assistance of religion; for such was his devotion, full of reverence, that he caused himself to be carried into the church. Priuli, the illustrious doge of Venice, whose life is recorded in a curious manuscript in the Library of St. Mark, in like manner, received the last consolations of religion in the church. He expired immediately after receiving the holy communion, with the words, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum et populum meum." St. Homobonus, a married tradesman or merchant, a native of Cremona, died like some blessed monk or confessor. In the year 1197, going one night, according to his custom, to matins, sound and well, to the church of St. Giles, after the office he applied himself to prayer before a crucifix, where he remained till the first mass, and when the priest had said the Gloria in Excelsis, he extended his arms in form of a cross, and without any sickness or noise, rendered up his soul to God, and was buried in that church, amidst the tears and regrets of all the people.

But why do I speak only of men, since we find that, in these devout ages, neither the weakness of age or sex was able to counteract the sublime and wondrous influence of religion in annihilating the terrors incident to our nature at the prospect of its change? As we have already seen, sweet, and in an especial degree blessed, was the death of youth. What a beautiful description of a holy end is given by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, describing that of a certain good youth, whom he calls his dear child John, whose puerile innocence was united with such a promise of future fruit."* It is related of a certain student in an English Catholic college, who died in his fourteenth year, that being asked by a priest whether he had a great love for Jesus Christ, he replied, "O my sweet Jesus, thou knowest that I love thee with my whole heart," and that saying these words, he expired. The description of the death of many of the young students in the college of St. Acheul, recalls the most affecting incidents in the history of a St. Stanislaus or a St. Louis Gonzaga. Drexelius speaks of an innocent little boy, who, in dying, seemed at first in great pain and anguish, till opening his eyes suddenly, and looking up to heaven, he assumed instantly a joyful smile, and even laughed aloud, so that the persons present doubted not that he was consoled by a vision of angels. "William Elfinston, when a youth, admitted into

* Book VIII. 15. † Book VIII. 44.
‡ Dusburg, c. 101.

* Epist. Lib. IV. 42.

the society of Jesus, after a month was seized with a mortal illness. The joy which he expressed in countenance and in words was incredible, never ceasing to return thanks to God. At length he broke out into an ecstasy, and asked the persons present if they did not see the angel with whom he spoke? and some one asking what was the appearance of the angel, he replied that he resembled a certain youth who happened to be present. Thus in great joy and sweetness did his soul depart to Christ."*

Equally remarkable was the firmness evinced by those who were in the weakness of life's extremest verge. The old died like the young. The Egyptians, as Pliny relates, thought that the human heart diminished with age, so that, after a hundred years its decrease would necessarily occasion death. Had they been familiar with examples like the preceding, the absurdity of such an idea would have struck them, judging only from the moral effects which were displayed in the benignity, cheerfulness, and magnanimous resolution with which old men died. St. Gregory compares the human life to three watches of the night. The death of the aged, in fact, corresponded with the state of those who kept the third watch, and who already beheld the dawn.

But how wondrously was the power of faith displayed in enabling the weak and timid sex to meet death with heroic courage, with a profound and smiling calm, with an unshrinking, unconquerable reliance on the promises of religion! When the venerable Mother de Chantal was on her death-bed, as the clergy repeated round her the prayers of the Church for the recommendation of the soul, she listened with great attention, and evinced a sublime tranquillity. Several times she was overheard exclaiming in the midst of the service, "My God, what beautiful prayers!"† That illustrious woman played with her last breath, evincing an evenness of mind, shaped as if with an especial view to astonish the schools of old philosophy, which never condescended to describe a woman's death. That remark, "What beautiful prayers!" would have filled Plato with admiration, if not with envy.

St. Rusticule, abbess of the convent which St. Cæsareus had founded at Arles, died in the year 632. Her last sickness is thus described:—"It happened on a certain Friday, that after singing vespers as usual with her nuns, perceiving herself fatigued, she went beyond her strength in making the usual reading; she knew that she was shortly to pass to our Lord. On the Saturday morning she felt cold, and lost the use of her limbs. Lying down on a little bed, she was seized with fever, but she never ceased praising God, with her eyes raised to heaven. She commended to Him her daughters, whom she was about to leave orphans, and with a firm soul she comforted those who wept around her. She found herself still worse on Sunday; and as it was her custom that her bed should only be made once a year, the servants of God begged permission to give her a less hard bed, but she would not consent. On the Monday, which was the day of St. Laurence, she lost all strength, and her breathing became difficult. At this sight the sad virgins of Christ poured forth tears and sighs. It being the third hour of the day, as the congregation, in its affliction, repeated the Psalms in silence, the holy mother, in displeasure, asked, 'Why she did not hear the chanting of Psalmody?' The nuns replied, 'That they could not sing through grief.' 'Only sing still louder,' she replied, 'in order that I may receive the benefit of it; for that is very sweet to me.' The next day, her body having hardly the power of motion, her eyes, which preserved their lustre, shone like the stars, and looking on all sides, and not being able to speak, she made signs with her hand, that they should cease weeping, and be comforted. When one of the sisters felt her feet, she said it was not yet time; but shortly after, at the sixth hour of the day, with a serene countenance, and eyes that seemed to smile, this glorious and blessed soul passed to heaven, and joined the innumerable choir of saints."* The Countess de Russelmonde, who died a Carmelite, desired that the Passion of Christ might be read to her in her last moments. She continued to indicate where the reader ought to pause, till he pronounced the words "Tradidit spiritum;" and at that moment her spirit departed. Drexelius speaks of a holy matron who died smiling, so that a sweet smile remained on her features after death.† But the affecting account which St. Jerome gives of the death of the venerable Paula surpasses, in interest, every description that we could find elsewhere:—"This illustrious woman," he says, "perceived that her last hour was at hand; but calm and joyous, as if she was about to leave strangers, and to

* Drexelius, Tribunal Christi, Lib. I. cap. 10.
† Marsollier, Vie de Mde. de Chantal, II. 180.

* Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict., Tom. II. 146.
† Thom. Cantips. Lib. II. Mirac. c. 50.

revisit her family, she repeated the words of the Psalm: 'O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house, and the place which is the habitation of thy glory.'* 'How beautiful are thy tents, O God, of virtue; my soul desireth after thee, and rejoices, in hope of being admitted into the abode of the Lord.'† And, 'I had rather be the last in the house of my God than dwell in the tent of the sinner.'‡ And when I asked her, why she kept silence, and did not answer, and whether any thing caused her grief, she said to me, in the Greek language, that she felt no regret, but that she was absorbed in the contemplation of that rest and perfect tranquillity to which she was approaching. This answer was the last that she uttered. She closed her eyes, and, as if quite detached from all mortal things, she was only occupied in murmuring, with a voice almost unintelligible, the sacred texts which I have repeated. She placed her finger on her mouth, to trace upon her lips the sign of Christ, and then she fell into her agony: her soul, ready to fly away, summoned her last strength previous to the dissolution of life, to give thanks to the Lord. There were there many holy bishops, and several priests, and Levites, who had come from Jerusalem and other cities adjacent. Troops of monks and virgins filled the whole monastery. As soon as Paula had heard the words of the Canticle, 'Rise my well-beloved, my Dove; behold the Winter is passed, and has withdrawn, behold the rain has ceased,'§ she made a last effort, and replied, 'The flowers have covered the earth, and it is time to gather them;'‖ yes, 'I believe that I shall see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living.'¶ And with these words she expired. Then there was no sound heard of weeping or lamentation as at the last moments of people of this world, but all resounded with the music of sacred hymns. The holy bishops themselves took up the body of the deceased, and a certain number of the priests, accompanied it with lighted tapers, while others chanted psalms. It was deposited in the grotto where the Saviour was born, having been conducted by an immense multitude, which this pious ceremony had collected from all the cities of Palestine. No solitary recluse for that day wished to remain in his retreat, and there was no virgin who did not leave her cell. It would have been deemed by every one an impiety not to have hastened to show the last honours to the illustrious deceased. Widows and the poor wept while they showed the vestments which they owed to her charity, and all the unhappy whom she had consoled, cried out, that they had lost their mother. It was astonishing to observe that death had not changed her countenance. A sweet calm, mixed with gravity, was painted on all her features; so that she seemed not dead, but sleeping a peaceful sleep. The prayers for her were continued during the whole week. The following was her epitaph:—Paula, descendant of the Gracchi, sprung from the illustrious blood of the great Agamemnon, Paula, who owed her origin to the celebrated Scipio, reposes in this tomb. She was the mother of Eustochium: her rank was illustrious here below among the Roman nobility, but she renounced vain earthly honours to imitate the poverty of Christ, and she came to conceal her life in Bethlehem."*

* Ps. xxv. 8.
† Ps. lxxxiii. 2.
‡ Id.
§ Cant. II. 10.
‖ Cant. II. 11.
¶ Ps. xxvi. 13.

Such, then, are a few of the examples which the history of the ages of faith affords us, when we examine it in reference to the mourning of men in their last hours, and in their death. Such was the manner of their departing. Thus simply and sweetly did they die, without any affectation of false philosophy evincing the insincerity and pride of a Possidonius, or desire of acting a scene to receive the plaudits of fellow-creatures, springing from that lofty and vain exaggeration of soul which seemed so magnificent to Cicero. Had we sufficient time to develope fully this view of history, and to point out all the collateral instruction to be derived from it, the present would be an excellent occasion for exposing the insane presumption of those innovators, who asserted and attempted to prove, by theological reasoning, that faith and true piety had perished in the middle ages—for there was then nothing singular or extraordinary in the scenes which are here described. Here were no doctrines contrary to what was professed by the universal Church. It was the spirit of the times to die thus. I know, indeed, that the best answer to the propositions of heresy would be found in the lives and writings of these children of grace; but, methinks, even in their death, they supply us with enough to disprove the calumny

* S. Hieronymi Epist. ad Eustochium, Virg.

of their adversaries, and to answer the ends of a solid and practical refutation. But the limits appointed to our course will not permit any further delay: let the reader pursue the inquiry for himself: for us it will be sufficient to take leave of the subject with the words of the sacred page, "Ecce quomodo moritur justus, et nemo percipit corde: et viri justi tolluntur, et nemo considerat." However, somewhat still remains to be done; for as it seemed best not to interrupt these narratives, to explain as they occurred the many things contained in them which, in an historical and philosophic sense, deserve particular attention, it will be necessary now to retrace our steps, taking a brief survey of them in general, in order to complete our view of the character which the mourning attendant upon death had assumed, and of the duties and manners to which it gave rise. In the first place, we must have been struck with the uniformity which distinguished the monastic observances in regard to death. In fact, these, which recalled but the customs of the primitive Christians, were every where nearly the same. "When a monk was sick, and in prospect of death, a servant brother was appointed, who should have nothing else to do but to tend him day and night. The cross was placed before his face, and every night a wax taper was kept burning by his side until broad day. Monks were allowed to be in attendance on him in order to sing the regular hours, and to read the Passion in his extremity. The servants, who had experience in such things, were to watch the proper moment, and to spread the ashes, and gently to place the sick man upon them, and then to give a signal, by striking the door of the cloister, when all the brethren were to run to the chamber, for this was one of the two occasions when it was permitted them to depart from their usual measured pace, the other being in the event of fire. If mass should be celebrating, or any regular office, all who were without the choir were to hasten, but those within were to remain. If the monks were in the refectory, the reading was to be instantly suspended, and the monks were to hasten. The litanee was then to be chanted, and the prayers according to the progress of his agony.*

The manner of professing penitence by the reception of ashes was well known, as Mabillon shows in the sixth age. Thus Severus Sulpicius describes the death of St. Martin, who, in his last hour, desired his disciples to prepare some vile couch for his body, saying, "Non decet filii Christianum nisi in cinere et cilicio mori." On these occasions, the sack-cloth was spread on the ground, ashes were strewed upon it in form of a cross, and the persons who assisted a dying person gently placed him upon it. The laity often observed this custom at their death, as we have seen recorded of Louis VI. of France, and Henry III. of England. The monk of St. Denis also relates that Louis IX. gave up the ghost on sackcloth and ashes, and with his arms composed in form of a cross.* It was a pious custom, as early as in the sixth century, for Christians, in their last hours, to be carried into the church to die before the altar. This appears in the acts of Saints Benedict, Maur, Gilda, and others; and Bede gives a similar account of the death of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarn. Universally, the image of our Lord on the cross was placed before the bed of the dying man. "Sometimes it happens," says a holy priest, writing at the time when modern manners had superseded those of faith, "that, on being called to assist at the last moments of some noble, there is not one crucifix to be found in all his superb apartments, where such care has been taken to leave no material want unsupplied. At length, some one recollects, that on the upper story of the same hotel, immediately beneath the tiles of the roof, there lives some poor man, some young scholar, and it is suggested that, of course, he must have a crucifix. Then they hasten to make known their wants, and there they find a cross; and this poor man, or this scholar, lends it to the dying rich man, who at least is presented in his agony with that image which is designed to console those who in their lives have known the labours of men. When Cæsar fell, he had no object before him but the stern countenance of that great Pompey, whose dread form, carved in stone, as we yet behold it, can inspire only awe; but, in Christian ages, there were few places in which a man could die without having his last looks directed to some cross, the emblem of hope and mercy! The Maid of Orleans asked for a crucifix at her death, when every form of horror

* Antiq. Consuetud. Cluniacens. Monastic. cap. 29. Apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

* Mabillon Præfat. in I. Sæcul. Benedict. § 9.

was accumulated. An Englishman broke a stick in two parts, and made a cross: the maid took it, kissed it, pressed it to her bosom, and mounted the pile. Mention has been made also of the death-taper. This alludes to the lighting that blessed candle which seems so odious to the children of this world, but so full of joy to the just: it signified the light of faith and the lucid mansions, and it was used to dispel the fears of the departing soul. The body itself, when it lay without a name, seemed to partake of the new and blessed form of death. The temperate and austere discipline of Catholics was favourable to the delicate susceptibility of noble natures; for to them it is an agreeable thought, that the body should not become a rich feast for disgustful worms, and a vast receptable for pestiferous exhalations. The spectacle of a rich epicure within his shroud, or of one of these modern philosophers with whom he who dines best to the last makes the best end, would be almost enough to induce such men to fly to a monastery, where death would be stripped even of what seemed horrible to the senses, and where even the body would seem to participate in the soul's purity. In bequeathing his body to the earth, the man of temperate and austere habits might generally say, with the old poet of France, "Les vers n'y trouveront grand graisse."

Speaking of the beautiful appearance of the body of Dom Basile after death, the father abbot of La Trappe says, "It is true that it is one of the privileges of the servants of Jesus Christ, as the Holy Ghost teaches us, not to know either the deformity, or the horror, or the necessity of death. Non tanget illos tormentum mortis; visi sunt oculis insipientium mori."* Describing the convent of the Carmelites at Nicopie, in Cyprus, brother Nicole, the pilgrim, relates "that it was founded by French noblemen, and that there rests there the body of John de Montfort, tres tout entier, et est le plus beau mort quonques fut veu dessus la terre."

Again, allusion is often made to the custom which became pretty general, of laymen assuming a religious habit at their death. Thus, in the Saxon Chronicle, we read, "In the year 1056, died Earl Odda, whose body lies at Pershore, and who was admitted a monk before his end: a good man and virtuous, and truly noble."†

* Relations de la Mort, &c. Tom. I. 192

† 247.

Milton is pleased to be very facetious on this subject,—speaking of those

——"Who, to be sure of Paradise,
Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised."

But, not to observe what a remarkable testimony was here furnished to the celestial virtues which were recognised in the members of these holy and blessed orders, it is well known to all who are correctly taught in Chronic lore, that this was a practice observed by men of saintly lives, and that it did imply a voluntary renunciation of the world, not only because men naturally cling to the most unsubstantial image at their death, and cherish remembrances of the dignities and titles of the profession in which they had previously lived, but also because by this act they were, in the event of their recovery, bound to continue in the observance of that religious life which they had embraced in their sickness; for those who, under such circumstances, had received the monastic habit, and who were styled "monachi ad succurrendum," had not liberty to return to the world on their recovery. This being known to every one, the act was certainly less indicative of a superstitious veneration than of a conversion of the heart to God. In Spain, such men were entitled confessors, as Ducange proves in his Glossary. A memorable instance of the scrupulous exactness with which this discipline was observed, is furnished in the history of Spain. Wamba, king of the Visigoths had drunk poison. When the bishops and the chieftains beheld him lying senseless, immediately they administered to him the order of confession and penitence; or, in other words, they gave him the monastic habit; and when this holy king had recovered from the effect of the poison, understanding that orders had been imposed upon him, he retired to a monastery, and there, as long as he lived, he remained in religion. This is the account given by Alfonso, Bishop of Salamanca; but the passage is explained by ancient Spanish writers, who say that the king at the time had expressly demanded the habit of religion.* Many princes became monks ad succurrendum. Thus Lothaire, son of Louis-le-Debonnaire, was made a monk in sickness at Prumia, and soon after died. The Fratres ad succurrendum were in-

* Mabillon Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § cap. 7.

scribed on the boards of the monastery, as persons partaking of the suffrages. Thus, John Commenæus, Emperor of the Greeks, has a place in the Necrology of the Abbey of St. Martin apud Laudunum. The words are, "XV. Kal. Maii commemoratio Joannis Imperatoris hujus ecclesiæ Fratris ad succurrendum."*

With respect to the moral characteristics of death in the ages of faith, many peculiarities must have excited attention in the preceding series of examples.

In the first place, what repeated allusions are made to the foreknowledge of death, and to its announcement in a supernatural manner! St. Francis Xavier told a certain merchant named Veglio, who was a holy man, that when the wine in his glass should taste bitter, it would be a signal to him to prepare for death. The event fulfilled the prediction.† In many ancient church windows, as well as on the hangings in the choir of Westminster Abbey, was represented the story of the forewarning of death, made to king Edward the Confessor, by eome pilgrims, who came to him from Jerusalem and gave him a ring which he had before secretly given to a poor man that asked his charity in the name of God and of St. John the Evangelist, for it is said that he never refused any man who asked alms in the name of St John, and he had nothing to give at that moment but the ring from his finger. Machiavel relates, "that the Duke of Milan had a strong presentiment of his death; for on the morning of St. Stephen's day when he was assassinated, after putting on his cuirass to proceed in solemn state to the church of St. Stephen, he took it off again, and said that he would hear mass that day in the castle chapel, and hearing that his almoner was already departed for St. Stephen's with all the ornaments of his chapel, he desired that the Bishop of Como might supply his place; but as the Bishop was unable to do so, he was obliged to proceed to the church where his murderers were waiting for him.‡

Hugo Flaviniacensis, in the chronicle of Verdun, relates, that Odilia, the daughter of Count Herimann, being told that she was to die on the following day, by Richard Abbot of St. Vito, prepared herself accordingly, and expired suddenly on the morrow while they were praying around her, and strange to hear, administering to her the sacred oil, though previously without illness. What remarkable instances, too, are recorded of men being apprized in a manner supernatural of the death of others at a distance!

St. Gregory of Tours relates, "that the blessed Severinus, Bishop of Cologne, on a Sunday morning after matins, going about as usual with his clerks, heard a chorus of angels in the sky, and he knew that it arose from the fact, that the soul of St. Martin was at that moment departing, and so the event proved."* Now it is true, that St. Gregory of Tours has collected many reports, to some of which it is difficult to give perfect credence; but what shall we say of the fact of St. Ambrose, while celebrating mass at Milan, having been miraculously made acquainted with St. Martin's death at Tours? St. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluny, and St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, died both on the same night, and a holy monk had a vision at the time announcing their death.† The venerable Bede has another most remarkable instance. "The same night in which St. Hilda died in her monastery at Whitby, it pleased the Almighty, by a manifest vision, to make known her death in a distant monastery, which is called Hakenes. There was in this house, a certain nun named Begu, who had served our Lord in a monastic conversation upwards of thirty years. She being then at rest in the dormitory of the sisters, heard on a sudden, in the air, the accustomed sound of the bell, which used to awaken and call them to prayers when any one of their community was taken out of this world; upon which opening, as she imagined, her eyes, she saw the top of the house uncovered, and a light from above filling all the place: which, when she had attentively considered, she saw in that same light the soul of the said servant of God going up to heaven, attended and conducted by angels; upon which, immediately rising in terror, she ran to the nun who then presided in the monastery in place of the Abbess Frigyth, and with many tears and sighs, told her that the Abbess Hilda, the mother of them all, was departed this life, and had ascended in her sight, encircled with an immense light, to the mansion of light eternal, and to the happy society of the citizens of heaven. The other hearing this, called up all the sisters, and assembling them in the church,

* Mabillon Præfat. in III. Sæcul. § 1.
† Bouhours Vie de S. S. F. X. II. 178.
‡ Hist. of Florence, Lib. VII.

* Mirac. cap. 4. 5.
† Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 438.

admonished them to pray and sing psalms for the soul of their mother, which having performed during the remainder of the night, they were informed by the brethren who came there in the morning from Whitby, that she had departed from this world at the same hour in which the vision was seen. This is the acconnt given by Bede. One might multiply these examples, and relate how, in the year 660, on the sixteenth of January, St. Furcy departed this life, in the village called Massiere, in Picardy, and the same hour appeared to Count Haymond, in sacerdotal vestments, attended by o deacon and subdeacon, with a lighted taper in his hand, saying, "that according to his promise he was come to wish him farewell before leaving the world;" but as accounts of this kind are familiar to every one, it is of more importance to call the ottention to those memorable records of predicted, or rather of demonded death, which are found in the most outhentic histories.

In 1312, Ferdinand IV., King of Spain, was summoned to appear before the tribunal of Christ, within thirty days, by the two hrothers, Peter and John, of the order of Caravallo, who were unjustly condemned to death upon the charge of having murdered Benavidius during the siege of Alcaodela, which was then in the hands of the Moors. Upon the thirtieth doy, which was the seventh of the Ides of September, he was found dead in his bed, to which he had retired in perfect health, so that among the Kings of Castille, he received the nome of Ferdinandus in jus vocatus.* Walter Burgensis, Bishop of Poitiers, unjustly occused and deposed by Pope Clement V., bore the injury with patience; but dying, for the sake of example to others, caused these words to be written on his tomb: "ad justnm Dei judicium oppello." Clement read the inscription, and did justice to his memory; but of his death, connected also with the summons of the Grand Master of the Templars, Drexelius declines to speak. Agrestius reviled and calumniated St. Columban after his death. Euslachius the Abbot, disciple of St. Columban, summoned the calumniator to appear before the tribunal of Christ within the year. Before the term was complete, Agrestins met with his death by the hands of his own slave.† Philip, King of France, solemnly cited to appear before the divine judgment within the year, by the Grand Master of the Templars, died on the twenty-ninth of November of that year. Francis Duke of Brittany, receiving back his brother Giles, who had been in England for his education, cast him into prison upon o false charge of treason and put him to death. The innocent youth cited his brother to appear with him before the tribunal of God within the year; Francis died of the dropsy before the term expired.* Nantinus, Count of Angouleme, cited to judgment before God, by Heraclius the Bishop, expired, crying out that he was summoned by the priest, and that he acknowledged his crimes.† Rodulph, Prince of Austria, unjustly condemning to death a certain knight, who was enclosed in a sack and thrown into the river, the knight, before his head was covered, beheld the duke at a window, and cried out with a loud voice, "Duke Rodulph, I summon you to the tremendous tribunal of Christ, that you may give an account for putting me to death unjustly," he said, and was pressed down, and he disappeared in the waters. The duke loughed at the threat, but before the end of the year he was seized with a fever, which he acknowledged to be the stroke of Heaven calling him to judgment, and he died in horrors.‡

"Oh! how severe God's judgment, that deals out
Such blows in stormy vengeance——."§

In Ireland Patrick O'Kelly, a bishop, and Constius Ornsrius, o Franciscan friar of noble birth, cast into a dark dungeon by the viceroy, for refusing to acknowledge the queen as head of the church, afterwards cruelly tortured and led to execution, spoke to the people for half an hour, and then turning to the viceroy cited him to oppear before the divine tribunal. They were put to death, and the viceroy proceeded to Limerick, where he fell sick and died on the fourteenth day after receiving this summons.‖ The master of the Teutonic order maliciously condemned to death a young man, against whom he had a private enmity. The youth, on his way to execution protesting his innocence, appealed to the Supreme Arbiter of life and death, and cited his judge to appear within thirteen

* Mariana, Lib. XV. de reb. Hisp. c. 11.
† Surius, Mense Martio die 29.

* Æneas, Sylvius, Hist. Europæ. cap. 43.
† Greg. Turonens. Lib. V. Hist. Franc. c. 36.
‡ Drexelius Tribunal Christi. Lib. II. cap. 3.
§ Dante, Hell, XXIV.
‖ Florimundus Redmundus de ortu hæres. c. 20.

days. Truly, God despiseth not the supplication of the poor, his eyes are upon the just, and his ears open to their prayers. The youth was executed, and on the thirteenth day, the Teutonic master was struck with sudden death. This happened at Riga in Livonia, in the year 1407, as Albertus Krantzius relates.* In the year 1052, the Abbot Herveld was unjustly treated and oppressed by Burchard, Bishop of Halberstad. In vain he defended his cause before the tribunals. On his deathbed he sent for Frederic Count Palatine, and desired him to bear this message to the bishop, "that he was dying without redress, having been too weak to gain justice, but that he appealed to God, and that they should both appear before his judgment seat within a few days." The abbot died, and in the course of a few days, as the bishop was mounting his horse, he was seized with a sudden illness, which left him only time to confess that he was hurried away to answer before the divine tribunal, and there to be judged.† The abbot of the monastery of St. James at Leodium, being attacked by the governor and condemned by the bishop on account of his refusing to give up a certain young nobleman who wished to remain in the monastery, finding that he could gain no justice on earth, appealed to the heavenly court, and cited his unjust judge to appear there along with him before forty days. On the fortieth day, about the hour of nones, the abbot died. At the same moment the governor was in a bath, and hearing the convent bell toll for the dead, he asked what it meant, and being informed that the abbot of St. James had just died suddenly, he who had never forgotten to keep account of the days from the summons given, was seized with terror and astonishment, rising hastily and crying out, "Alas! I must appear this day before the Supreme Judge!" and hardly had he touched the door when he sunk down, and with a dreadful groan expired.‡ Otho, the Roman Emperor, being reproved by his son William, the Bishop of Mayence, for his marriage with Adelaide, cast him into prison. The bishop summoned Otho to appear along with him upon the day of Pentecost, before the tribunal of Christ; on that very day, Otho being in Saxony, was struck with sudden death, and his son had ceased to live a short time before.* Baronius denies the truth of this last account, and Drexelius declines pronouncing between the two cardinals.†

These recitals are not without moral dignity. "History," says a great French writer, "is pleased with things grave and tragic." But they have led us far from the deaths of the just, to which we must now return. Another circumstance which must have struck us in the preceding narrations relative to their end is, the sudden and gentle manner in which the transition so frequently took place, from a state of perfect health to the long expected termination of the mortal course. So that the deaths of the holy and the unjust were so far often similar. Pelisson died suddenly, as if falling asleep, having the day before received the holy communion, a circumstance of which the protestants attempted to avail themselves, asserting that he refused or eluded receiving the sacraments of the church.‡ A holy priest of the diocese of Rouen, having begun to say mass, and repeating the words "introibo ad altare Dei," suddenly dropped down and expired. Many have departed while announcing the word of God to the people. The Cardinal de Berulle died while saying mass at the moment of pronouncing the words of the canon, "hanc igitur oblationem." Birnstan, Bishop of Winchester, was a man of the most pure sanctity; every day he used to sing a mass of requiem for the dead, and at night he used fearlessly to walk about alone, repeating the psalms for the salvation of their souls, and of him it is said, that on one occasion, when he had finished the office with the prayer that they might rest in peace, a voice of a great multitude, as if of the dead out of their sepulchres, seemed to respond amen. He used to wash the feet of the poor every day, and give them food, and would then remain alone in prayer. One day being thus employed, without any previous sickness, his spirit departed. His disciples thought him still at his prayers, and suffered a whole day to pass, but on the following morning, very early, they broke in and found him dead. The citizens, because of his sudden death, seemed to have forgotten his memory, not knowing that "non potest male mori qui bene

* Lib. XIII. Vandaliæ, cap. 2.
† Lambertus Schaffnaburg. Annal. apud. Baron. Tom. II.
‡ Thom. Cantipr. Lib. II. de miraculis sui ævi, cap 35.

* Petrus Damianus, Tom. I. Epist. Lib. II. 15.
† Tribunal Christi, Lib. II. cap. 3.
‡ Hist. de Louis XIV. par De Larrey, an. 1693.

vixerit."* Notwithstanding the inference of the people here, this was a maxim well and generally understood during the middle ages. St. Anselm, or some writer of the same age, whose work has been mistaken for that of the Father of the Scholastic Theology, speaks expressly on the question: "Is it an injury to a good man if he be slain or carried off hy a sudden death? By no means," is the reply, "For they do not die a sudden death who always remember that they are to die; therefore, whether hy the sword or by wild beast, or by flames or waters, or wheels and torture, or hy whatever other mode they die, 'Semper pretiosa est in conspectn Domini mors Sanctorum ejus.'"

Is it of any service to the wicked if they lie for a long time on their beds before death? none whatever; for hy whatever death they die, they die an evil and a sudden death who die not in the Lord, and who used never to remember that they were to die.† Again, have we not remarked with how little fear these just and most humble men contemplated the approach of death? St. Ambrose said when he was dying, "that he had so lived, that he had no sorrow for having lived, and that he did not fear death, knowing tha the was in the hands of a good Master." William of Malmeshury says, "that St. Wlstan was of such simplicity, that he had not the least fear of his agony and death. "It was," he says, "simplicitas nescia de Dei diffidere misericordia."‡ In monasteries, and in them the spirit of the ages of faith is still preserved, there is nothing more striking to a stranger than the tone and looks of the holy religious when they advert to death. When I was lodged in the great monastery of Camaldoli, on the Apennines, one of the aged fathers used always to be carried into the church in a chair. One morning, after a night of dreadful tempest, with thunder and torrents of rain, I was informed by one of the monks, soon after mass, that this Father Francis, whom I had seen that morning as nsual in the church, had been attacked with great illness in consequence of the first coming on of the cold of September. "He feels now a little better," said this monk, hnt, added he, with a smile that cannot be described hy words, so full was it of sweet religious hope and constancy, "he is about to set out on his voyage—the voyage, I mean to eternity." It is in these holy commnnities that one may listen with delight and astonishment to the thoughts of faith expressed often in the language of the Phædo. "I should wish to convince yon," will the monk or friar say to ns, "that a man who has spent his life in the study of philosophy ought to take courage at his death, and to be full of hope, that he is about to possess the greatest good that can be obtained, which will be in his possession as soon as he dies. Truly it would be ridiculous if, after teaching such lessons all our lives, the moment when death approached, we should grow angry at the thought of meeting what we formerly praised and made the object of our desire. It would be laughahle to see a man who had held, that death was only a deliverance from the chains of the body, who after preparing himself for it during his life, should afterwards, when death did arrive, grow indignant at it. Would it not be snpremely ridiculous? Certainly it would."* Religion supplied nearly the same words to Montmorency at his death: "Ah, Father," said he to the priest who came to console him, "it would be disgraceful, after knowing how to live during more than eighty years, not to know how to die dnring a quarter of an honr." Everywhere, indeed, there was deep hnmility and an exclusive reliance on mercy; but every where also we observe the same confidence, the same sweet exalted hope, enabling persons natnrally the most scrupulous, susceptihle, weak, and timid, to go down to the grave, having, with Adamantine force of sonl, this belief that they would be happy in a life to come. Socrates could only advise men, *ἀδαμαντίνως δεῖ δὴ ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἔχοντα, εἰς ᾅδου ἰέναι*.† whereas, in many cases, the hnmhlest minister of religion in the ages of faith, conld not only counsel, hut also enable them to do so. Continued mention was also made of those sweet impressive and tranqnil discourses, which were held hy these holy men before death, which would have seemed so admirable to the ancient poets, who were fond of converting to dramatic use the novissima verba; and the almost constancy of this phenomena in members of the city of God, at some period previous to their change, would have led Aretæus

* Wil. Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. Anglor. Lib. II.
† S. Anselmi Elucidarii Lib. II. cap. 31.
‡ De Gestis Pontif. Angl. Lib. IV.

* Plato Phædo, 68.
† Plato de Repub. Lib. X.

to abandon his distinction of peculiar maladies in attributing prophetic power to men arrived near the last scene of life. Celebrated with the ancients was the dying chant of the swan, the opinion of which Plato applies in a most splendid passage, to illustrate the happiness of the future world; though naturalists like Ælian, might shock the poetic imagination, by affirming that neither they nor perhaps any one else had ever heard a swan sing.* But to affirm, that the unwonted vivacity of thought and solemnity of feeling of these saintly men when about to leave our world, were like an announcement of their departure with harmonious sounds, and as it were, with sweetest music before they took their flight to heaven, and set out for a happier land, would expose no one to the danger of contradiction, or of being supposed subject to the delusions of their fancy. Socrates discoursing a short time before his death, remarked to his friends, "how proper it was for a person who was about to leave the world, to investigate and to mythologize concerning that passage, as to what we can suppose it to be."† In the ages of faith indeed we do not find dying men engaged in any inquiry or investigation respecting the nature or consequences of death; but like St. Cuthbert dying, they spoke a few but strong words concerning peace and humility. They conversed on the necessity of death for all men, and on the certain truths respecting the future state to which it would introduce them; they spoke with hope of their passing to God and to the company of his saints, with whom it was far better to be than with imperfect men on earth, and these last accents of the mourning dove, must have impressed every one with the conviction that they would soon be comforted amidst the ineffable and eternal joys of the heavenly Jerusalem. When St. Sturm was dying the monks begged that when he was with God he would pray for them: he replied, "Prove yourselves worthy, and be so conducted in your lives that I may justly pray for you, and then I would do what you desire." The examples which we gave of dying scenes from the histories of the ages of faith might be multiplied without end, and we should find them all characterized by the same astonishing mixture of quiet and sublimity. To conceive them fully, no doubt one ought to have been present; but even after reading the description which is given of them in the simple unstudied language of the middle ages, is it possible to avoid feeling the deepest emotion? Methinks that every one who has attended to them will fancy that he hears a revelation of his own feelings in the account which the friend of Socrates gives of himself, after witnessing that sage's death: "Indeed I experienced impressions that were astonishing while present there; for I felt no compassion on being about to behold the death of a man who was dear to me; for O Echecrates, that man seemed to me to be happy, as I judged from his manner and from his words, so sweetly and so generously did he die; and I felt assured that he did not depart to Hades without a divine destiny, but that arriving there, he would be happy, if ever any one at any time enjoyed happiness. On that account, therefore, I felt no compassion, such as might have been called for from persons who were present at grief; nor, on the other hand, did I feel that pleasure which we were accustomed to experience during our conversation on philosophy, though we then conversed as usual; but without premeditation or art, I suffered a kind of strange impression, an unusual mixture composed both of pleasure and pain, when I reflected that he was to die almost immediately; and all of us who were present experienced nearly the same feelings; at one time weeping, and at another laughing, and one of us, Apollodorus, did nothing but smile."* Now let the moderns be pleased to take note, that this passage, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the sublimest monuments of antiquity, would pass, if it were not for the occasional expression of doubt, almost unnoticed in those thousand chronicles which were composed by monks during, what they term, the dark and barbarous ages.

With respect to the last consolation which religion afforded to the dying, of which mention is so expressly made in the preceding examples, it is not necessary to enter into any detail. Every one knows that the Church has always desired, as St. Augustin says, alluding to the sacrament of reconciliation, "that none of her children should depart from this life without the pledge of her peace!"† Extreme unction, or, as it was called in the middle

* Ælian. Var. Hist. I. 14.
† Plato Phædo, 61.

* Plato Phædo.
† Lib. I. de Adult. Conjug. cap. xxviii.

ages, sacred unction, for the former term is not fonnd in any author before the twelfth century,* was received, as we have seen, generally in the Church, for it was administered to persons who still had sufficient strength to receive it kneeling. The popular custom of wishing to defer it to the last moments arose from a snperstition originating in England, and thence spreading into France, which made the people suppose that, after having received it, it was not lawful, in the event of recovery, to walk, excepting barefoot, or to make nse of marriage. Several provincial conncils were obliged to denonnce this snperstition, as tending to deprive the faithful of the remedy provided for them by the Church. This sacramental rite had always been administered nninterruptedly, both in the Latin and Greek chnrches, from the time of the Apostles. Thongh it is not expressly treated of hy many of the early fathers, because it was never attacked by heretics, it is, however, mentioned by Origen, St. John Chrysostom, St. Innocent I., St. Cæsarius of Arles, St. Gregory the Great, and hy Venerable Bede, who affirms it to be practised by the Church in conformity to apostolic nsage. In the middle ages, it was the custom for many priests to be present at the administration of this sacrament; but, after the thirteenth century, in the Latin Church, this usage gave place to the present discipline, though the faithful were still recommended to invite for this pnrpose as many ecclesiastics as conld conveniently attend. In connection with the assistance afforded to the dying, we shonld particularly remark the sincerity and courage with which, whatever might be the circumstances of their condition, they were always warned of their danger. Behold Louis XI. fortified, walled in, encaged, as it were, in his castle of Plessis. Neither his son nor those charged with his domestic service conld penetrate to him. One could only enter his chamber hy means of a staircase, cut in the centre of a thick wall; yet there did the Church snpply him with a voice of severe and frank warning. His death was annonnced to him as ahruptly, as plainly, as if he had been a poor peasant—"Sire, pensez à votre conscience; il est faict de vons; il n'y a nul remède." When the martial King, Edward the Third, was lying on his bed at the point of death, forsaken, and even plundered hy his former favourites, one of whom took the ring from his finger, amongst so many there was only present at that time a certain priest, other of his servants, applying the spoil of what they could lay hands on, who, lamenting the king's misery, and inwardly touched with grief of heart, that among so many counsellors there was none that would minister unto him the word of life, came boldly unto him, and admonished him to lift up the eyes, as well of his body as of his heart, nnto God, and with sighs, to ask mercy of Him whose majesty he well knew he had grievously offeuded. Whereupon the king listened to the words of the priest; and, although a little before he had wanted the nse of his tongue, yet then, taking strength, he seemed to speak what was in his mind; and then, what for weakness of his body, contrition of his heart, and sobbing for his sins, his voice and speech failed him, and scarce half pronouncing the word Jesn, he gave up the ghost at his manor of Sheene. Meschinot, who always lived with princes, being personally attached to the dukes of Brittany, takes care to remind them of death in bold and simple language—

"Princes, vous n'estes d'autre alloi
Que le pauvre peuple commun.
Faites-vous sujets à la loi,
Car certes vous monrrez comme un
Des plus petits."*

From sdmonitions of the same frankness, the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries were not exempt, as the following instance will show. John de la Moote, the thirty-first abhot of St. Albans, in the reign of King Richard II., being at Tytenhangre, was snddenly attacked with a fatal pleurisy after mass on All-Saints. The monks of the ahbey hastened to his assistance. William Wynteshal, his confessor, arrived there at three in the morning, and addressed him in these words: "The physicians have certain signs of your approaching death, and that you will soon be deprived both of reason and memory; therefore, I require you to attend to the salvation of your soul while any vigour remains; then and next, make restitution if yoa have defrauded any body; and lastly, signify your will and pleasure in matters depending between yon and onr brethren." These instances are worthy of remark, if it were only to show the contrast between the spirit of the middle ages and of our own

* Mabillon de Stud. Monast. Pars II. c. xiii.

* Gonget Bibliotheq. Français, Tom. IX. 412.

time. One of the most admired philosophical writers of the day, showing that politeness depends npon the philosophy of mind, observes, that the benevolent poor, who tend the sick with such assiduity, have yet little foresight of the mere pains of thought; and, while in the same situation, the rich and better educated, with eqnal, or perhaps even with less benevolence of intention, carefully avoid the introduction of any snhject which might suggest, indirectly to the sufferer, the melancholy images of parting life, the conversation of the poor, aronnd the bed of their sick friend, is such as can scarcely fail to present to him every moment, not the probahility merely, hut almost the certainty of approaching death. "It is impossible," he continues, "to be present in these two situations without remarking the benefit of a little knowledge of the human mind, without which, far from fulfilling its real wishes, benevolence itself may be the most cruel of torturers."* I do not propose that this curious passage should be viewed in connection with those sentences of the Phædo, which have been noticed dnring the course of the present chapter, for a comparison between the modern and ancient philosophy belongs not to our snbject; hut it is impossible, after hearing the sentiments of men in the ages of faith respecting death, and after witnessing their last moments, not to be struck with amaze at the change which must have taken place in the general disposition of men's minds before a book containing such a passage as that which I have now qnoted could have been deemed, hy consent of the learned, worthy of a distinguished place among the works of philosophy.

Bnt to retnrn from this digression. It is well known what care was taken that every Christian, sick or dying, at peace with God, should have the consolation and support of receiving the food of angels, the adorahle body of Jesus Christ. In the darkest and most tempestuous nights, amidst forests and marshy wastes, the sound of a bell, and the light of a lantern, would announce the passage of a priest with his clerk,† repairing to the hermit's cell, or to the woodman's hut; and then the poor shepherds would hasten to adore their Saviour, and even the rohber from the wood would follow at a distance, drawn and facinated, as it were, hy the mysterious attraction of that faith which he had practically renounced, without ever having been entirely ahle to expel it from his heart. The zeal and charity with which the dying were assisted dnring the middle ages tended not a little to impress a new character npon scenes of death. It is recorded of St. Osmond, Bishop of Salishnry, in the eleventh centnry, that he used to assist criminals at their execution, and would accompany them himself to the scaffold. The Church, in some places, had to remonstrate with the civil power, and in council, at Lambeth, at London, and at Vienne, formally to condemn the harharous enactments which attempted to deprive criminals doomed to death, of the sacrament of penance. Many kings, however, confirmed her decisions hy humane laws, as Ethelred, Edward, and Cannte, in England, and Charles VI. of France. Many confraternities were estahlished in which even the laity devoted themselves to the pious office of comforting the sick. Spenser, descrihing a holy hospital, alludes to such persons—

"Another had charge sick persons to attend,
And comfort those in point of death which lay;
For them most needed comfort in the end,
When sin, and hell, and death doe most dismay
The feeble soule, departing hence away.
All is but lost that living we bestow,
If not well ended at our dying day."

Poor people, with their dying words, would desire that their chamber, and the way by which the adorahle sacrament was to pass, the way before Jesus, the King of Glory, the God of men and of angels, the God of heaven and earth, the God of time and of eternity, should be strewed with flowers; and to honour the approach of the same mighty Lord, the apartments of the rich would be adorned with whatever in their possession was the most beautiful and precious. To tender and passionate souls, this honr, when he came to give himself to them, as their viaticnm, was the hour long desired and ardently expected—it was the hour of love and of seraphic ecstacy. Nothing then remained hut to press the image of Jesns to the bosom, and to wait in silence for the change. This last scene of the solemn act was closed by the Church's holy prayers, which winged the faint soul to mount to heaven, bidding it go forth from this world in the name of God the Father

* Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Vol. I. p. 68.

† Statut. Synod. of Troyes de Sacramentis, 8.

Almighty who created it, in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, who suffered for it, in the name of the Holy Spirit, which had been imparted to it; in the name of angels and archangels, in the name of thrones and dominations, in the name of principalities and powers, in the name of cherubim and seraphim, in the name of patriarchs and prophets, in the name of holy apostles and evangelists, in the name of holy martyrs and confessors, in the name of holy monks and hermits, in the name of holy virgins and all the saints of God, that its rest that day might be in peace, and its habitation in holy Sion.

This assistance at death was connected also with many remarkable narratives, which, I believe, would have excited the envy of Cicero, if he could have heard them after composing his Tusculan disputations; for who can doubt but that he would have rejoiced to have been able to adorn his page with such an account as that relating to the bishop in Scotland, who, when travelling alone on horseback among the Highlands, was forced, by a sudden and violent snow-storm, to seek shelter in a poor cottage by the way-side, where he was told that the father of the family was lying in an inner room dangerously ill. Ever attentive to the object of his holy mission, the good bishop desired to see him; and, on being admitted, proceeded to admonish the poor man of his danger; but he replied, that he felt assured of his recovery. As the bishop, however, persisted in showing him the groundlessness of his confidence, and in exhorting him to prepare for death, he confessed the secret cause which made him feel so secure, saying that he was a Catholic, and that during the last thirty years of his life, ever since he had first come into that desolate region, he had prayed to God not to take him from the world without enabling him to receive the last sacraments of holy Church. Pierced to the heart with reverential awe, the saintly bishop told him, that he who stood over him was a priest and a bishop, that he had with him the holy oils and the precious body of our Lord. "Then God has heard my prayer," cried the dying man, "and now may he let his servant depart in peace." The bishop administered to him the holy and adorable mysteries of the Church, and before he withdrew the soul was gone to behold its Judge. Equally interesting is the account given of a priest who was hastening on his errand of blessed charity, one dark and stormy night, through some of the most obscure lanes in London, to bear assistance to some poor dying person in that neighbourhood. As he passed, suddenly the ground gave from under his feet, and he was precipitated through one of those cellar entrances which in some quarters of the capital are so frequently to be found adjacent to the wall. Recovering from the first shock, a deep moan, proceeding as if from the farthest end of this sombre vault, engaged all his attention. "In God's name who are you, and where am I fallen?" asked the priest. "I know you," replied a feeble voice; "you are a priest of the holy Church, come to console me at my death." A child now came up to him, whom the priest, with entreaties and charges of authority, prevailed upon to ascend into the street, in order to procure a light. But the narrative is soon concluded: this poor dying person received from the priest's hands the last consolations of religion, and then expired in his arms.

We have seen the consolations administered to the dying, but what was the condition of the surviving friends after the departure of him whom they loved, and what was the character of their mourning? Let the answer be sought in the writings of the ages of faith. In the first place, they were desired to make use of the assistance of reason and natural wisdom, as far as it was in the order of Providence that it should console them. To this St. Basil appeals in writing to the widow of Arintheus, saying, "He was a man, and he is dead, like Adam, like Abel, like Noah, like Abraham, like Moses, like all that has ever been great among men." It is the same spirit which dictates that striking reply in Shakspeare, on hearing that the Lady Macbeth is dead—

"She should have died hereafter.
There would have been a time for such a word."

but to these considerations of natural wisdom were added the supernatural consolations of faith, which reminded men not only of the necessity, but of the happiness of dying. "How many times," says St. Cyprian, "my dearest brethren, hath God deigned to charge me openly,—me, humble and weak creature, to announce to you in my sermons, that we ought not to weep for those of our brethren whom the Lord has delivered from the world, since we know well that they are not lost, but only sent before us; and that, in their depart-

ing, they only precede us like travellers, and those who make voyages on the sea; that we ought to regret them, but not to lament them with cries; that we onght not to clothe ourselves with garments of mourning, when they have assumed in heaven the hright white rohe; that we ought not to give the Gentiles an occasion to reproach us for weeping on account of those who we say live with God, as if they were for ever plnnged in the abyss of annihilation. We betray our hope and our faith."* Hear again how St. Basil writes to a monrning father:—"As the Lord hath estahlished us to be, as it were, a second father to all Christians, we have regarded, as personal to ourselves, the affliction which you have experienced in the death of your hlessed son. Upon hearing the deplorable details, we were at first moved, after the manner of men; hnt npon recollection, and as soon as we had considered this event with the eyes of faith, we asked pardon of God for having suffered our soul to be carried away hy the force of passions; and we encouraged ourselves to endnre what the ancient sentence of our God hath made the destiny of all mankind. If the life of this young man has not been of long dnration here below, every one who reflects for a moment must conclude that this has been one of the greatest favours of heaven towards him. A longer abode npon earth is only a longer suhjection to all kinds of evils. He has not known crime; he has never injured his neighhour; he has never been drawn on by nnhappy circumstances to mix in the society of the wicked; he has lived exempt from lying, from ingratitude, from avarice, from voluptuous passions, from the vices of the flesh, and from the many other miserahle prodnctions of human depravity. His pure and spotless soul has retired from the world to rise to a happier region."

Such is the language of consolation that we find invariahly addressed to mourners during the middle ages, and such the sentiments which they themselves expressed, as being their support and encouragement. "Length of time," says Egburg, in a letter to the holy Ahbot Winfred, respecting the death of his brother—"length of time will turn my present sorrow into gladness, for it is written, 'Amor homlnis addncit dolorem: amor antem Christi illnminat cor.'"† Faithful in respect to historical similitude is the description which Tasso gives of the mourning of the Crusaders on the death of Dudon—

"His wailing friends adorn'd the mournful bier
With woeful pomp, whereon his corpse they laid:
And when they saw the Bulloigne prince draw near,
All felt new grief, and each new sorrow made;
But he, withouten show or change of cheer,
His springing tears within their fountains staid;
His rueful looks upon the corse he cast,
Awhile, and thus bespake the same at last:
We need not mourn for thee, here laid to rest,
Earth is thy bed, and not thy grave; the skies
Are for thy soul, the cradle and the nest,
There live, for here thy glory never dies;
For like a Christian knight and champion blest,
Thou did'st both live and die."*

Bnt let us now turn to the immediate scene of mourning, to cast one look upon the sheeted dead, and to inquire what dnties remain to be accomplished with regard to the departed soul. Durandus says, "That, at the moment of death, the bell was tolled thrice to denote the absolution which had been given to the penitent for the three modes of sin, hy thought, word, and work;† and that for a clerk, the hells were tolled as many times as denoted the number of his orders."‡ It appears that in the time of St. Sturm, Ahbot of Fulda, it was the custom to toll the bells for persons in their agony; for this holy man, at the point of death, ordered the hrethren to run to the church, "et omnes gloggas pariter moveri imperavit," and desired that the assembled brethren might be entreated to pray for him. In England, however, the bell was tolled after death had taken place; for, as we have seen, Bede, after relating the death of St. Hilda, says, that Begu, a nnn of another convent, heard the usual sonnd of the bell which nsed to summon them to prayer, "Cum quis de hoc sæculo fuisset evocatus." At Rheims, the luguhrious tolling of bells, doleful from the jarring of sounds on the death of men, used to be called l'Ahbé mort, as if the agony of a dying person, l'Ahboy de la mort, which shows that originally it was also tolled in the last moments of men.§

With respect to the concluding labours employed in the concerns of the body, the excessive anxiety and pains of the ancients on these occasions, were no longer required.

* On the Necessity of Dying.
† S. Bonifac. Mart. et Archiep. Epist. CI.

* Book III. c. 7.
† Durandi Rationale, Lib. VII. c. 35.
‡ Id. Lib. I. c. 4.
§ Mabillon Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § vii.

With them, to wash and anoint the dead body was tho only privilege they could bestow upon the dead.* When Agamemnon is slain, tho chorus has only to ask—

τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;†

which would havo been ono of the last inquiries that in Christian ages would have been suggested by tho death of a friend. Priam required ten days to prepare for the funeral of Hector;‡ and to describe all that was dono on that occasion, would require the unwearied tongue of a Homer himself. But in the middle ages, the ceremonial connected with the body, which followed death, was greatly simplified and curtailed. No one in his last moments was lead to fear, by the question of a Crito, that his faith was vain; and that he had lost his time in labouring, with a view to the soul's immortality. St. Paul, the hermit, speaks to St. Anthony of his own burial in this style:—"Since the hour of my sleep is arrived, our Lord has sent you to cover this poor body with earth, or rather to commit earth to earth." So little importance seemed to be attached to the burial evon of mighty kings, that strange scenes were sometimes presented, which might have been obviated if there had been greater previous solicitude, or an opinion more generally entertained of tho importance of such rites. The salt carriers, who had the privilege of carrying the bodies of the kings of France to the grave, when conveying that of Charles VI. to St. Denis, laid it down in the middlo of the way, demanding who was to pay them? Nothing is more common in tho chronicles of the middle ages than to find mention of the express charge given by dying men, and even by great princes, like Philip, Count of Nemours, not only that no extraordinary pains or expense should be employed in their funerals, but even that their bodies should be committed to the ground with marks of indifference or ignominy. "All these things," says St. Augustin, "the care of a funeral, tho kind of sepulture, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts for the living than helps for the dead. Many bodies of Christians are scattered naked on the earth; but Truth itself assures us, that men can do nothing further after they have killed tho body. A crowd of servants swelled the magnificent convoy of Dives, whose obsequies seemed so splendid in the eyes of men, but much more beautiful in the sight of God was the ministry of angels which bore that poor Lazarus, not into a marble tomb, but into the bosom of Abraham."*—"Certain visions are related," says St. Augustin, "which seem to militate against this opinion; for the dead are said to have somotimes appeared to the living, who knew not where their bodies lay, and to have revealed tho spot, in order that they might obtain burial. Were we to answer that these are falsehoods, we should seem to rise insolently against the writings of some of the faithful, and against the sense of those who affirm that such things have happened to themselves; but we may reply, that the living also, without being conscious of it, appear often in dreams to the living; and, therefore, these visions of the dead cannot prove that the departed soul has really returned to instruct them. Such things, perhaps, my be done by angelic operation, without the knowledge of those whose bodies are unburied, by divine command, in order to console the living, or by these admonitions to recommend the humanity of sepulture to the human race, the neglect of which cannot injure the dead, but would argue impiety in the living. Why should we not credit these angelic operations by the dispensations of the providence of God, exerted towards the good and the evil, according to the unsearchable depth of his judgment, whether the minds of mortals are thence instructed or deceived, consoled or terrified, according as mercy or punishment is due to each from Him whose mercy and judgment are not vainly commemorated by tho Church?"† While, therefore, it was believed, that this was a matter which did not interest the dead, there was no disposition in the Church to approve of any thing inhuman or extravagant with respect to the burial of the body. The Parthians used to givo their dead to be devoured by birds and beasts. The rigid and inhuman sect of the stoics was indifferent, whether the body were to rot below or above ground. It was men like Lucretius and Lucian, who thought that nothing would remain after death, who chiefly ridiculed tho care of the dead.

During the ages of faith, there was, in the minds of men, a deep and profound tenderness, an amiable and loving susceptibility, which admitted of nothing harsh or repulsive to the intimate feelings of our poor humanity. "Mary Magdalen," says

* Hom. Od. † Æschyl. Agam. 1546.
‡ Id. XXIV. 665.

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. I. 12. De Cura pro Mortuis. † De Cura pro Mortuis.

St. John of the Cross, "deserved to be the first to behold Jesus Christ after his resurrection, because she remained the last by his sepulchre." "The bodies of the faithful," says St. Augustin, "are not to be despised and cast out, since they were the organs and vessels used by the Holy Spirit. Dear and venerable is a paternal vest or ring; and in like manner should we honour the body which was more joined and familiar to us than any garment which we wear, which served not as an external ornament or assistance, but which belonged to the very nature of man. Our Lord commended the woman who had prepared ointments for his burial; and in the gospel, he is commemorated with praise who diligently and reverently gave him sepulture."* For the same reason were they blessed by King David who buried the dry bones of Saul and Jonathan, because no one ever hated his own flesh, and what they wished to be done to themselves when deprived of sense, they did to others who were in that condition.†

The primitive Christians kept their dead exposed during three days, clothed in precious habits, and watched over them in prayer during the time. Then they carried them to the tomb, bearing lighted tapers, and singing hymns expressive of their hope of the resurrection. They buried with them either the ensignia of their dignity or the instruments of their martyrdom, or phials full of their blood, or the acts of their martyrdom, or crosses, or the book of the Gospel. The body was placed with the face regarding the East.‡

St. Anthony, though alone in the desert, having brought out from the cell the dead body of St. Paul the Hermit, sung the hymns and psalms, according, as St. Jerome says, to the Christian tradition.§ St. Jerome mentions the lights that were borne at the funeral of St. Paula, and notice of them occurs also in the account of that of St. Cyprien.‖

The form of monastic burial corresponded with the simplicity of the religious life. We read in the history of the church of Durham, that when any monk was dead there, he was dressed in his cowl and habit, and boots were put on his legs, and immediately he was carried to a chamber called the dead man's chamber, where he remained till night. At night he was removed thence into St. Andrew's Chapel adjoining to the same chamber, and there the body remained till eight o'clock in the morning. The night before the funeral, two monks, either in kindred or kindness the nearest to him, were appointed by the prior to be especial mourners, sitting all night on their knees at the dead man's feet. Then were the children of the Ambrie sitting on their knees in stalls on either side of the corpse, appointed to read David's Psalter all night over incessantly, till eight in the morning, when the body was conveyed to the chapter-house, where the prior and the whole convent met it, and there did say their dirge and devotion; and then the dead corpse was carried by the monks into the centry-garth, where it was buried, and there was but one peal rung for him.*

Yet the renown of sanctity and the devotion of the people, often rendered the burial of the religious, scenes of astonishing interest. Neither the pomp of the funeral of kings nor the triumphs of the ancient conquerors, were more solemn than the convoy of the body of the humble St. Martin to the Monastery of Marmoutiers on the Loire, in the year 397. There were more than two thousand monks present who had been his disciples, besides a distinct choir of virgins and an innumerable multitude of devout people.

The body of the blessed St. Francis is placed in a vault under the Marble Chapel in the great Church at Assissi. It stands in an upright posture; but the vault having been shut up by Gregory IX. no one can enter to behold it. A small opening, however, is left, through which a person may look by the light of a lamp burning in it. In the convent of the poor Clares at Assissi, in a vault under the high altar, lies the body of St. Clare, with a lamp burning before the opening into it. This was an ancient custom, as may be collected from the mode of Episcopal burial in the thirteenth century, according to the description of the tomb of a bishop of Angers. "He was buried in the mitre in which he had been consecrated, his crosier was by his side, and on his breast was placed the chalice, and a lead paten, containing wine and bread, and in this instance, behind his head there was a kind of channel, in which was a lamp lighted with

* De Civit. Dei, Lib. I. 13.
† De Cura pro Mortuis.
‡ Benedict. XIV. de Canonizatione Servorum Dei, Lib. I.
§ S. Hieronymi Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ.
‖ Joan. Devoti Institut. Canon. Lib. II. tit. vii. § 1.

* The Ancient Rites and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham, p. 89.

oil, so that when the sarcophagus was closed, the light of that burning lamp shone within upon the body through an opening.*

Camden and Weever relate that, at the suppression and demolition of the abbeys in York, burning lamps were found in many tombs, the flame of which it was said could not be extinguished by wind or water.

This practice seems to have greatly struck the poetic imagination of the Minstrel, who has so grandly described the midnight opening of the grave of Michael Scott in Melrose Abbey.—

"Lo, warrior! now the cross of red
Points to the grave of the mighty dead;
Within it burns a wondrous light,
To chase the spirits that love the night."

These are the monk's words to Sir William of Delorain. And when the grave-stone had been raised, we read of the lamp within the tomb, that

"No earthly flame blaz'd e'er so bright
It shone like Heaven's own blessed light,
Show'd the monk's cowl, and visage pale,
Danced on the dark-brow'd warrior's mail,
And kiss'd his waving plume."

What follows is truly beautiful and solemn:—

"Before their eyes the wizard lay,
As if he had not been dead a day.
His hoary beard in silver roll'd,
He seem'd some seventy winters old;
A palmer's amice wrapp'd him round,
With a wrought Spanish baldric bound,
Like a pilgrim from beyond the sea,
His left hand held his book of might;
A silver cross was in his right;
The lamp was placed beside his knee:
High and majestic was his look,
At which the fellest fiends had shook;
And all unruffled was his face:
They trusted his soul had gotten grace.
And the priest pray'd fervently and loud:
With eyes averted prayed he;
He might not endure the sight to see
Of the man he had lov'd so brotherly."

In the grave of Charles of Trier, grand master of the Teutonic knights, were deposited, by his express orders, the life and prophecies of St. Brigitte. This was that just and great man, whose bitterest enemies could never charge him with a single fault.† The extraordinary respect shown to many bishops at their death, forms a remarkable feature in history. St. Hugh, of Lincoln, the Burgundian, was carried to his grave at Lincoln by three kings. When St. Medard, Bishop of Noyon, died, the king, Clotaire, was present, and he assisted afterwards in person to carry the body to Soissons. And, as Don Savedra remarks, the dead body of that brave prelate, Gilles d'Albornos, passed from Rome to Toledo on the shoulders of the nations, as well friends as enemies.*

We may learn the form of collegiate burial from the account which is given of the customs that used to be observed in the English College at Douai. "At the burial of any of our members, the whole community attended in a very solemn procession from the College Church to that of the parish, where high mass was sung. The corpse was carried by the schoolfellows and companions of the deceased; a priest was borne on the shoulders of his fellow priests; and a dozen or twenty scholars surrounded the bier with lighted flambeaux. At the head of the procession went the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, vested for mass, with acolyths, thurifers, and our own choir, in surplices. The students followed, two and two, in the order of the classes, wearing cassocks."

The Roman ritual prescribes, that at the funeral of young persons, the bells should not be tolled in a lugubrious manner, but that they should rather be rung, so as to produce a festive sound.† This holy pomp of burial did not depend upon the rank of the deceased. In every country, during the middle ages, as in Spain or Portugal at the present day, the funerals of a poor tradesman or mechanic were, in their external form and appearance, often more splendid than those of potent peers or wealthy gentlemen. Though many of them could not even afford a coffin, yet their biers would be surrounded by a blaze of light streaming from hundreds of wax torches, each as thick as a man's arm—for all working men, as we have formerly shown, had enrolled themselves in a fraternity, and the expense on these occasions was always borne by the whole society.‡ In the case of poor persons who had no such assistance, the Roman ritual requires that the priests of the parish should furnish tapers at their own expense, that so venerable a rite may never be omitted through any unworthy regard to economy.§

The work of corporal mercy, which consisted in burying the dead, used to be performed, as in Italy at the present day, by

* Guillelmi Majoris Episcopi Andegav. Gesta apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, IV. 381.

* Christian Prince, II. 559.
† De Exequiis Parvulorum.
‡ Letters to Osorius. § De Exequiis.

noblemen and persons of the highest condition, who, through devotion, used to form confraternities for that purpose. Spenser describes this custom—

"Others had charge of them now being dead,
In seemely sort their corses to engrave,
And deck with dainty flowers their brydall bed,
That to their heavenly spouse both sweet and brave
They might appeare, when he their soules shall save,
The wondrous workmanship of God's own mould,
Whose face he made all beastes to fear, and gave
All in his hand, even dead we honour should."*

With respect to the funerals of great nobles and kings, in the middle ages, if there was often a more magnificent pageant attending them, the pomp was still always ecclesiastic, and almost monastical, never secular or military. The Burning Chapel, so called from the quantity of lights which were placed round the body previous to interment; the ceremonial of sprinkling it with holy water; the vigils and prayers; the attendance of the clergy of all orders, both regular and secular; corresponded with the character of men, so many of whom expired on sackcloth and ashes.

"King Charles V. of France, (says Christine de Pisan, was wondronsly afflicted on the death of his queen; and although the virtue of constancy was greater in him than in most men, this departure caused him such grief, that never before or after did any event produce the same effect in him; for much they loved each other with great love. The king, who loved the body, thought of the soul by devout prayers, masses, vigils, and psalters, and great alms. The body was carried solemnly, according to the usage of kings and queens,—clothed, adorned, and crowned,—on a rich bed of cloth of gold, surmounted with a canopy; and thus it was conveyed in great procession to the Church of our Lady. Four hundred torches, each of six pounds of wax, burned there. Monks of all orders went before the body, and our princes walked after it, clothed in black."†

These sad pageants on the death of kings, were not without a high moral dignity, and a most salutary effect upon the minds of men. Poets discerned this, as when Martial d'Auvergne, in his Vigils, relates the death of Charles VII.; and, after describing the pomp of the funeral and the grief of all France, concludes thus:—

"Ainsi le regard de ce monde
Après qu'on a eué grand liesse
Tousjours en pleurs et deuil redonde,
Et la joye finit en tristesse."*

Weever, in the discourse prefixed to his great work, laments, in bitter terms, on grounds of social policy, the error and practice introduced after "the Reformation," which caused all the ceremonial rites of obsequies to be laid aside as a fruitless vanity; and he makes this remark, that although the manner of burial and the pomp of obsequies be rather comforts to the living than helps to the dead: and although all these ceremonies be despised by our parents on their death-beds, yet should they not be neglected by us their children or nearest of kindred, upon their interments."

As when the soul was departing, so also when the body was descending into the grave, the prayers of the Church employed the thoughts of the assistants. Unknown to the middle ages was that custom of the Athenians which has been revived in modern times by the infidels of France, of choosing some distinguished man of the city to pronounce a panegyric over the dead at their burial, ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα, as Thucydides styles it.† But instead of this vain parade of rhetoric,—

"The mass was sung, and prayers were said,
And solemn requiem for the dead;
And bells toll'd out their mighty peal
For the departed spirit's weal."

The first Christians made a wail for their dead, as at the funeral of St. Stephen, of whom we read, "Fecerunt planctum magnum super eum."‡ Yet it became the custom, in a very early age of the Church, to suppress all public lamentations. St. Jerome testifies that at funerals it was usual to sing allelujah. In later times, however, it was found necessary to provide against a return to the ancient practice of the heathen mourners,—so prone are men at all times to succumb from the supernatural elevation of faith. The Pagan excessive wail for the dead was strictly forbidden by the canons, as may be seen in Burchard. "Nothing, (say they) should be sung but psalms and prayers for the soul, and kurie eleison." Among the interrogations on the visitation of a bishop in the tenth century, we read, "Whether any one has sung over a dead man in the night diabolic songs, or drank or eat, or seemed to rejoice at his death, or if dead bodies were kept with nocturnal vigils in any other place besides the church?"

* Faery Queen, I. 10. † Chap. L.

* Les Vigiles de la Mort du Roy Charles VII.
† Lib. II. 34. ‡ Acts viii. 2.

By a synod in that century, the clergy are commanded to forbid such customs, and all laughter over the dead. "Laics, (say the canons) who observe funeral vigils, should do it with fear and trembling and reverence. No one there should presume to sing diabolic songs, or to dance, or make jests, which the Pagans learned to practise from the devil. For who does not perceive that it is diabolic, not only alien from the Christian religion, but even contrary to human nature, there to sing, rejoice, get drunk, and be dissolved in laughter, laying aside all piety and affection of charity, as if rejoicing at a brother's death, where grief and lamentation with weeping ought to resound for the loss of a dear brother. Therefore, such insane joy and pestiferous singing must be altogether prohibited on the authority of God. But if any one desires to sing, let him sing kurie eleison, otherwise let him keep silence."

When the moderns take notice of any particular abuse connected with religion existing in society at present they confidently ascribe it to the spirit of the middle ages. But with a very little knowledge of history it is easy to discern the error of such an opinion. Religion, during the middle ages, was engaged in an incessant struggle to abolish the corruptions which had existed before its arrival: and perhaps there is evidence to prove, that even in the tenth century there was a more delicate sense of what was, or was not, in unison with the spirit of Christianity and the mysteries of faith, and in consequence of the greater power of the Church to correct evils, a much more correct and effective discipline than can be found at present.

Reader! more lines I will not waste in setting forth the form of funeral rites—for other subjects so thicken upon us, that on this I cannot longer dwell. We have seen the dead man committed to the earth, with the ceremonies which were attached to his office and condition. "No more his bed he leaves ere the last angel-trumpet blow." We may conclude in the style of Homer—Thus did they bury the hero and the saint.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURNING now from the sad spectacle of the natural side of death, let us see what the history of the middle ages records respecting the comfort which was reserved for these mourners in the great mysteries of our holy religion.

We have seen the character which death assumed during the ages of faith, attending the sufferer from sickness to the grave, where, on mere natural grounds, it would have been reasonable to suppose that all offices respecting him were terminated, and all the duties of the survivors fulfilled, whose lips his name, however once cherished and familiar, was never again to pass. Thus it was in the ancient world amidst the darkness and gloom of the night of heathenism, when, as Pliny says, "men loved, or rather pretended to love, only the living, and did not even pretend to love any but those who were prosperous: for both the wretched and the dead were alike forgotten."* A man of extraordinary genius and renown like Cicero, indeed, might vainly flatter himself with the thought of the fame which awaited him, and say, in allusion to his death, "Longum illud tempus quum non ero, magis me movet, quam hoc exiguum." But this boast only rendered him obnoxious to the reproof which the same philosopher had passed upon others, saying, "Quoniam hæc plausibilia non sunt, ut in sinu gaudeant, gloriosè loqui desinant."† This was, in truth, a delusion too palpable to impart consolation to any heart. The fact was no less stubborn because sung in immortal verse by poets,

* Epist. Lib. IX. 9. † Tuscul. III. 51.

that when any one died, all the benevolence of men, as Stesichorus said, perished.

θανόντος ἀνδρὸς πᾶσ' ὄλλυτ' ἀνθρώπων χάρις.

"Time will abate thy grief," says Alcestis, about to die, to her husband: "the dead are nothing:" or, as the later poet expressed it,

"When we die, we are only ashes and a shade."*

But were not those who still continued to divide time by calends in possession of some comfort after the death of friends? Yes, as the son of Nestor says, "This was the privilege of mourning mortals, to cut off the hair and to stain the cheek with tears."†

To persons at all conversant with Christian history, one need scarcely observe that the idea of death, in the mind of those who were its witnesses, had undergone a change no less complete than that which affected the sentiments of those who experienced it themselves. The moderns, indeed, seduced by the ravings of an ignorant fanaticism, and originally encouraged to attend to them by the artful policy of flagitious potentates, who thirsted for the plunder of property that had been consecrated to sacred purposes, were so unhappy as to renounce the faith of the holy Catholic church, in respect to the assistance of the dead and the consolation of those who mourned for them. To avaricious and insensible hearts it was a delightful prospect which opened, when it was announced that paternal inheritances were no longer to bring with them the incumbrance of solemn rites, "est sine sacris hæreditas."

In recording the work of destruction which followed the adoption of the new opinions, the Protestant historian supply abundant evidence of the pious solicitude with which men in ages of faith had provided for the relief of those who had risen from flesh to spirit, and for the consolation and advantage of their posterity. The mouldering ruins of those chantries and holy chapels which give such an interest to our woods and mountains, still attest it, and the solemn language of the statutes preserved in such institutions as were suffered to remain under an altered form, still supplies an exercise for the ingenious facility with which, according to the new moral philosophy, men can escape from the obligation of accomplishing their vow.

From the birth of Christianity prayer for the dead was observed as a divine tradition and a deposit of faith. Miles, the Protestant Oxford editor of the works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, acknowledged the fact in these words: "It is most true that the prayer and offering for the dead prevailed in the church from the time of the apostles." That anniversary prayers for the dead were observed, appears from Tertullian.* By the conclusion which St. Perpetua was led to draw from her two visions, it is clear that the church in that early age believed the doctrine of the expiation of certain sins after death, and that she prayed for the faithful departed. We see too, that the parents of St. Agnez used to watch by night at her sepulchre. St. Augustin, after remarking that in the Book of Maccabees it is read, that sacrifice was offered for the dead, adds, "But if this had not been read in the ancient scriptures, it is not a little matter that the authority of the universal church is conspicuous in this custom, where the commendation of the dead occurs in the prayers of the priest which are offered at the altar of God."† St. Ambrose says, "that the faithful ought not so much to deplore the souls of the departed, as to accompany them with their prayers, that they ought not to draw an argument for tears, but a subject for recommendation to the Lord;"‡ and St. Chrysostom says, "that they should assist the dead, not with lamentations, but with prayers, supplications, and alms."§ St. Augustin says of his deceased mother, "She did not command us to provide aromatics for her dead body, an especial monument, an ancestral tomb; but she only desired that she might be had in memory at thy altar, O God, whence she knew that Holy Victim was dispensed, by means of which the handwriting that was against us has been destroyed. Inspire thy servants, O Lord, that as many as read this may remember thy servant Monica with her husband Patricius at thy altar."‖ This was to provide against that purifying trial which may follow death, and against that day of which the prophets spoke, when the Lord should wash away the filth of the sons and daugh-

* Hor. Carm. IV. 7. † Od. IV.

* Lib. de Monogamia. Id. de Corona Militis, cap. 3. † De cura pro Mortuis.
‡ Ad Faustin. II. Epist. 8.
§ Hom. XLI. in Epist. I. ad Corinth.
‖ Confess. Lib. XIX. cap. 13.

ters of Sion, and obliterate the blood from the midst of them with the spirit of judgment and with the spirit of burning, when he should sit burning and purifying as if gold and silver, and should cleanse the sons of Levi, and melt them as gold and silver, when the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem should be pleasing to him as in the primitive days.* The fervour and charity of the middle ages appear in nothing more conspicuous than in the zeal of men to assist their departed friends. Many of the epistles in the collection of those of St. Boniface, are occupied in transmitting, or in requiring the names of priests and laymen deceased, that they may be commemorated at the altar. The friendship of the holy men, whom missionary zeal had scattered through distant regions, finds only one consolation in the thought that they are always united both in life and death in the heart of Jesus. Thus Doto writes as follows to the Bishop Lullo: "quamvis terrarum longitudine separati videmur, tamen et terrarum longinquitas non dividit mente, quos charitas divina conjunxit in corde."† On this principle they might have used the words of Pindar, expressing their belief that the dead take an interest in the fortune of their surviving relations on earth.

Κατακρύπτει δ' οὐ κόνις
Συγγόνων κεδνὰν χάριν.‡

The celebration of the memory of the dead on the third, seventh, thirtieth, and anniversary day, is a most ancient institution, as appears from St. Augustin and other fathers. Amalarius and Alcuin explain the mystic reason of these days as follows: "the third day after the obit," say they, "is celebrated to express our trust in the future resurrection, from the memory of our Saviour's rising on the third day; the seventh day expresses a general number or a totality, on which we pray that all their sins may be forgiven." "Luctus mortui Septem dies," says the Scripture;§ and thus the sons of Jacob celebrated the obsequies of their father during seven days;‖ or because the seventh day is the sabbath, we pray the Lord of the sabbath to give them eternal rest. The thirtieth day is observed in conformity to the venerable examples of the Old Testament, as when the children of Israel wept for Aaron during the space of thirty days, and when Moses died they wept for him thirty days in the plains of Moab. And the anniversary is repeated, that in the event of their being still exposed to the purifying flames, they may be assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, for much it avails them, there to be the object of the prayers of such

——— "Whose wills
Have root of goodness in them."*

Cardinal Bona, speaking of the office of the dead, says, "that it was by an especial Providence that learned men from the very age of the apostles, employed themselves in describing the received rites of the church, because the Holy Spirit foresaw that heresy in the latter ages would attempt to pervert and confound all things."† The office of the dead begins absolutely without an invocation of the divine assistance, or glorification of the most holy Trinity, or benediction, or any rite indicating joy, "in order," as Amalarius says, "to correspond with what took place at the death of our Lord." Cardinal Bona observes, "that generally when we pray for the dead, we are reminded of our own end; they are dead and we are also to die, they yesterday, we to-morrow."‡ What an advantage, then, had the pious charity of our ancestors provided for the living also in their foundations for the spiritual wants of the dead? "Memorare novissima tua, et in æternum non peccabis." The anniversaries of kings were celebrated in Gaul in a very early age. Celebrated were those of Clovis, in the church of St. Peter, now of St. Geneviève, that of his son Childebert, in the monastery of St. Vincent, now of St. Germain des Près, and that of Dagobert, in the church of St. Denis, of which there was no monument to trace the beginning.§ In the sacristy of the cathedral of Ravenna, I saw several very ancient inscriptions in stone, to commemorate the obligation of the canons, to celebrate a solemn mass of requiem on certain anniversaries, which it was the object of these inscriptions to specify. Luther of Brunswick, grand master of the Teutonic order, in his last illness desired himself to be removed to Kœnigsberg, in order to make his devout prayer

* S. Augustini de Civit. Dei, Lib. XX. c. 25.
† Bonifacii Epist. LXXXIV.
‡ Olymp. Lib. VII. § Eccles. 22. 13.
‖ Genes. 1. 10.

* Dante Purg. XI.
† De Divina Psalmod. p. 271. ‡ Id. 265.
§ Mabillon Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § 6.

in the cathedral which he had lately assisted to erect. He gave orders that he should be buried in the midst of the choir, and that over his grave a light should for ever burn, for maintaining which he left funds, and that a dole and a feast should be always made on the anniversary of his death, when a solemn requiem should be sung. This was "the pnre and wise master," as he was styled; "the poet, the just man, the mild ruler, the devout friend of the monks and of the poor."* Suger composed lessons for matins recording the virtues of Louis-le-Gros, which were read in churches where his anniversary was celebrated. It became a general custom to found and erect chapels, and sometimes even monasteries, on fields of battle, where prayer should be constantly offered np for the souls of the slain. Battle Abbey, in Sussex, was a celebrated instance, and in Switzerland, the chapels of Mortgarten and Morat have been visited by most travellers in that country. After the great battle at Rudan, in 1370, the Teutonic knights erected three chapels in which masses and vigils were to be performed for the souls of the fallen; two were on the banks of the Rudau, and the third on the Laptau, and on the spot where the heroic marshal fell, the grand-master placed a vast monnment, on which the names of the heroes were inscribed.† The poor gained nothing by the abolition of these anniversaries consequent on the setting up of a new religion. King Edward I. when he founded obits for his queen Eleanor, in Westminster Abbey, provided also that money should be given to the poor that came to the solemnization of the same. King Henry V. fonnded perpetually one day every week, a dirge with nine lessons, and a mass to be celebrated in the same abbey church, for the soul of King Richard the Second, and he appointed that on each of these days six shillings and eightpence should be given to the poor people, and on his anniversary, that twenty pounds in pence should be distributed to the most needful. These solemn anniversaries, like that of the great baron, mentioned by Dante, as he whose name and worth the festival of Thomas still revives because commemorated on that day,‡ were the means of multiplying those sublime and consoling offices of religion, in which men experienced the purest delight, as well as the most salutary impressions; for of them we may say with truth, "Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum." Then it was that they were led to meditate on—

> "That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
> When heaven and earth shall pass away;"

to consider within their hearts

> "What power shall be the sinner's stay?
> How shall he meet that dreadful day?
> When shrivelling like a parched scroll,
> The flaming heavens together roll;
> When louder yet, and yet more dread,
> Swells the high trump that wakes the dead."

And to pray devoutly, in silence weeping,

> "Oh! on that day, that wrathful day,
> When man to judgment wakes from clay,
> Be thou the trembling sinner's stay,
> Though heaven and earth shall pass away!"

And what did the church teach the while, respecting the efficacy of these suffrages in behalf of the dead? You may learn this from the canons of the church in Ireland, which were passed in abont the eighth century. The Synod says, "In four modes does the church offer for the souls of the dead. For the greatly good, they are thanksgivings in whom the oblation hath nothing to obliterate; for the greatly sinful, they are consolations to the living; for those who were not greatly good, they conduce to their obtaining full remission; and for those who were not greatly sinful, to their pains being rendered more tolerable."* This was conformable to the words of St. Augustin; "For some men after their death, the prayers of the church or of pious people are heard; but it is for those, who after their baptism, neither lived so ill as to be judged unworthy of such mercy, nor yet so well as not to need such mercy."† Besides these anniversaries and the solemn season, which was expressly devoted by the church for the discharge of this sacred duty, there were innumerable occasions on which it was usual in the middle ages to apply to it. "The church," says St. Augustin, "as a faithful mother, prays for all her children departed, that they who left no parents or friends may still have the benefit of suffrage."‡ In many countries, as in France, it was the custom for "le Clocheteur des Trépassés

* Voigt Geschichte Preussens, IV. 512.
† Id. V. 220. ‡ Parad. XVI.

* Capitula Selecta Canonum Hibernens. ex libro XV. cap. ii. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX.
† De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. 24.
‡ De Cura pro Mortuis.

to go about the streets at night with a bell, chanting out in a solemn tone,

> "Réveillez-vous, gens qui dormez,
> Priez Dieu pour les Trépassés."

Marchangy says, "that, in some provinces, funds used to be left by will to churches for the purpose of keeping up a cry, every Monday at one o'clock after midnight, to the sound of two bells for the commemoration of the dead." It used also to be a pious custom on board passage boats, as we still find in those which take passengers from Naples to Sorrento, and in many others which ply upon the rivers of the north of Italy, to ask a subscription for masses for the souls in purgatory.

As a conclusion to this chapter, let us hear the affecting words in which Ælred, Abbot of Rivaulx, speaks of his love for a departed friend, who, as he says, "had admitted him to his friendship from the very commencement of his conversion to a religious life." With this passage the first book of his Speculum Charitatis ends, and it is highly worthy of our attention in this place, as revealing the thoughts and minds of men during the ages of faith, with respect to the mourning of surviving friends, and to the reasons of the duty which devolved upon them to pray earnestly for the departed soul. "Certainly," he exclaims, "as far as my eyes can discern, O Lord, there was nothing in thy servant which could be an impediment to him in passing to thy embraces; but no man knows what is within man unless the spirit of man which is in him; whereas thy eye, O Lord, penetrates to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart; and as a certain worthy servant said, 'Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota pietate discutiatur.' Behold then, O Lord, the source of my fear and of my tears. Attend to them, O thou most sweet and merciful Saviour! Receive them, O thou my only hope, my one and only refuge, my God! Receive, O Lord, the sacrifices which I offer to thee for my beloved friend, and whatever stains may remain in him, either pardon or impute them to me. Strike me: on me let thy anger fall; only hide not thy blessed face from him; withdraw not thy sweetness from him. O my Lord, let him experience the consolations of thy mercy, which he so earnestly desired, in which he so securely confided, to which he commended himself with such sweet vehemence, during that night when, after the other brethren had withdrawn, and one only was left to watch by him, he was heard to break forth with those repeated words, 'Misericordiam, misericordiam, misericordiam!' He was endeavouring," as they say, "to sing the whole of that verse, 'Misericordiam et judicium cantabo tibi, Domine;' but recalled by the sweetness of that first word, he could proceed no farther, and so rested in the repetition; and when he saw the brother, who sat by his bed, not appearing to be equally impressed with a sense of its sweetness, he caught his hand, and, pressing it with earnest emotion repeated again, 'Misericordiam, misericordiam.' That soul seems to have been dissolved in ineffable joy at the thought of such grace, feeling that its sins were absorbed in this immense ocean of divine mercy, so that nothing was left to oppress or terrify the conscience. As for me, I will follow thee with my tears, with my prayers, with the sacrifice of our Mediator. And do thou, O Father Abraham, extend thy arms again and again to receive this poor one of Christ, this other Lazarus, receiving and cherishing him as he returns from the miseries of this life; and to me also, who so loved him, grant a place of rest along with him in thy bosom."

CHAPTER IX.

WHEN Ulysses was conducting Neoptolemus to Troy, the vessel passed within sight of the tomb of the great Æacides, and in the painting which Quintus Calaber gives of this voyage, there is an admirable stroke of nature, truly Homeric, in reference to it:

Τοῖσι δ' ἄρ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων φαίνοντο κολῶναι,
Χρύσα τε, καὶ Σμίνθειον ἕδος, καὶ Σίγιας ἄκρη.
Τύμβος τ' Αἰακίδαο δαΐφρονος· ἀλλά μιν οὔτι
Υἱὸς Λαέρταο πυκαφρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ
Δεῖξε Νεοπτολέμῳ, ἵνα οἱ μὴ πένθος ἀέξῃ
*Θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι.**

In the ages of faith, as well as in more ancient days, it was a work of humanity and of religion in which mourners found a sweet delight, to commemorate the dead even by a material monument. It was a Catholic as well as an Homeric practice, by means of sepulchres, to remind the living of the shortness and uncertainty of human life, to raise a mound or a symbol upon the spot on which the brave or good had fallen, to pile up a tomb upon the shore of the wild sea,

ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.†

Euripides says, "that the traveller, as he passes by the tomb of Alcestis, will thither bend his devious way, with reverence gaze, and with a sigh smite on his breast." And in the early and middle ages of Christian history, to behold a sepulchre, and to supplicate God over a particular grave would be the object of long and painful journeys.

Who knows not the sublime and wondrous event which of itself has served to designate a long period of the ages which we are attempting to illustrate? Who has not continually on his tongue the ages of the crusades; the ages in which men renounced their homes, their country, their friends, engaged in all the horrors of a long and perilous navigation, exposed themselves to the dangers of an Asiatic and pestilential climate, willingly rushed forward to encounter death in every form and circumstance that could render it painful, and all this for a tomb?

In such an age it was natural that the spirit of mourning should have developed itself in every gracious and solemn form that harmonized with the genius of love and memory, that it should have perpetuated, by material monuments on this earth, some traces of the affection of children, and of parents, and of friends, that it should have multiplied those sepulchres which relate the untimely departure of heroic worth, which exhibit the overflowings of youthful sorrow, or the calm and brief expressions of experienced wisdom, tombs which recall the images of youth, and beauty, and goodness,

——— "at sight whereof
Tears often stream forth, by remembrance wak'd,
Whose sacred stings the piteous only feel."*

Alban Butler remarks, "that the primitive Christians were solicitous not to bury their dead among the infidels, as appears from Gamaliel's care in this respect, mentioned by Lucian in his account of the discovery of St. Stephen's relics, as also from St. Cyprian, who makes it a crime in Martialis, a Spanish bishop, to have buried Christians in profane sepulchres."† To be buried near the holy martyrs was a great object of their desire; this was the wish of St. Ambrose in dying, for which S. Maximus assigns the following reason: "Hoc à majoribus provisum est, ut sanctorum ossibus nostra corpora sociemus, ut dum illos tartarus metuit, nos pœna non tangat." In the cemetery of St. Calixtus, pope and martyr, on the Appian way, were buried more than one hundred and seventy-four thousand martyrs and forty-six popes. With what awe, with what unutterable reverence did I descend into the catacombs of St. Calixtus, of St. Cyriacus, and of St. Marcellinus, preceded by the friar holding the small taper, which every moment

* Od. VII. 401. † Od. XI. 76.

* Dant. Purg. XII. † S. Cypriani Epist. 68.

seemed about to be extinguished by a sudden blast from some fresh passage among the sombre vaults! Here I was told St. Lucia laid the body of St. Sebastian: there was found the body of St. Cecilia; further on was discovered the body of the holy martyr Maximus; on this side lay a pope, on that several children. O what a solemn and religious place! and how it fills the soul with emotions indescribable of joy and sorrow; one might call it Pausilpus, παῦσις τῆς λύπης, the end of grief. Truly here death hath no sting: the grave no victory. One would wish to lie down here in peace, that one's soul might follow whither these are already gone. "Hospites fuerunt super terram et ego: tanquam umbra subito transierunt et ego." Into the catacombs of St. Calixtus one descends from the Basilica of St. Sebastian, and on the wall near the entrance there is an inscription on stone, containing the account which St. Jerome gives of this very spot: "When I was a boy studying at Rome," says the holy doctor, "I used, with other companions of my age and inclination, to go about diligently every Sunday amidst the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs, in the crypts which are excavated in the depth of the earth, having the bodies of the dead on both sides for walls, and where all things are so obscure, that one might say the prophetic word was fulfilled, "Descendant ad infernum viventes." The scanty light, at rare intervals admitted from above, only tempers the horror of the darkness, and serves to deepen the black night which succeeds to it. One is reminded of that Virgilian line,

"Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent."*

In early times, none but martyrs, bishops, and abbots, were allowed to be buried within the church. No title of nobility conferred this privilege, and no money was required for burial, but oblations were received and even enjoined by many kings.

The Roman ritual, however, requires that the poor should be buried wholly gratis. The exclusion of heretics, and of such as died deprived of ecclesiastical peace, was a primitive discipline which was never renounced. Thus at Ravenna, the sepulchres of the Arian Goths, and of the ministers of King Theodoric, were removed out of the churches, as soon as the Catholics regained possession of them; and many of these are now arranged in a museum within the archiepiscopal palace. At the same time it may be well to remark how religion, in the middle ages, guarded men from contracting any superstitious opinion of the importance of burial in holy ground, and from that error which led so many poets of antiquity to describe the sepulchre as a place of rest for the body, within which the dead man reposed; as in these verses which Cicero ridicules:—

"Neque sepulcrum, quo recipiat, habeat, portum corporis;
Ubi, remissâ humanâ vitâ, corpus requiescat malis."

"Is it an injury to the just if they be not buried in the cemetery of the church?" is a question that occurs in a work ascribed to St. Anselm; to which the answer is made, "By no means: for the whole world is the temple of God, which is consecrated by the blood of Christ; and, therefore, whether they be cast out, or buried in the field, or in the wood, or in the marsh, or in what place soever, they are always preserved within the bosom of the Church, which is spread over the whole earth. Is it of advantage to the just to be buried in holy places? Places become sacred in which just men are buried; but to those who suffer it is of advantage, because when their friends meet there, they are reminded by their monuments to offer up prayers to God for them. Is it of any service to the wicked to be buried in a holy place? Nay, it is rather an injury to be associated in sepulture with those from whom they are far separated in merit."*

All this had been shown by St. Augustin in answer to Paulinius, Bishop of Nola, who had consulted him on being entreated by a certain widow, who desired that the dead body of her son, a faithful youth, might be buried in the Basilica of the blessed Confessor Felix. "The devotion of the mother to the martyr," says St. Augustin, "is itself a supplication in behalf of her son, and, therefore, it may be to his advantage to be interred in that Basilica: adjuvat defuncti spiritum, non mortui corporis locus, sed ex loci memoria vivus matris affectus. It seems to me, that the only advantage to the dead in being buried near the martyrs is, that by commending them to the patronage of martyrs, the

* S. Hieronymi in Ezech. Com. cap. 40.

* S. Anselmi Elucidarii, Lib. II. cap. 31.

ardour of that supplication for them is increased."*

At first, indeed, even the bishops, saints, and martyrs, were buried near the church; "juxta ecclesiam," as Bede says of St. Augustin's body. This was in the front court, the Paradisus Ecclesiæ, as at Rome; or in France, Ecclesiæ Parvisium. The ancient canons forbid any one to be buried within the church itself.† Thus, before many of the churches of Ravenna, as at the cathedral and before the Basilica of St John the Baptist, stand vast sarcophaguses, in which great personages were buried, before it was permitted to entomb any one within the church. Those in the Basilica of St. Apollinare, in Classe, containing the ashes of the early archbishops, have been placed within during later ages, for originally they stood without. Thus still is placed at St. Vitale the sepulchre of Isaac, Exarch of Ravenna, that illustrious Armenian who commanded armies in the East and in the West, and whose glory, as the epitaph pompously sets forth, reached from the rising to the setting sun!

Constantine was buried in the porch of the Apostles at Constantinople; Honorius in the porch of St. Peter at Rome; St. Augustin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, was interred in the porch of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was a church of his foundation near Canterbury, and together with him, six other archbishops who next succeeded him, whose relics were afterwards removed into the Abbey Church.

In the fourth century, bishops were buried within the church; though, for a long time after, only bishops, abbots, holy priests, and laics of the utmost sanctity, were allowed to be buried in churches.‡ By degrees, however, this salutary discipline was broken through, and persons of all ranks, without regard to spiritual qualifications, were admitted to be buried within the church; the only distinction required being, that laymen should be placed with their feet towards the altar, while ecclesiastics should have their heads next it, as if fronting the people. Still the memory of the former discipline prevailed, so far as sometimes to induce great princes, through humility, and as an expression of penitence, to command that their bodies should be interred without the walls. An instance of this occurs in the history of Suger; for we read, that when he proposed to rebuild the Abbey Church of St. Denis, the entrance was obstructed by a great massive porch, which concealed the portal. This had been built by Charlemagne from a pious motive. Pepin his father was buried under that spot, not laid on his back, like other dead men, but prostrate, with his face against the ground, in order to denote, as he had said, that he wished to make amends for the excesses committed by his father, Charles Martel. Charlemagne, not enduring that his father should lie buried without the church, had built this huge porch, that by this contrivance he might be within it. Suger, however, had the body removed to another place, and the porch destroyed.*

The Church, in several synods, proposed to restore the ancient discipline respecting sepulchres, and strong measures were enforced to correct the abuses which time and the pride of family had introduced. In the Council of Rheims, in the year 1583, it was decreed that no tombs should be erected higher than the ground, and that no statues, or military standards, or trophies, should be placed upon them, and that the dead were only to be praised in becoming language. "Quæ ad pietatem et preces pro mortuis faciendas spectent potius, quam defunctorum, enarrandis laudibus insumantur."† By the Council of Tholouse, in the year 1590, no inscriptions or emblems were to be placed in the church but such as were approved of by the bishop or archdeacon.‡ The occasion of these statutes was the Pagan taste, which had begun to affect even the ancient style of sepulchral architecture.

The tomb of the Scipios is carved in marble, and adorned with works of art; but the sepulchres of the martyrs were rude and solemn. In the Catacombs, the inscriptions and emblems over the Christian graves are very simple—such as, "The holy martyr, Maximus."—"In pace Hippolitus, amator pauperum."—"Gregoria in pace." Sometimes there is an iron grating to preserve the slab, on which some saint has slept, from being worn away by the devout kisses of the faithful. In the cloister of St. Paul, in those of St. Lorenzo and of St. Agnes extra Muros, and in the porch of St. Maria in Trastevere, as also in one gallery in the Vatican, you

* De Cura pro Mortuis.
† Thomassinus de Vet. et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplin. Pars III. Lib. i. c. 68.
‡ Durandus Rationale, Lib. I. cap. 5.

* Hist. de Suger, Lib. IV.
† Can. de Sepult.
‡ Thomassinus de Vet. et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplin. Pars III. Lib. i. cap. 68.

see the simple inscriptions which used to be placed over the martyrs; for these slabs have been removed from the Catacombs, where they covered the apertures of the recesses in which the bodies lay. The emblems, which are in general but rudely carved, are very numerous. You see a bird with a branch in its bill,—a heart,—crossed palms;—a ship in full sail near a tower, on the top of which is a flame;—a man holding out his arms extended in prayer;—a boy riding on a dolphin;—a barrel, and the monogram of Christ;—a man preaching from a pulpit, and a bird bringing to him a branch;—an anchor;—two birds about to drink from a chalice;—one bird feeding another;—a fish, a lion, a leopard, wheels, hatchets, crooks and spears. The interest inspired by such monuments must of course greatly exceed what can be generally experienced. But although we cannot expect to feel similar emotions from beholding the tombs of a later date, there is still, in those of the middle ages, a majestic simplicity, a most venerable air of holiness, which is enough to startle, and reduce to silent awe, the curious observer of our days. In the first place, the words inscribed upon them are generally full of sublimity. The heathen sepulchral inscriptions, preserved in the gallery of the Vatican, are very minute in specifying the exact age and the abundant merits of the person, who, as on the modern tombs, in countries that have abandoned the ancient creed, is always shown to have been "bene meritus." Nothing however, in ancient times, bore resemblance to the vanity and bombast of the modern epitaphs, of which that on Sir Philip Sidney in St. Paul's, beginning, "England, Netherland, the heavens and the arts," may be assumed as the perfect model. This was not the style adopted in ages of faith. The tomb of Suger, in the abbey of St. Denis, consisted of a simple stone, raised about three feet high, on which these four words were inscribed—"Cy gist l'abbé Suger,"—which gives occasion to Mabillon to remark how much nobler was the style of inscriptions in the middle ages, than that, so full of pompous affectation, which had begun to introduce itself in his time.*

The epitaph in brass on the Black Prince, in the cathedral of Canterbury, was this.—"Here lieth the noble Prince, Edward, the eldest son of the thrice-noble King Edward the Third, who died on the feast of the Trinity, in the year of grace, 1376: to the soul of whom, God grant mercy. Amen."

How impressive are those old English inscriptions given by Weever, like that at Minster in Shepey:—"In the most holy name of Jesu, pray for the sowls of John and Margaret:"—or those in Stone church: "O merciful Jesew, have mercy on the sowl of Sir John Dew. Sweet Jesew, grant to William and Ann and us, everlastyng lyff. Pray yow hertely for charitie. Say a Pater Noster and an Ave."

Thomas Brenton, Bishop of Rochester, confessor to King Richard II. who travelled into many places beyond seas, and preached at Rome before the Pope, being famous for his learning and rare endowments, was buried at Seale, under a marble stone, on which was his portraiture, and only these words were inscribed:—"Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit;" and these figures, 1389.

On the tomb of Sir John Lombard, priest, in Stone Church, were certain Latin rhymes, beseeching whoever passed by, whether he were a grown man or only a boy, to pray that his soul might find mercy. In the north cloister of St. Paul's Cathedral, a grave-stone without a name had only this inscription: "Vixi, peccavi, penitui, naturæ cessi." In the Temple Church was an inscription, imploring prayer for the soul of Richard Wye, and only these lines added:—"Domine, secundum delictum meum noli me judicare. Deprecor Majestatem tuam ut tu deleas iniquitatem meam." The epitaph on King Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, consists of these three hexameters:—

"Omnibus insignis virtutum laudibus Heros,
Sanctus Edwardus Confessor, Rex venerandus;
Quinto die Jani moriens super Ethera scandit.
Sursum corda. Moritur Ann. Dom. 1065."

The only words upon the tomb of that potent noble, William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, in Normandy, which was in the Church of Little Easton, were these:—Fili Dei, miserere mei; mater Dei, miserere mei." At Boston was a fair tomb, whereon were engraven in brass the names of John Deynes and Katherine his wife, and these two words only added, "Respice, Respice!"—an allusion probably to the prayer of the Passion, which begins with these words.

The sepulchral inscriptions upon the religious, and on certain young students, in

* De Studiis Monast. Pars II. cap. 12.

the Abbey of St. Alban, made by the Abbot Whethamsted, were of such interest and beauty in the estimation of Weever, that, although the brasses containing them had been plundered from the grave-stones, he yet inscribed them in his book, having collected them from the manuscript of the abbey. In Catholic countries, which have never witnessed the barbarous rage against the dead, their monuments should be objects of minute attention, and they will often repay it. I observed a very ancient sepulchral slab in the pavement of the old Cathedral of Ravenna, to commemorate Gregorius. There was no date or other notice, but only the figure of a cross, and written under it, in very ancient characters, "O crux sancta, adjuva nos." In the same church Gerardus, archbishop, who died in the year of our Lord 113, was commemorated by a simple leaden tablet. In the cathedral of Sienna I remarked on the pavement a tomb slab, representing a bishop holding clasped in both hands a book open, in which was written, "Firmiter credimus, simpliciter confitemur." There was no name or date or other words. In the cloisters of the Abbey of Fontenelle may still be seen many sepulchral stones, very small and humble, with no other ornament but a little Greek cross and a simple tear under it. There is no name engraved, but only the day, month, and year of the departure.—It was well for a poet or a philosopher when it devolved on monks to compose the inscriptions for his tomb. What pilgrim, who has visited Rome, has not been induced to ascend that toilsome hill on which stands the humble convent of St. Onufrio? Within the court are two orange trees of great height, reaching above the cloistered arches, and even overshadowing the windows in the upper stage. In the church, at the left hand of the western door, on entering, is a small slab, on which you read these words:—"The bones of Torquato Tasso lie here. Lest the stranger should not know the spot, the brethren have marked it with this stone." Did not the poor Hieronymites know how to write the poet's epitaph?

In the middle ages, as in Italy and other Catholic countries at the present day, there was often, in sepulchral inscriptions, a kind of struggle indicated between humility and the desire of edifying the living, by attesting some peculiar trait in the character of the dead. Thus I have frequently observed some testimony of this kind: on one it would be, "Pious towards God;" on another, "A lover of the Poor;" on another "Devout in the care of Temples." Men had not to compose epitaphs for persons like Timocreon of Rhodes, on whose tombs a sentence of piety would sound like a satire, or the anticipation of God's judgment. On the tomb of Lodovico de Bellomonte, Bishop of Durham, who lay buried before the high altar in that church, were engraven in brass certain divine and celestial sayings of the holy Scriptures, which he used peculiarly to select for his spiritual consolation."*

In the Campo Santo at Pisa is a tomb associated with many historical recollections of saintly interest, on which the inscription, if not in the best style of latinity, at least presents a singular contrast to the style of those Pagan epitaphs with which it is surrounded, being preserved there as relics of art. On this tomb, which contained the ashes of the mother of the Countess Matilda, we read—

"Quamvis peccatrix sum Domina vocata Beatrix
In tumulo missa jaceo quæ Comitissa."

Indeed, to examine the sepulchres of the middle ages, which yet remain, forms one of the most interesting employments for the leisure of a philosophic traveller, who, like Pausanius, after traversing Greece, may find it well to occupy one-half of his relation with the description of tombs. Where does he feel deeper emotion than, for example, on entering the cathedral of Salerno, to behold the sepulchre of that sublime and illustrious saint, Pope Gregory VII., who died there a fugitive, repeating these words with his last breath—"Dilexi justitiam et odivi iniquitatem; propterea morior in exilio." With what a sweet melancholy does one wander through the cloisters of the great monastery adjoining the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, or pass before the numerous chapels in that vast church, reading, as one walks, the inscriptions over the learned, or the saintly or heroic dead! What a testimony do they furnish to the spirit and manners of Catholic times! Some commemorate the warrior who united letters and philosophy with arms; who, in his life time, many a noble act achieved, both by his wisdom and his sword. Such are the tombs of Stephen de Ripa, of the Ubaldini family, and of Ascanio Zabaralla; others, the holy and

* The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 25.

profoundly learned monk, who, after a long course of public teaching of theology in that ancient university, departed to the source of truth. These are chiefly to friars of the seraphic order of St. Francis, who are represented teaching on their sepulchres. Others, again, as that tomb of the Polish knight, Adamns Zalinsky, record the studious, chaste, and valiant traveller, who had seen Africa and Asia, and who had resolved upon visiting Jerusalem, when death constrained him to leave here his toil-worn limbs. On one sepulchre, as on that of Andrew Arcolus, you are told of the mathematician and astronomer, who united zeal for science with piety to God. Such is the testimony to his virtue, conveyed in these lines—

"Astrorum motus omnes, arcanaque prompsit
Dextera; mens hæret qui movet astra Deo."

On another, of the orator who loved peace, and who studied to preserve it to his fellow-citizens. Such is the inscription on Father Paulin, which is intended to transmit nothing more respecting him to posterity than that he loved peace and pursued it. There are tombs, as that of Wesling, the Mindan knight, to the learned and devoted physician, who had visited Egypt for the sake of studying exotic roots, and of acquiring a knowledge of all arts; and who, on returning, falls a victim to his pious labours in gratuitously tending the sick poor in a time of pestilence. There are others which attest the miracles of humility and of seraphic ardour, which have been wrought by the Catholic religion in the breasts of the learned, and of those endowed by heaven with extraordinary genius. Such is the tomb of that illustrious woman, Helen Cornelia Lucretia Piscopia Cornaro, who united an admirable sublimity of soul, and a most tender piety, to prodigious knowledge, being mistress of seven languages; so, that, being greatly honoured by the princes of Europe, and especially by Pope Innocent XI., and after devoting herself to a life of religious and philosophic contemplation, coming to Padua in obedience to the command of her father, she received publicly the laurel crown of philosophy, an example unparalleled within the memory of man in that celebrated college. There are others, too, erected over the diligent, innocent, amiable, and holy youth, who, in the midst of his academic studies, distinguished himself by his kindness to the poor, and his ardent desires after the heavenly country, whose only fault was too much application, and too little care of himself. Such, or similar, is the character ascribed on their sepulchres to Henry de Gram the Saxon, Camillus Bonaventura the Roman, Ludovicus of Brixia, Frederick Rota of Bergamo, and a number of other young noblemen and students, who died during their course at that university; and to some of whom, having no parents, the slab is erected by their dearest college friend. The affecting inscription on the tomb of Andrew Canzki, a young Pole, who died on his travels in Italy, would apply to many a pilgrim who visited that sacred land without ever seeing the day of return—

"Italiam peragro dum sospes quinque per annos,
Hei patrium repetens mors mihi vertit iter."

There are tombs which seem to admonish the living in asking indulgence for the dead. Such is that tomb of John Trivulsio Magnus, in the church of St. Nazarus at Milan, on which is written, "Joan Jacobus Magnus Trivultius Antonii filius, qui nunquam quievit quiescit. Tace." And such that tomb over the beautiful Agnes in the Abbey of Jumièges, on which was this short and touching epitaph—"Cy gist Damoiselle Agnes Seurette, en son vivant dame de beauté, Dissoudum et de Vernonsuo-Seine, pitieuse aux pauvres, laquelle trespassa le 9 Fevrier en l'an 1449."* There are others which seem not so much the tombs of men as the true monuments of chivalrous and Castilian honour. Such are those two sepulchres in the church of Santa Maria la Nova at Naples, which were generously raised by the Duke of Sessa, nephew of the Great Gonzalve and Governor of Naples, to two unfortunate warriors, who were his enemies, Lautrec and Pierre Navarre. There are some tombs, which so abruptly present the image of private domestic virtues amidst the solemn magnificence of sepulchral art, that it is hardly possible to view them without weeping. They affect the stranger, too, because in a foreign and beauteous land, they remind him of the virtues of his own, or rather that in every country the amiable disposition is the same. Such is that tomb in the Campo Santo, near Bologna, of a young Genoese, of Patrician family, John Baptist Sebastian Cattaneo de Volta, whose innocent boyish form is

* Taillepied, Antiquitez de Rouen.

represented above, and of the manners of whose holy yonth a simple and tonching acconnt is given, descrihing how he sighed after heaven, and how for the first time he gave his parents sorrow when he died. Some tombs there were attesting the bonds of a mysterious friendship, such as that in the monastery of Medianum, which commemorated two hrethren, John and Benign, both disciples of St. Hydnlph, both born on the same day, and who were never separated from each other from childhood; having been educated together, trained in the same stndies, clad in the monastic cowl on the same day; having lived together, fallen sick together on the same day, died and received into Heaven on the same, and then their bodies bnried in one tomh.* There were tombs which seemed erected for the peculiar delight of poets. Such were those in the church of St. Francis at Ferrara to commemorate heroes, sung by Ariosto. There were others, as if to proclaim, without vanity, the force of ancestral virtne, snch as that in the church of Econen to the family of Chardon, on which one reads—

> "Chardoneæ gentis cernis commune sepulcrum,
> Conspicuos clero, Marte, totâque viros."

There are tombs on which the inscription seems to comhine the playful irony of Socrates, dnring his last moments, described so sublimely in the Phædo, with the serene majesty of the Gospel. Such is that sepnlchre in the cathedral of Ravenna, on which these words are inscrihed—"Hic non jacet Donatns Capra. S. Raven. Ecclesiæ canonicus. Illud tantum hic jecit qnod jacere potuisset in hoc monumento: mortalia deposnit qui totnm virtnte se volnit immortalem. Medicus fuit sed alios curavit non se ipsum. Suum esse nihil censuit præter animnm. Et hoc nnnquam ægrotavit. Sal. MDCIIL. recessit." At least, the style of this inscription presents a great contrast to the first line on a neighbonring, but far more illnstrious sepulchre—

> "Hic Claudor Danthes Patris extorris ab oris."

But it was not merely in the style of the inscriptions that the interest of the ancient Catholic sepnlchres consisted. The designs, the emblems, the images, were all strongly characteristic of the ages of faith. Undouhtedly, pomp and magnificence helonged to the sepulchres of the great. "Henry VII. in Westminster dwelleth," as Lord Bacon says, "more richly dead in the monument of his tomh than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces." King Henry III. caused a coffin to he made of pure gold and precious stones for the holy relics of Edward the Confessor, and so artificially was it carved by the most cunning goldsmiths, that, although the matter was of inestimahle valne, "yet the workmanship excelled it," as Matthew Paris saith. When Henry V. died, his queen, Catherine, caused a royal figure to be placed npon his tomh, covered all over with silver plate gilded, the head of which was of massive silver; so that, at "the reformation," when the "battering hammers of destruction," as Master Speed saith, "did sonnd in every church," it was broken and carried off as a prize, and only a headless monument left. "The funeral pomp and the solemn monuments, adorned with images and precions stones onght not," says Savedra, "to pass for signs of vanity in princes, but rather as evidence of a generous piety, which marks the last bounds of hnman greatness, and shows, in the magnificence with which it honours their ashes, the respect which is due to majesty, for tombs are a mute history of the duties, and the end of man."* Neither onght this care of monnments, or attention to the preservation of particular bodies, to be regarded as arguing, in the men of past times, any inconsistency in their firm belief respecting the general resurrection of the flesh. The moderns would have had nothing to teach them. "The dead," says Louis of Blois, "moulder into ashes, or are devoured hy dogs; hut all the particles that are dispersed are whole to God, for they are in those elements of the world whence they first came out when we were made: we see them not, hut God knows whence he can hring them forth again, since, before we were, he know how to prodnce ns."† The emhlems npon tombs, and the whole development of sepulchral architecture in the middle ages, indicated a mind essentially Christian; and the departure from this style, in the deplorahle times which followed, was loudly lamented by all who retained any reverence for antiquity. "If any one," says Weever,

* Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. II. c. xi. apud Dacher. Tom. III.

* Christian Prince, II. 588.
† Tractat. in Ps. lxii.

"shall seriously survey the tombes erected in these our dayes, and examine the particulars of the personages wrought upon their tombes, he may easily discerne the vanity of our mindes, vailed under our fantasticke habits and attires, which, in time to come, will be rather provocations to vice than incitations to virtue; and so the Temple of God shall become a schoolehouse of the monstrous habits and attires of our present age; and which is worse, they garnish their tombes now adayes with the pictures of naked men and women, and bring into the Church the memories of the heathen gods and goddesses."*

Upon the sepulchres of the middle ages, the Passion, or Resurrection of our Lord, were the most ordinary representations. Kings and nobles of illustrious houses sought no separation from ecclesiastics in the ornaments to be placed upon their graves. The magnificent tomb of Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne, which was executed by Paul-Ponce, was surrounded with statues of the twelve Apostles. The tomb of O Piers Shoonks, lord of an ancient decayed house, well moated near Burnt Pelham, who died twenty years after the conquest, which is in the church of Pelham Furnix, contains his figure, carved in stone, and about it are represented an eagle, a lion, a bull, and an angel, to denote the four evangelists. Upon the wall of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, was the image of Jesus, as also the figure of a lady kneeling before it, with the inscription, "Here, before the image of Jesu, lieth the worshipful and right noble Ladie Margaret, Countesse of Shrewsbury, late wife of the true and victorious knight, John Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, which Countess passed from this world the fourteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1468; on whose soule Jesu have mercy. Amen."

Who has not experienced a mysterious influence on regarding the sepulchres of the middle ages, which remain in our ancient churches, where saints have left those weeds that in the last great day will shine so bright, on which kings and heroes, mitred monks, and blessed eremites, are represented in such revering forms of devotion that one almost expects to see tears start from them! These are all the works of men, who ever thought, as they carved the stone, that they were gaining heaven. Ah! how do these images of the dead seem to admonish the living! These hands, with palms so fervently joined, these arms so meekly crossed upon the breast, that face, so full of sweet melancholy, that whole composure of the limbs, so humble, so devout, so full of reverence! How does not all this seem to admonish us, coming suddenly as we often do upon them, with obdurate hearts and minds distracted, and a body abandoned to a proud disdainful demeanour, the consequence of a long intercourse with the modern society which requires it as a passport to favour. How are we struck with awe, and how does the memory of holy things irresistibly return at the spectacle: the dead seem to reprove us from their sepulchres, and the stones themselves to have acquired an expression which can pierce through the very deepest intricacy of our hearts. If it were only on these grounds methinks what St. Gregory of Tours relates would not seem incredible: that in the church of Vodollacenum, on the river Garonne, where two holy priests were buried, one near the south and the other near the north wall, while the clergy were singing the office, it was thought that the voices of these saints were heard to join in the choir with wonderful sweetness.* These monuments were often designed and even executed by holy priests and religious men. The monk who wrote the chronicle of Sens published by Dacherius says, after relating the death of Anthony, Abbot of his monastery, "he was buried in a stone tomb, upon which afterwards I carved with my own hands an image of the abbot, as if reposing, and holding his pastoral staff in his hand."† If Cicero thought it worthy of mention in his Tusculan disputations, that he had discovered under a covering of thorns and weeds, the antique sepulchre of Archimedes, bearing a sphere and a cylinder carved upon it, which was unknown to the Syracusans themselves, what Catholic need fear to describe his impressions, when in a land of darkness and unbelief, he has unexpectedly found upon the earth-level tomb within some ancient desecrated temple, the sculptured form of a tonsured priest clad in holy vestments, and holding in his hands the chalice and the paten! Unknown and unintelligible to the descendants of the men who once were so familiar with holy rites, that poor stone seems in his eyes like an altar, which it would be sacrilege to touch, excepting with the devout and solemn kiss of revering lips. Ah, if those who lie within these sepulchres were seen, what would be thought even by the simple rustics of the

* A Discourse of Funeral Monuments, chap. iii.

* De gloria Confessorum, cap. 47.

† Chronic. Sinoniensis, Lib. II. cap. 21. Spicileg. Tom. III.

pompous and scournful men who now tread upon them, "ne'er mindful to ruminate the bed beneath their feet!"

St. Gregory of Tours, speaking of a place where the bodies of a vast number of the faithful were interred, after observing, "that although some who lay buried there had been blessed martyrs, yet they had no particular commemoration," concludes with a remark which must be often suggested to those who wander among the time-worn sepulchres of the ages of faith. "Sunt enim ibi ut diximus," saith he, "illustrium meritorum viri, quorum nomina, ignota incolis, scripta tamen ut credimus, retinentur in cœlis."* It was not alone within churches that the monuments of the dead in the middle ages assumed that solemn form. There were holy fields in the neighbourhood of cities and within the walls of monasteries, which were all thick spread with sepulchres, like that place mentioned in the history of Charlemagne,† and alluded to by Dante, "where Rhone stagnates on the plains of Arles."‡ Archbishop Ubaldo Lanfranci, who accompanied Richard Cœur-de-Lion to the holy land, on his return in the year 1200, brought back with him to Pisa a large quantity of earth from Mount Calvary, and deposited it on the spot round which the cloisters of that celebrated Campo Santo were erected. On the great plain south of Paris, there was a place of burial from the time of the Pagans. An ancient oratory stood there dedicated under the invocation of St. Michael, for in former times there was always a St. Michael's chapel within or near great burying grounds.§ An image of the holy Archangel, weighing the souls in his balance, remained till the revolution, on the hightest point over this plain, which was the pinnacle of the church of Nôtre Dame-des-Champs.‖ The turret of the Holy Innocents at Paris, like that which Dom Mabillon remarked at Bonneval in the diocese of Chartres, and that in the cemetery of Sarlat, were probably to contain lights to guide persons who came to the church at matins. Peter the Venerable speaks of a tower built in the midst of the cemetery of the abbey of Cherlieu, in the diocese of Macon, on the top of which a lamp used to be lighted every night, through respect for the holy place in which the faithful reposed;¶ and in the cemetery of Cluny, he mentions, that there was a stone pedestal in the centre on which there was a lamp which was always burning during the night, through reverence of the faithful who there rested.* The cemetery of the Carthusian monastery of Calci near Pisa, is a most impressive and yet smiling spot. It forms a lovely garden in the midst of the cloister; a fountain of marble and bronze stands in the centre, and the Apennines clothed with olives rise on all sides in beautiful undulations above the white Arcades. On the right are buried the priests, in the centre are the lay-brethren, and on the left those who minister. Such is the plan adopted in all monasteries of that order, as may be seen at Florence, Pavia, Ferrara, and Bologna.

In conclusion, though it is painful to be obliged to introduce such recollections, we must remark that the ancient monuments of the Christian dead have in these latter ages been the object of both religious and political hatred, so that in England and France we have only some scanty vestiges remaining of the sepulchral magnificence of the ages of faith.

Weever was led to compile his great work on ancient funeral monuments from observing how barbarously the sepulchres and epitaphs of the illustrious dead in England had been broken down and effaced, the brazen inscriptions torn away for lucre sake, and their beauty destroyed through "the malignitie of wicked people, and," as he says, "our English profane tenacitie. Nothing," he adds, "will be shortly left to continue the memory of the deceased to posterity; pilfery and the opinion some have, that tombs and their epitaphs taste somewhat of popery, having already most sacrilegiously stolen, erased, and taken away, almost all the inscriptions and epitaphs inlaid or engraven upon sepulchres, and most shamefully defaced the glorious rich tombs and goodly monuments of our most worthy ancestors," and he expresses a wish that some order might be taken for the preservation of the few yet remaining, for to his own knowledge, by the observation he had made in many churches, "the monuments of the dead were daily thus abused." He says, "that the foulest and most inhuman action of these times was the violation of funeral monuments. Marbles which covered the dead were dug up and put to other uses; tombs hacked and hewn in pieces; inscriptions or epitaphs, especially if they began

* De gloria Confessorum, cap. 42.
† Turpin, cap. 28 and 30. ‡ Hell. IX.
§ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. 230. ‖ Id. Tom. I. chap. 6.
¶ Id. Tom. I. chap. 2.

* De Miraculis, Lib. II. 27.

with an "orate pro anima," or concluded with "cujus animæ propitietur Deus," for greediness of the brass, or for that they were thought to be antichristian, pulled out from the sepulchres, and purloined, dead carcases for gain of their stone or leaden coffins, cast out of their graves, notwithstanding this request engraven upon them, "propter misericordiam Jesu requiescant in pace." These commissioned grave-rakers, these gold-finders who make such deep search into the bottom of ancient sepulchres, pursued their barbarous rage against the dead, though in the second and fourteenth years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, their savage cruelty was discountenanced by a royal proclamation. He mentions, "that in Saint Leonard's church, Shoreditch, the ancient epitaphs were all taken away for covetousnesse of the brasse, by one Doctor Hanmer, vicar of this church, which he converted into coin, and presently after went over into Ireland. Even where tombs had not been purposely broken and destroyed, they were suffered to grow waste with devouring time, or to be hidden under the seats or pews then erected, as was the case," he says, "in our Lady's chapel at the abbey of St. Alban's, which was filled with the dead bodies of the nobilitié, slain in the great battle near that town, whose trophies were now in this barbarous manner defaced. Many monuments of the dead," he says, "in churches in and about this city of London, as also in some places of the country, are covered with seats or pews, made high and easie for the parishioners to sit or sleepe in; a fashion," he adds, and his testimony is remarkable, "of no long continuance, and worthy of reformation."* With respect to the sacrilegious devastation of tombs in consequence of political fury, it is to France and the countries which unhappily fell under its impious domination, that we should rather look, though the religious reformers had been at work there also, for Francis Baldwin, a French lawyer, in the time of Calvin speaks of men then making war even upon the dead, the statues, sepulchres, the very bones and bodies of martyrs and princes, escaping not their barbarous hands.† Every one has heard how the French, in the first stage of their revolution, made war upon the dead and violated their quiet tombs, not being able to endure that mute history which, as Savedra says, "they afforded of the duties and the end of man;" but many are ignorant of the stupid and barbarous, and if possible, still more infatuated measure which they adopted every where, when they were phrenzied "to that worst pitch of all which wears a reasoning show," of transporting sepulchres from their original site, to form a museum of art in their capital, or within some central spot within the cities of which they had taken possession.

A greater proof of insensibility, of an utter want of all the feelings of taste and genius, to say nothing of religion, could scarcely be found in the history of nations. For what interest could be inspired by these tombs when deposited along with books and machinery in modern galleries of art, and removed from all the associations which had made them venerable? The sepulchre in which Abailard and Heloisa were buried, was indeed an object of interest when it was seen in the monastery of Paraclet, near Nogent-sur-Seine in Champagne, where Peter the Venerable had himself erected it; but what was it when placed in a museum in the street of the Augustins at Paris?

The tombs of the knights slain at the battle of Poitiers, such as those of the Duke of Athens, of John de Bourbon, of the two brothers, Chambely de Chatillon, and of other nobles who died for their country on that memorable day, could awaken a thousand recollections, and kindle an heroic flame, from the very circumstance of their being seen in the Franciscan convent in that city: but when removed to a distant capital, what were they but so many old stones, mere specimens of ancient sculpture? Poets might well direct their steps to the great Benedictine Abbey at Ferrara, in order to visit the sepulchre of Ariosto; but who could feel any interest in regarding it when it had been removed by those insane Frenchmen to the public library, in order, as they said, that it might be seen along with the finest editions of his poems! Yet this is done by the nation which has taken upon itself to designate the middle ages as a blank in history, an epoch when men were deprived of all intelligence and genius! It is, however, like striking the slain, to expose the weakness of these poor sophists; let us leave them to babble, and only remark within ourselves how wise were the ages of faith in respect even of all material arrangements, and how much more favourable they were, not only to poets, but to the common feelings of the human heart.

* Funeral Mem. p. 701.
† Respons. ult. ad Jo. Calvin.

It was then that a natural order was followed, combining variety of meaenres in accordance with the variety of circumstances in nature. A poet, a learned philosopher, or a renowned hero, was buried in the church of his parish, in the monastery where he had died, or in his ancestral tomb.

In the eighth century, we find that the desire of being buried in one's paternal sepulchre led to the decrees of synods;* althongh St. Augustin had shown, that the divine menace to a prophet, that he should not be buried in the sepulchre of his fathers,† was merely intended to excite a hnman affection, and was no further a punishment than in afflicting the living.‡ In like manner the works of a painter were deposited in the church for which he had designed them, to which, perhaps, like Rubens, he had presented them, as a perpetual memorial of his having within their walls received baptism, the portal to his faith. Thus every monument was seen in the place for which the master-mind of its author had designed it, and in connection with the circumstances which often constituted its chief interest. In this men followed wise and cunning Nature, who scatters her various productions over the whole world, and is never found to collect them all in one place, without regard to climate or locality, or to the harmonious accordance of surronnding tones and objects. Such was the system of the middle ages, when an idea was the origin and determining principle of every material monument, imparting to it life and reason. Bnt for this the wisdom of the moderns has substituted a mere fictitious and nominal system, according to which, monuments are erected, and institutions founded at random, or from mere material motives, while, as it were, the soul is left to follow or not, as accident may determine. In order to have uniformity, and classification, and centralization in inanimate things, which, by their very nature, should be various and dispersed, these sophists, who introduce anarchy and division into spiritual things, hasten to disinter the dead, and to collect their mouldering ashes into common cemeteries, in the same manner as they could collect all the paintings and statues of every city in one gallery in Paris; thus presenting us, in one spot, with death in mass, and depriving all other places of the sanctity with which, when seen in detail, it had formerly invested them. No more tender connection can be traced between the study and the tomb, between genius and the country which it had adorned, between virtue and the home and friends to which it was endeared! but all is confounded and amassed together in one overwhelming crowd, to which an nnnatural, unmeaning, and even burdensome uniformity, is imparted. True, these vast cemeteries, within the ancient enclosures of suppressed monasteries, may have an imposing aspect, from the beauty of the ancient site; and at all events, they supply an object to the idle traveller, who, withont it, might be at a loss which way to direct his steps; but assuredly one may regret the time when these sepulchres were found standing apart over the very graves which had originally received their tenants, when the knight lay by the side of the palmer, and the monarch by the counsellor whom he had loved; when one could trace signs of tender connection even among the dead, and when graves and tombs entered into the system of an harmonious variety. Such liscipline, one may remark, was more favourable to the associations of the learned, to the illustration of history, to the interests of friendship, to the desire of mourners, and to one of the deepest, and perhaps most amiable feelings, of our nature.

* Dacherius Spicileg. Tom. IX.
† 3 Reg. 13. 21.
‡ De Cura pro Mortuis.

CHAPTER X.

BRIEF shall be the last act of what may be termed this fourth school, in our well-intended but imperfectly accomplished course. We have endeavoured to show, from ancient writings, what was the character of mourners during the ages which were most illuminated with the light of faith: and I am much deceived if enough has not been advanced to prove that they were abundantly blessed; that if they were not able to define evil with as much minuteness as the ancient philosophers, they were able to escape from it better. That their mourning was sanctified and angelic; that it was blessed in their calamities, in their profound studies of wisdom, in their loves, in their spiritual exercises, in their penance, in their sickness, and in their death. They wept, it is true, before the Lord who made them. As the great Cardinal Bellarmin prescribes, they wept for sorrow, because they had provoked to anger the best of Parents, they wept for joy, because the Lord who made them was mild and of great mercy: they wept for sorrow, because their benignant Creator, to whom the Church offers up prayers with weeping, loveth justice: they wept for joy, because He desireth not the death of sinners, but that they may be converted and that they may live."* They mourned after the example of the prophets, of the apostles, and of the universal Church. They mourned with a Bernard and a Vincent, from a consideration of sin and its penalty. They mourned with a Francis and a Bonaventura, from a remembrance of the passion of Christ. They mourned with an Anthony and a Hermit Nicolas, from an anticipation or a retrospect of the persecutions of the Church by heretics—for the latter foresaw the Lutheran, as the former had wept from foreseeing the Arian heresy. They mourned with an Augustin and a Chrysostom, from a consideration of the miseries of the human race. They mourned with a Thomas Aquinas and an Anselm, from the depth and penetration of a mind, to which were made known the hidden and unsearchable things of the wisdom of God. Finally, with a Bellarmin, they mourned, from a sense of the necessity of tears; for the sighs of the dove, the tears of the just—tears of sorrow and tears of love—are an earnest of the remission of sins, an imitation of the virtue of Christ, the nurse of compassion, of reformation of manners, and of charity. They indicate a contempt for the world and a love for God. They are fruitful in works of penitence and mercy during life, and a consolation which surpasseth thought at the hour of death.

All this I have attempted to illustrate from the history of the ages of faith: but still, something more remains in reference to the conclusion of that benign and gracious sentence from the Mount, which proceeds to affirm that these mourners, seen to have been already blest from the operation of a general law, were, in addition, by an especial and supernatural grace to be comforted. "Beati qui lugent quia consolabuntur." They that sowed in tears were to reap in joy: going they had wept, casting abroad their seeds; but coming, they were to return with exultation, carrying their sheaves with them. In this life they had sorrow, because, as St. Augustin interprets the passage, they had lost, by their conversion to God, parents, brethren, and friends, and felt that persecution, which all holy members of the Catholic Church will have to suffer in every age:* or they had sorrow, because, according to the commentary of St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, they mourned for their own sins and for the sins of others. They thus had sorrow; a sorrow, indeed, most sweet: for, as St. Augustin says, "Dulciores sunt lacrymæ orantium, quam gaudia Theatrorum."† And though men

* Bellarmin. de Gemitu Columbæ. Lib. I. c. 1.

* Lib. de Serm. Dom. in Monte.

† Tract. in Psalm cxxvii.

of this world, who know not the sighs of the dove, can scarcely be persuaded of this, nevertheless, as Bellarmin says, it is most true."* Still, in comparison of what awaiteth those that are to be of angels signed, they had sorrow; but their Lord was again to see them, and their hearts were to rejoice, and their joy no one was to take from them. They were to be comforted. But who shall attempt to describe that comforting? Blessed be they that weep; and God himself shall wipe the tears from their eyes. "Those must needs be comfortable tears," adds Father Diego de Stella, "which the blessed hand of our Master doth wipe away!" Even in this brief and wretched life what comforting was theirs! St. Augustin remarks, "That it would be tedious to enumerate the instances of divine being called by the same names as human things, although they are separated from each other by an incomparable diversity."† Man, when a citizen of the earthly republic, uses God's words, and imparts to them his own infelicity. Thus, in the language which conveys heavenly truth to his understanding, to mourn is to be brought as near to God, the source of all happiness, as the present condition of human life admits. In the language of the impious city, to mourn, is to be wretched, to have every principle of joy, annihilated within us,—that is, to be separated from him as far as possible. In the sense of faith, in the view of the city of God, mourning carries with it its own consolation; it is, in fact, only one component ray in the lustrous beam of that light which imparteth unclouded felicity. To mourning belongs charity, and the peace of God, along with which nothing harsh or bitter can ever enter, but only sweetness, and such happy things as have affinity with the glorious end for which souls were first created. Religion, in her severest discipline, seeks to render no one sad. She imposes misery on no one; but, as St. Bernard says, "Charitas vult te tuum sentire dolorem, ut jam non habeas unde dolere: vult te tuam scire miseriam, ut incipias miser non esse."‡ The mourning which she inculcates stands opposed, therefore, not to joy and pleasure, as Johnson and other modern writers would insinuate, but to the sadness of the world and of death, to that unjust delight which, as the poet of old could discern, was necessarily followed by a bitter end—

——— τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν
γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μενει τελευτά.*

But, perhaps, some one will be inclined to suggest a doubt here; and will refer, in justification of his incredulity, to what has occurred during many ages in lands where heresy has been allowed to conquer, and to impart, in show, at least, all the treasures of the earth to such as fell down to worship it. Methinks I see his mind, by thought on thought arising, sore perplexed, and with vehement desire, seeking solution of the maze! True, there are cases, and history, both ancient and modern furnishes numerous examples of it, when every one, at the bottom of his soul, is forced to admit, that the cause of the conqueror has pleased the Providence which rules the world, that of the conquered, good men. This history, undoubtedly involves one of them; but if these persons diligently attend, they will understand that while full consolation was imparted to just mourners, even in the present life, to the unjust who seemed to have no need of consolation, the punishment of men was wanting, not that of God. Men defended a tyrant, and pursued and consummated what he had begun in a most detestable action; men praised a most base and pernicious sophistry; men pronounced a sentence of acquittal; men felt not in themselves the injury of their crime; men gave to these destroyers palaces and domains. I admit that all benefits from men were theirs, and greater could not be demanded; but from God,—Almighty God!—what greater punishment could fall upon them than that fury and madness? "Unless," as Cicero says, "perchance in tragedies, you think that those whom you behold, covered with wounds, and consumed with grief of body, are objects of greater wrath than those who are introduced raving and insane; but (as the Roman orator continues) the complaints and groans of Philoctetes are not so miserable as that exultation of Athamas, and those horrid dreams of matricide." These sophists, in rejecting the sweet and salutary yoke of authority; when they overthrew the houses of the religious; when they drove the best men, by sanguinary laws, from the administration of the state; when they established the principle of private judgment, that is,

* De Gemitu Columb. I. 3.
† De Diversis Quæst. ad Simplician. Lib. I.
‡ Epist. 2.

* Pindar, Isth. Od. VII.

universal disorder; when they overthrow holy churches, to build out of them palaces for themselves; when they profaned and abolished sacred rites; when they did not perceive that they were impious and insane; then did they suffer those punishments which alone, in many instances, in this present state of existence, are constituted, by the God of heaven, for the wickedness of men: for, indeed, the infirmity of our body is subject of itself to many sufferings, it is destroyed often by the slightest cause: the peace and joy of the soul can triumph over its pains; but the darts of God are plunged into the minds of the impious. Without doubt, some nations, in their collective capacity, have exhibited all the effects which might be expected à priori to follow from a judicial sentence registered against them in heaven; and that, too, while the citizens of the earthly republic were loud in their praises, admiring and esteeming them eminently glorious. True, indeed, great caution is necessary in coming even to any private conclusions with respect to the judgment of God, to which so many wise and holy men, like Cardinal Allen and his contemporary Bishop Watson, have wished that the punishment of states were wholly left; nor need any one be told that, according to ecclesiastical science, a general retention of sins can affect the title of no man formally; but leaving distinctions to divines, and, waving the theological argument altogether, there are historical facts crowding upon the memory, which may well incline thoughtful men to suspect secretly, that a great deal more may frequently be true than what the school requires them to believe, or even than what the caution of the school would permit them to announce. Wars, famine, and pestilence, are not the only scourges of God; there are moral invasions, which proclaim, with even greater certainty, the visitation of his anger: pride, avarice, and a mind wholly given up to the worship of matter, constant external prosperity, leading to hardness of heart, and misery of the poor: the being puffed up, like the Corinthians, having no more sorrow, no mourning of the dove, but in its place the gloom and sullen groans of Babylon; the want of spiritual resources, the want or the corruption of the word of God, and the confusion of Babel succeeding to unity of religion; the rich being engulfed in stupid sensuality, and involved in an ignorance which appears to some invincible; the co-operation of all things to obscure the light of Christ, and to make men aliens in spirit from his church;—these, and other effects following, from the removal of the candlestick, are still more evidently the inflictions of Divine justice; so that, whoever has beheld a nation, with manners thus opposite to the supernatural discipline of the city of God,—a nation, thus, to use prophetic language, adoring the beast and its image, receiving its inscription on the forehead and on the hand, may certainly be warranted in concluding, that he has seen a chastised people, not indeed without numerous particular exemptions, for the general schemes of Divine beneficence are never, in any place, wholly interrupted: but yet, in its collective character, and as far as suits the purpose of furnishing a perpetual lesson to mankind, a people already punished, already under the fearful scourge of Almighty Providence, whether the cause be to human ken fathomable or not. But in the judgment of those who observe history with the eyes of faith, this is the order of grace, and as clearly to be understood as that of nature. Peter and Paul, they say, live yet to mark our doings. Many a time ere now the sons have, for the sire's transgressions, wailed: and that living justice, upon the primal seat, vested with mysterious power, when it denounces pride no longer tolerable, binds it not in vain. The very heathen philosopher could discern what, in the secrets of Divine judgment, would be most terrible for man. "It was," says Maximus of Tyre, "from transgressing the eternal law that Alcibiades was unfortunate; not when he was summoned from Sicily by the Athenians, nor when he fled beyond Attica; these were small calamities, for Alcibiades in exile was greater than those who remained at home; he was honoured by the Lacedæmonians; he fortified Deceleia; he became the friend of Tissaphernes, and the general of Sparta: but the punishment of Alcibiades began long before; it was ordained by an older law, and by older judges. When he left the Lyceum, was condemned by Socrates, and proscribed by philosophy:—then it was that Alcibiades was banished and undone." And now, what remains but to express a fervent hope, that some of the many mourners of earth may be induced, by reflections such as these, drawn from the testimonies of past ages, to approach nearer than they have ever hitherto done to contemplate their history. For there is but one way to escape evil, which is by flying to the same citadel in which the ancient Christians stood, and thence taking up the same arms as were used by them; but, from it, alas! at how great a distance are

the men of our age! "O quam longe recessimus ab apostolica disciplina," cried Bellarmin, "et quam rara nunc est, quæ olim frequentissima erat, gratia lacrymarum."* Men of sorrows, who mourn with an unavailing, an unblessed grief, you may have heard how the Sage of Greece exhorted his anxious disciples to search, not only into the wisdom of their own country, but also into that of the barbarous nations, whose opinions and customs they should, he said, thoroughly investigate, in search of some epode, to deliver them from the fear of death, sparing neither riches nor labour, as there is nothing for which they could more wisely expend both.† In some respects, you stand in the same position as these disciples; in the midst of supposed superior civilization, and in spite of your profession, still conscious of being unpossessed of a practical remedy against that dread of death from which it is clear not all the advance of science, nor all the refinements of your philosophic and liberal views of religion can deliver you at your last hours. Be not then ashamed to imitate the humility prescribed to them, and take that salutary hint from old philosophy, and apply it to the present circumstances, and to your own condition. You call the ages of faith dark ages in the world's history; and you suppose that the generation of men which succeeded, from the fall of the Roman empire till the sixteenth century, were a race of barbarians, at least in comparison with those which belong to the ancient and modern civilization. Well, be it so. Let us, for a moment, grant all that you demand; let us call them dark and barbarous ages. Literature, you say, will have it so; but remember that philosophy may take very little heed of the judgment of literature. At all events, it is never scared by a reproachful epithet; and you must admit, with Plato, that it matters not the least, whether you have recourse to Greeks or barbarians, provided you can but discover somewhere that epode, that efficacious remedy, to enable you to render blest your sorrows, your sickness, and your death.

At present, in the midst of all these modern lights, of all this boasted civilization, so contrary to the simplicity which characterizes the city of God, you mourn; you fear sickness; and, above all, you shrink in terror from the thought of death; at least, you cannot pretend that men in these days die with as much tranquillity, and with as bright and steadfast a hope as the men whose dissolution we have been witnessing in the ages which you designate as those of monastic darkness. You mourn, and your mourning is avowedly without hope, without a blessing. Indeed, your own guides affirm that, for sorrow, there is no remedy provided by nature; it is often occasioned, by accidents irreparable, and dwells upon objects that have lost or changed their existence: it requires what it cannot hope, that the laws of the universe should be repealed, that the dead should return, or the past should be recalled. There is nothing in the modern civilization which can make it otherwise. Well, then, will it not be reasonable to try what may be found among the barbarians? "O, wearied spirits! Come, and hold discourse with us, and be by none else restrained." "You have no comfort in your calamity," as the poet testifies, "but that of tears, and the cries of lamentation, and the muse which has sorrow. This is all the sweetness which that muse can promise to you."* "O, is it not just to call you," as the poet styled men of old, "unwise and vain, who have invented hymns for days of festal joy, for banqueting and triumph, the delightful sounds to sweeten prosperous life, but who have never discovered, by the muse and harmonious ode, how to soothe the bitter sorrows of mortals, when deaths and dreadful evils come to visit houses; then there would have been some advantage from song to wretched men; but in times of joyful feasting, what need of sounds to increase a pleasure which is already at its full—

> *στυγίους δὲ βροτῶν οὐδεὶς λύπας*
> *εὕρετο μούσῃ καὶ πολυχόρδοις*
> *ᾠδαῖς παύειν, ἐξ ὧν θάνατοι,*
> *δειναί τε τύχαι σφάλλουσι δόμους.*†

Ah! if you would but condescend to visit the humble and meek race, and investigate their ways, lifting up your eyes, like men in those antique days, to the mountains whence help might come to you,‡ you would, like them, find consolation according to the multitude of the sorrows which oppress your heart. Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuæ lætificaverunt animam meam.§ Then you would say, like them, "Gladden the soul of thy servant, my Saviour and Creator; gladden it, because I have raised it to thee. It was on the earth, and on the earth it was full of bitterness; lest it should become corrupted through bitterness, lest it should lose

* De Gemitu Columbæ, Lib. I. 9.
† Plato Phædo, 78.

* Eurip. Troades, 608. † Eurip. Medea. 193.
‡ Ps. cxx. 1. § Ps. xciii. 19.

all the sweetness of thy grace, I have raised it to thee, who alone art joy. The world is full of bitterness. Rightly are men admonished that they should raise their hearts to thee. Let them hear and obey. Let them raise to heaven what is wretched upon earth."* St. Augustin has attempted to enumerate the principal sources of pain and sorrow to men, and mournful indeed is the view which he reveals of this life.† Yet, then, with this confirmed, even by your own experience, "You would feel," as St. Chrysostom says, "that it was a greater gift to suffer than to raise the dead; for, by the gift of miracles, God would render thee a debtor to himself; whereas, when he sendeth thee sufferings, he maketh himself debtor to thee; he has pledged himself that you shall be comforted." Then, however afflicted, your peace of mind would not be lost: "But," as St. Bernard says, "your desolation would be sweet. Desolatur suaviter." Joy would well from grief, as in that beauteous gulf of Spezzia, where one sees the sweet water rise up out of the salt and bitter sea. "It is only the beginning of misfortune," as the author of the Martyrs says, "which could for an instant alarm you." In the full height of adversity, you would find, in separating yourself from the earth, tranquil and serene regions; as when one ascends the bank of a furious torrent, one is horror struck at the entrance of the valley, and with the roar of the waves; but in proportion as one ascends the mountain, the falls diminish, the noise dies away, and the course of the traveller comes to an end in regions of silence near the sky, in sweet verdant spots, enamelled with a thousand new flowers, far from all that can wound or contaminate pure and innocent creatures. Yes, the ineffable goodness of God would be felt even when he punishes, for it would be the effect of his correction that you had discovered this source of surpassing joy. The hour when the solitary soul, widowed of its last hope, would expect nothing more from the earth, when friendship would fail, and weak man, who fears the contagion of misfortune, would leave you face to face with grief, when the future would have no longer any charms to make you wish for the morrow; then, if you were one of those humble and blessed mourners, the voice of God would be heard in the silence of your heart, that language which can be mixed with no other, and which consoles and beatifies those who cannot be otherwise comforted.* At the sweet sounds of comfort you would turn from earth, and in saintly contemplation behold a love which must be left in silence here; "Nor through distrust," as Dante saith, "of words only, but that to such bliss the mind remounts not without aid."† Then, too, God would give such grace that, without boasting, you might use whatever language had been framed by sages to express how little they feared calamity: happy were your death, your ending blest, your torments easy, full of sweet delight. After having been in the dungeon in the midst of sufferings, like another chosen vessel, you would participate in his raptures into the third heaven; after having sunk under the weight of chains with Peter, you would be delivered and comforted by an angel. Do you not hear what the holy Church sings? Francis, Francis the mourner, the despised, the persecuted; Francis, poor and humble, enters rich into heaven, and is honoured with celestial hymns. Well, then, thither too, would you follow to receive the last abundant consolation, for

"There are the treasures tasted, that with tears
Were in the Babylonian exile won."‡

Oh, that Highest God would deal thus with these poor mortals for whom Christ wept, and bled, and died, with these deceived but still generous creatures, once made in God's own image, in the freshness of their being so gifted virtually, that all better habits would wondrously have thrived, and possessed of faculties to be again his glorious champions, defenders of his holy city, the joy of mystic Sion. O that he would behold them in their state calamitous, betrayed by apostates, dispossessed of strength, and turn their labours, for he ever can, to peaceful end. Then, in the blest kingdoms, meek of joy and love, all the saints in solemn troops would entertain them. Angels, ever bright and fair, would sing; and, singing in great glory, comfort them, and wipe the tears for ever from their eyes.

* Ludovic. Blosii Tractat. in Ps. lxxxv.
† De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXII. 22.

* La Martine, Harmonies Poetiques et Religieuses.
† Parad. XVIII. ‡ Dante, Parad. XXIII.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK V.



LONDON:

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MDCCCXLV.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

AT the fourth counsel of the mystic song a sudden lustre, like the golden beams which brighten up the horizon at the evening hour, illuminated my heart. Methought a countless multitude of men, of every age, and order, and degree, passed before me. Emperors and princes were there, and mitred fathers, and whole hosts wrapped up in sable weeds; nor were wanting the ideal comrades of our youth, steel-clad knights, and gentle poets of the bower and hall; grave magistrates too followed amidst a throng of citizens and peasants, in which were some who toiled in trades laborious which seem base to the pride of mortals, and others who craved alms for sweet charity, and around each did shine an unimaginable light, encircling him as a luminary of eternal vision, which clearer than with any voice proclaimed his everlasting princedom. These were all they whose wishes tended to justice; for they shouted forth "Blessed," and ended with "I thirst." O how after each pause the harmony sounds more and more strange to ears of flesh and blood. We know, indeed, that all spirits on this earth hunger and thirst, as all mourn. Who has not observed, while wandering on the shore of brief life with wretched men, the careful provision made to satisfy the thirst for riches, the thirst for singularity, the thirst for novelty, the thirst for change, the thirst for honours, the thirst for the first seats, and for hearing Rabbi, the thirst for knowledge, perhaps, so praised by that Chœronean sage, who says, "that letters and philosophy should imprint in our soul a passion similar to thirst and hunger, which would evince its power if we were deprived of them;" but unless when enjoying such visions from reverting to the traditions and monuments of ages of faith, where, O where is there any indication discernible among Adam's children of attention to the thirst for justice?

"My soul thirsteth after thee," said holy Israel's king. "Mark," adds St. Augustin, "how he thirsted. There are who thirst, but not after God. Whoever feels the ardour of desire, that desire is the thirst of his soul. And see how many desires are in the hearts of men! One desires gold, another possessions, another cattle, another houses, another honours. See how many desires, and how few men there are who ever say, 'my soul thirsteth after Thee,' for men thirst after the world, and they know not that they are in the desert of Idumæa, where their souls ought to thirst after God."*

In submitting history to the investigations required here, there are many and

* Tractat. in Ps. 62.

various points to be kept in view. We should, in the first place, remark, how the need of a divine object for the wants of the soul was recognised, from which in a great measure followed the offices and festivals of religion, which must, therefore, be surveyed in order. This research will demonstrate what a zeal for religion animated men in all classes of society. And thus far our attention will seem to have been confined to verify the existence of the thirst which is blessed: but from this point, its fulfilment will be our theme; for I shall then proceed to show in how admirable a manner the religious sentiment was reduced to action, which will lead on to a particular investigation of the state of morality in the ages which we review: when I shall have illustrated this statement by the evidence of contemporaneous authorities it will be necessary through regard for the mistakes and errors of later times, to show on what principle that whole system of morality depended, and what was its peculiar tone. After which inquiry, I shall bring the sixth book to an end.

All ages have been characterized by certain leading passions, which have impelled men to pursue some particular object of apparent good. Some, like the epoch which is distinguished by the rise of the new opinions in the fifteenth century, have been ages of avarice, of the reign of gold, when men thirsted after riches as the supreme felicity for which they were ready to make the sacrifice of their souls, pledging them to Satan, and of their bodies, literally offering them to the Jews. Others, like those we read about in times more remote, have been ages of what was vainly termed military glory; others, like those associated on every tongue with names illustrious, ages of art and literature, because though no error of philosophy and no temporary delusion of the multitude could totally suppress the cry of nature, yet during those intervals, the possession of gold, military glory, art and literature, were held up to the admiration of men who always assent to a resolute affirmation, as being the proper object and the farthest end of their desires and activity. We judge thus of times prior to Christianity from what we find in the writings of their eminent men, and from what has been transmitted to us respecting their customs and institutions, and by using the same process of investigation in reference to the middle ages, we shall find reason to conclude, that during the long period which they comprise, the object recognised as being the legitimate end of all mortal desire, of all civil legislation, and of all individual exertion, was not gold, not military glory, not art or literature, but, strange and wondrous as it may seem to many, the eternal happiness of the soul, or the fulfilment of justice in accomplishing the will of God. The conclusion would not be that these were ages of perfect justice or of social perfection, which can only reign within the supernal city of God triumphant. Nay, where souls are imbruted in matter, the face of external things may often seem less disturbed than where men of desire with heavenly thirst inspired, are struggling to set them right; but that the ruling passion which can be always discerned in the history of these times amidst the innumerable disorders to which as at all other periods of the world men were subject, cannot be otherwise designated than as the thirst after justice; and if the proof be demanded, we find it in the institutions, legislation, and whole form of society which distinguished them, for which no parallel can be found in the annals of mankind, and which no ingenuity can trace to any other origin. The blessed mourning from which we have so lately turned seems to present itself to us again in this place; for in the thirst after justice lies the secret of the inexhaustible tears and profound genius of the middle ages. Precious tears, which flowed in limpid legends, in admirable poems, in sublime imagery. Yes, these complaints which they make of the course of things around them, from which modern writers attempt to deduce such calumnious inferences, prove only that they felt the eternity of that mystery which had its consummation on Calvary. They saw, as a living historian remarks, that Christ was still on the cross, and not likely soon to descend from it—that the passion continues and will continue. Behold, these old statutes in the cathedrals of the middle age. See how they implore with joined palms the long wished for and terrible moment when man for judgment is to wake from clay, wake for that great sentence of universal retribution which is to put an end to the ineffable sorrow which has so long oppressed them. The present race of men are accustomed to look with indifference at the great crimes of nations, referring them either to the blind decrees of inexorable fate, or only founding on them commercial speculations, with the hope of enriching their own coffers. France, encouraged by some secret source of meanness and profligacy in the administrators of a greater power, is thus permitted to run her career from An-

cona to the Tagus, unstigmatised by common voice, as if all sense of shame and honour were extinct in human breasts; but the cry of the middle ages in view of the calamities and injustice of men, while waiting for the hour of Almighty vengeance, might remind us of those words from the summit of the mystic cross, "Tristis usque ad mortem."

The sages of antiquity were not wholly insensible to the necessity of having in view amidst the perturbations and vicissitudes of life, a divine instead of a human end. Well had the Athenian in Plato maintained *χρῆναι τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον σπουδάζειν, τὸ δὲ μὴ σπουδαῖον μὴ*,* and Plato himself continually shows the importance of having one supreme object, to which looking always, we may direct all our words and actions. He would have this question constantly addressed to his disciples, *Ὦ θαυμάσιε σὺ δὲ δὴ ποῖ σκοπεῖς; τί ποτ' ἐκεῖνό ἐστι τὸ ἕν*;† profound and searching words, at which even the children of light might sometimes tremble. Cicero in explaining why philosophy does not produce eqnal effects upon all minds, adduces the disposition of the youth with whom he converses, to feel unsatisfied with every thing human, as an evidence of the superior nobleness of his nature, and of its capabilities to profit by philosophy. "Te natura excelsum quemdam videlicet, et altum, et humana despicientem genuit."‡ Thus we read of Schiller "his mind was not of that sort for which rest is provided in this world." Faith imparted the privileges of genius, so as to make applicable to every man the mystic name of that founder of the religious metropolis of the Gauls, *ποθεινὸς*, the man of desire in whose breast was extinguished the expectation and even the desire of happiness on earth. His could only be a life of wishes, of longing, of labour, and restlessness; it mnst be made up all of sighs and tears, it must be all made of service, all made of fantasy, all made of hopes and fears, all adoration, duty, and observance, all humbleness, all patience, all purity, all trial. But while the thirst of the world appears in that real heart-rending sadness, which no imagination can ennoble, the affliction of soul arising from the thirst for justice, is always sublime in its expression, and full of ideal grandeur, as in the piercing melodies of the choir. It was, however, in the schools of the true philosophers, and in the ages illuminated by the light of faith, that the vague and imperfect specnlations of the ancient sages assumed the character of exact knowledge. "The reasonable spirit," says Louis of Blois, "is so noble, that no frail good is able to satisfy it."* "Mundus propter te factus est," says St. Bernard, "ideo mundum non ames, quia mundus non est te dignus, quum sis eo longe dignior." Fallacious are the things which cannot always remain with us; things, adds St. Gregory, "which cannot expel the want of our minds." "Great is the dignity of the rational creature," exclaims Hugo of St. Victor, "to whom nothing less than the supreme good suffices, and great is its liberty, since it cannot be compelled to accept it."† St. Augustin had said the same. "Nothing temporal can satisfy the soul, whose seat is eternity,"‡ a proposition admitted by the modern poet, though with a senseless restriction.

————— "There is a fire
And motion of the soul which will not dwell
In its own narrow being, but aspire
Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
And, bnt once kindled, quenchless evermore,
Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
Of aught but rest; a fever at the core
Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore."§

The feeding of this fire is nevertheless represented by Plato, not as a fatal exercise, but as preserving the sustenance necessary for the intellectual health. "The entire soul," saith he, "in the best natures, receives a more honourable condition from possessing temperance and justice with wisdom, that the body acquires strength and beauty from health, in the same proportion as the soul is more honourable than the body; therefore, whoever has sense, will live, making all things tend to this end; in the first place honouring instruction which gives him such a soul, and despising every thing else."‖ How brightly that heavenly fire did burn even in the breast of warlike men in the most chivalrous ages, may be witnessed in Godfrey, when in a vision he is represented beholding the contrast of heaven and earth.

————— "He bended down
His looks to ground, and half in scorn he smil'd;
He saw at once earth, sea, flood, castle, town,
Strangely divided, strangely all compil'd,
And wonder'd folly man so far should drown.
To set his heart on things so base and vilde,
That servile empire searcheth, and dumb fame,
And scorns Heav'n's bliss, yet proff'reth Heaven the same."¶

* De Legibus VII. † Id. Lib. XII. ‡ Tuscul. II. 4.

* Ludovic. Blosii Instit. Spirit. cap. I.
† Hugo de St. Vict. Eruditiones Theologicæ, tit. VII.
‡ De Doctrin. Christ. Lib. I. 38.
§ Childe Harold, III.
‖ De Repub. lib. IX.
¶ Book XIV. ii.

In vain are all these public and private contrivances, day by day, continually throughout the year, to repel, as Thucydides says, τὸ λυπηρόν.* "Born," says St. Gregory, "to the sorrows of this journey, we may indeed have arrived at that degree of fastidiousness as not even to know what we ought to desire.† But what is naturally wished by the human will, is justice, as Duns Scotus profoundly observes, for that is its perfection; since, as the inferior irrational nature has a principle of tending to that which naturally agrees with it, so the will has necessarily a principle of tending to justice, which is the end that agrees with its nature.‡ Hugo of St. Victor makes a curious remark to show how clearly the human heart discerns that it is made for higher than earthly joys. When speaking of the words of Ecclesiastes, that all things under the sun are vanity, he adds, "I know not wherefore, but these words when they are read sound sweet in our ears. We are glad to be told of our evils, and what we do not love we nevertheless love to hear, for we do not love our evils, and yet we love to hear of them. The reason must be, that by hearing of the evil which we do not love, we are reminded of the good which we love; and this remembrance of good, even amidst evils, is sweet to the mind, and so much the sweeter as the evils are more bitter, which when hearing or feeling we discern to be far removed from the good to which we aspire. So that when the sorrows of our exile are described and the extent of our misery declared, our mind awaking as if from a long sleep, suddenly remembers where it once was, and from a view of the mighty ruins, it calculates the height of the summit from which it fell. This is what renders lamentation so sweet to the miserable, and which converts their sighs and tears into such delicious food."§

The need, however, of a divine object appeared obvious, not only from a consideration of the dignity of our nature, but also from a sense of what was requisite to procure it so much of present happiness as was allowable in the world of wishes or innocent amidst the phantoms of sin and vanity. Did any one hope to satisfy his thirst from the broken cisterns of the world's joy? Phædra, in her sickness, was a symbol of the destiny which awaited him; for of him it would soon be said with truth, you take pleasure in nothing; you change from one place to another; the present is displeasing, the absent is thought dearer.

> οὐδέ σ' ἀρέσκει τὸ παρὸν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸν φίλτερον ἡγεῖ.*

The reason of which calamity was remarked by Cicero, when he says, that lust can never find an end.† The ambitious, as Cardan remarks, are all inconstant,‡ for no one who thirsts for visible things can ever be satisfied; since, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "the whole world would not suffice to man, who is the lord of the world. The eye cannot be satisfied with seeing nor the ear with hearing."§ "The world cries, I fail; the flesh cries, I corrupt; the demon cries, I deceive; Christ cries, I restore; and yet," adds St. Bernard, "such is the blindness and madness of our minds, that leaving Christ who invites us with loving words, we follow the failing world, the corrupting flesh, and the deceiving demon." "The more one drinks," says Richard of St. Victor, "the more one thirsts, for to satisfy the appetite of sensuality, the whole world would not suffice."|| Nor is it more able to satisfy any of those vague desires which are so powerful in men of acutely sensitive minds, and which attach them with such affection to the remembrance of their youth, to the days that were embalmed with friendship and with poesy. "There was a time too, when I could weep," cries Schiller,; "O ye days of peace, thou castle of my father, ye green lovely valleys! O all ye Elysian scenes of my childhood! will ye never come again, never with your balmy sighing cool my burning bosom? Mourn with me nature! they will never come again, never cool my burning bosom with their balmy sighing—they are gone! gone! and may not return." Return, perhaps, he would not that they should, as the profound thinkers of the middle age would remark, though his words express that wish. Hugo of St. Victor felt this mystery of our heart. "O ancient time, where art thou?" he exclaims, "formerly while thou existed I loved thee, and now when thou hast

* Lib. II. 38. † Hom. in. Ev. 36.
‡ Duns Scoti, lib. II. Sentent. Dist. XXXIX. 9. 1.
§ Annotationes Elucidatoriæ in Ecclesiast. Hom. II.

* Eurip. Hyppolyt. 185. † Tuscul. v. 7.
‡ De Sapientia, Lib. III.
§ Instit. Monast. XXIX.
|| De præparatione animi ad contemplationem, cap. VI.

ceased to exist, I love thee still; nor can thy departure ever diminish my love for thee. While present I loved thee that thou mightest remain, and now that thou art no more I love thee, and yet I do not wish that thou shouldst return to me. Marvellous desire, incomprehensible affection. What can I love in thee if I am unwilling that thou shouldst exist, unwilling that thou shouldst return? What is that unheard of affection when a thing is loved, and yet its presence is not loved? Who will explain to me this love of my heart? The reason why I will not that thou shouldst return again is this, that I desire rather to be with thee where thou art now. Formerly I loved thee perversely, when I wished thee to remain with me where I was in exile, and now I love thee with more consideration, because I wish to be with thee in our country, where thou wilt subsist for ever."* The experience of ages has demonstrated that without a view to the final consummation of all perfection in the reign of everlasting justice, men are sure to find nothing on their pilgrimage but disappointment, and without faith, despair. "Oblivion on this earth," cries a poet of France in a passage of unmingled bitterness, composed a few days before his death, "Oblivion on this earth, and beyond it. Behold, friend, my life and my eternity! Oblivion, for I have passed without leaving a trace! Oblivion! for how little place demands my grave! Poor, unknown, without a destiny, lost in the crowd, atom cast upon the vulgar wave, like every other mortal that floats with us, I have gathered and borne my crown of thorns, and beyond that nothing."† Behold the end of man's distempered thirst.

——————— "O blind lust!
O foolish wrath! who so dost goad us on
In the brief life, and in the eternal then
Thus miserably o'erwhelm us."‡

It is an error to suppose that these melancholy views of the natural life date from a recent epoch. Cardan, who never heard the modern strains, remarks "that in youth, when all things flourish, strength, senses, beauty, and genius, not unfrequently we feel life wearisome."§ All that is not God is nothing. Hence the certain disappointment which awaits our vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires; for "the hopes of men," as Pindar says, "are tossed up and down upon a sea of error."* Not the highest, firmest seats of earthly grandeur can give them rest. Otho the third emperor, was openly joyous, but on account of the warning of blessed Heribert, he secretly groaned and wept.† Excepting the thirst for justice or the ardent desire of pleasing God, there is no movement of the soul which can be trusted without deliberation. "Noli inniti prudentiæ tuæ," says Solomon, "for," adds Richard of St. Victor, "man knows not what may conduce to good in this life, in the number of the days of his peregrination, and in the time which passes away as a shadow."‡ Yes, it was well understood in the ages of faith that we need a divine object; that all else is mutable in man. "God alone," says a French historian, "can rejoice over his work, and say that it is good. When man has toiled and conquered, he lets fall from his hands the long desired object, disgusted with it and with himself. Thus Alexander died of sadness, when he had conquered Asia, and Alaric when he had taken Rome. Godefroy of Bouillon had no sooner possession of the Holy Land than he sat discouraged on the earth, and languished for rest within its bosom." Genius has no privilege here, for its most adored creation is sure to crumble into dust as soon as perfected. St. Augustin calls the image which we represent to ourselves in conceiving any object "the son of our heart."§ These sons die before us. To have this illustrated, you need only hear Schiller speaking of his Don Carlos, and accounting for its irregularity. "Some time elapsed," says he, "between beginning and concluding it; I commenced the fourth and fifth acts with quite an altered heart." Little strange should it seem that the struggles of individual unassisted genius prove insufficient, when even the sublimest works of religious art in ages of faith, indicate that they had not satisfied their authors. The gentle breath of that spirit which passed before the face of Daniel, carrying away kingdoms and breaking empires—that spirit which animated the artists of the middle age, which enabled them to raise those mountains of vaults and towers into the air by giving them a force greater than the arms of Titans; that spirit, let it work what it will is always ill at ease in

* De Vanitate Mundi, Lib. II. † Brugnot.
‡ Dante, Hell, XII.
§ Hieron. Cardani de Consolatione, Lib. II.

* Olymp. car. XII. † Drexelii aurifodina.
‡ De statu interioris hominis, Lib. I. c. 24.
§ De Trinitate, Lib. XI.

its dwelling. It can extend, and vary, and adorn it, but it cannot rest in it. "See these admirable cathedrals," continues Michelet, "however beautiful they may be, with their towers and their saints in glories, they cannot contain it. Around the church we must build little churches; it must radiate with chapels. Beyond the altar we must raise an altar, a sanctuary behind the sanctuary." Experience and reflection had convinced philosophers of this impossibility of satisfying the thirst of the soul with any thing human, and hence it is, that, as Novalis remarks,* "every science had its god, which was its end. Mechanics lived upon the perpetual motion, and their highest aim was the construction of a perpetuum mobile. So also chemistry had its menstruum universale, or its philosopher's stone. Philosophy sought a first principle; mathematical, the quadrature of the circle; medical, a life elixir; political, a perfect freedom with government. The philosophers of the middle age all sought the unlimited, though they found only what is limited. They sought infinity, though they found only things."

Ardent minds, endowed with the faculty of extending the fields of positive knowledge, would never in those spiritual ages have devoted themselves to dry studies if the imagination had not proposed a mysterious end as the desired result of their labours. Raymond Lully, Albert, Picus of Mirandola, Cardan, and others of that type, had all a nobler though less practical object in view than what is generally ascribed to them, ideal and often fantastical it is true, but still the secret fire which instigated them to such prodigious labours.

But this disappointment was the punishment of pride, methinks I hear some one reply. In the mere research or discovery of natural truth, these men would have found that rest and satisfaction which would have filled the vacuum of their hearts. Vain pretension of modern philosophers, which the weakest can see through; for if he who should say that he had opened certain great fountains which had been concealed, were to say this, at the same time exhibiting every indication of thirst, would it not be ridiculous? And is it not absurd when these men who affirm that they are not only the lords of fountains, but that they are themselves fountains, and able to irrigate the minds of all, while

* Schriften, II. 231.

they promise this to others, are themselves parched up with thirst?*

The great masters of the spiritual life discovered that it was the absence or presence of the thirst after justice which caused sadness or joy. "Si quis mundum omnino odit," says St. John Climacus, "hic tristitiam effugit. Porro, si quis qualibet visibilium rerum affectione mordetur, tristitia nondum liberatus est."† They saw that in fact men were constantly committing the double error of Narcissus and its opposite, concluding that a substance is a shadow, as often as they mistook a shadow for a substance. To privation all men are doomed on this earth, but those are least wretched who are pitied most; for it is not an imaginary good as many suppose to have one's affections centered upon a heavenly end, nor is it a substantial felicity to have reaped the shadows of human kindness which pass like the wind upon the rocks of the desert.

Goethe represents Tasso thirsting with all the ardour of a youthful and poetic genius for the friendship of Antonio, and we think him deserving of pity, because the latter meets his advances with the formality, and coldness, and distrust of one who makes the world his friend; but had be found a heart of other mould, and sought it so, there would have only been a postponement of the bitter hour. Happy the man who learneth not by experience, when it is too late, the folly of placing confidence in the stability of creatures, or in any thing but in the very root and substance of justice. Are you labouring for the glory which Pindar promises to the conqueror, saying,

——— μέγα τὶ κλέος αἰεὶ
ᾧ τινι σὸν γέρας ἕσπετ' ἀγλαόν?‡

Do you expect happiness in the friendship of those who are not associated in the privileges of eternal good? You are sowing the wind, you are embracing a shadow, "quia citius obliviscentur tui homines, quam æstimas." What profound scars does misfortune and often too that which is called by fools prosperity, leave in the soul! How quickly it uproots from a heart that is not Christian, all hope, and all poesy! How soon one arrives with the evil genius of France at seeing in the

* Cicero ad Herennium, Lib. IV. 6.
† Scala Paradisi Grad. II.
‡ Olymp. VIII.

life of nations as in that of individuals, a cold pleasantry of fate! "Before the fall, man was full, because God was his centre; but," continues Baader, "after it he became internally void, God ceased to be his centre, and instead of filling him internally, compressed him from without, and hence being unable to sustain himself, he falls with a weight upon some thing external, in order to be sustained." While thus placed he has but one alternative, to be wretched, seeking happiness in the love of creatures, or to be desiring and hoping, looking towards that primal seat, "ubi pulchritudo est et satietas æterna," and praying in words like those with which Dante addresses the blessed spirits:—

——— "O perennial flowers
Of gladness everlasting, that exhale
In single breath your odours manifold;
Breathe now; and let the hunger be appeased,
That with great craving long hath held my soul,
Finding no food on earth."*

It is when brought to this state, that according to the writers of the middle age, the Father draws a man to Christ: "for," says the author of Theologia Germanica, "when any thing of this perfect good is uncovered and manifested to the soul, as if in a moment there arises in that man a desire of approaching to this perfect good, and of uniting himself to it. The greater is this desire, the more is revealed to him, the more he thirsts, the more he is satisfied, and the more there is revealed to him, the more he desires and is drawn. Thus man is drawn to a conjunction with the eternal good, and this is the drawing of the Father."* This was the direction given to the human intelligence during the supernatural ages of which I am attempting the history. It was accurately ascertained that the thirst of men was not for any secondary stream, but for the great original Source of justice. "At the banquet of God," says Hugo of St. Victor, "there is but one dish, but despise it not, for it satiates. Many things are in the world, and none of them can fill man's heart, but there is one good with God, and when this is found, all is found. 'Ergo non in multitudine, sed in unitate satietas est.'"† The cry of the middle ages was that of the prophet, "Mihi autem adhærere Deo, bonum est," interpreted according to the comment of St. Augustin. "Many were the opinions of philosophers respecting the chief good; but he does not say, for me to have riches is good, or to have a crown and sceptre is good, or what some of them did not blush to say, for me to have sensual pleasure is good, or what sounds better, for me to have virtue is good, but for me to adhere to God, is good; this, therefore, is the chief good of man."‡

* Parad. XIX.

* Cap. 54. † Annot. in Cœlest. Hierarch.
‡ De Civitate Dei, Lib. X. 18.

CHAPTER II.

THAT such was the thirst of men during ages of faith, will appear more clearly as we proceed to inquire in what manner it developed itself, and what were its effects; for in truth, the whole life of man, the whole constitution of society, notwithstanding all its defects and abuses, was a continued display and evidence of its power. Who sees not that this was the thirst which imparted that theocratic character to the nations of Europe which induces philosophers like Vico to designate this period by the title of a divine and heroic age? Who does not discern that it was this thirst which moved men to cover the earth with so many noble monuments of piety, so many institutions of mercy; which rendered the whole life of so many great artists devoted to the honour and service of the Catholic Church, a kind of continual fever; which made men legislate for heaven rather than for earth, for the celestial rather than for the human republic; which drew some from the arid desert of the world to seek the living waters in the paradise of cloistered shades, and others to devote their bodies as witnesses for justice amidst the profane city; that this was the thirst which made the true devoted pilgrim pursue his way, so wearisome and long, undaunted, and firm, in his fixed resolve to measure kingdoms with his feeble steps? What else was it but this thirst which drew a St. Dorothea from Danzig to Agen, to venerate its holy relics, and to visit the hermit in the dark wood adjacent, for whose little chapel thrice she left her home, and made that long journey of desire in time of war, when robbers infested all the ways, from whose barbarous hands she suffered griefs unnumbered? What other cause impelled her afterwards to traverse Germany and Italy, to visit Rome for the jubilee, with such ardour, that during the whole pilgrimage, it is said, she slept but one night, which was the second after arriving in the holy city? Was it not also this thirst which gave rise to the interminable toils of Christian knighthood, and to all the wondrous and acute provisions which were prescribed for ministering to the wants of human society? But that our path through this thick wood may not seem retrograde or endless, let us take some one object of unquestioned interest as the scope of our enterprise, that by the complete survey of it we may have a swift, delightful, as well as an instructive way, in exposing the admirable manifestation of this divine thirst.

In the school before our last, we had occasion to unfold the history of churches, with all that related to their origin, construction, and adornment. We have seen with what truth the divine words may be applied to them, they were made by God. "Since," as St. Augustin says, "from him is every perfect gift, and that to construct those houses of prayer, he visited the minds of his faithful, excited their affections, supplied assistance, inspired their wills that they should will, assisted the efforts of their good will that they should accomplish, so that it was God who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure, that began and perfected all these things."* The present has appeared the proper place for resuming, as it were, that story, and for considering the holy offices which were celebrated within these divinely constructed walls, and the various festivals which pious devotion commemorated there; for the voice of the Church was the language of desire, and the expression of that thirst which is assuaged only by justice, only by beholding the face of Him uncovered who is seen veiled upon the altar, who is himself in infinite perfection, justice, and truth; and if the historian of France can justly affirm that material monuments, such as the cathedrals of Paris and Rheims, are great historical facts which speak more than long narrations, surely it will not be irrelevant to the enterprise of those who seek information respecting the intimate sentiments of the middle age, to inquire

* St. August. Serm. 256 de Tempore.

what was the purpose to which these were applied, what was the spirit within that marvellous symbolism which astonishes by its vastness and soothes by its peerless beauty?

To minds thoroughly imbued with a sense of justice, the world even in that age of Christian institutions presented a chaos. The soul of man aspired to order, and it hoped to find it in the symbolic ceremonies of faith. In the Church alone was the intelligence of man, his true life, and his rest. The constant love with which the divine offices were celebrated during the middle ages, can be referred to no other source but the disposition which is pronounced blessed from the mountain. It undoubtedly originated in a thirst for justice, a thirst for order, a thirst for the invisible supreme good of which all earthly forms of beauty were converted by it into symbols. Let us proceed, therefore, by first casting a glance at the history of their institution.

In the Infancy of the Church immediately after the resurrection of our Lord, we find that his disciples were always in the temple praising and blessing God.* Philo Judæus wrote a book, "De Vita Christianorum," in which he describes how the Christians passed their time in public psalmody and hymns, keeping vigils during the night, and singing in praise of God, making stations at altars and joining in alternate chorus.† Lucian, the atheist, in one of his dialogues, laughs at the Christians for passing whole nights in singing hymns and vigils.‡ Pliny relates to Trajan that they used to assemble before light to sing hymns to Christ,§ and Ammianus Marcellinus, another heathen writer, records the custom of the Christians passing the night in their churches. The offices of prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, and matins, are spoken of in the apostolic constitutions, and by St. Dionysius, the Areopagite.‖ Tertullian, in the beginning of the third century, describes the early congregation of the faithful before light, and expressly mentions the celebration of the third, sixth, ninth, and vesper hours. Origen in his third book on Job, alludes to their matins and vespers, and Clemens Alexandrinus in the ninth of the Stromata, commemorates tierce, sext, and nones, as does also St. Cyprian in his book "De Oratione Dominica." St. Zeno, in his first sermon to the Neophites praises "the sweet vigils of the bright night," and Cæcilius with Minutius Felix, calumniates the nocturnal congregation of the Christians, calling them, "latebrosos et lucifugaces." In the same age, St. Hippolytus the Martyr, in a discourse on the end of the world, says, that one effect of the coming of antichrist will be the abolition of the psalmody and sacred rites of the Church. When St. Basil was detained in prison, some clerks and deacons gave money to the guards that they might gain entrance, in order to sing with him during the night the divine offices. This is related by John, the Priest, of Nicomedia. In the fourth century there are abundant testimonies, in Eusebius Cæsariensis, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. From these it appears that the psalm "Deus, Deus meus," and also that "Benedicite omnia opera," were then sung at matutinal lauds. The duty and happiness of this early thanksgiving are feelingly enforced by these great saints, who describe the solemn beauty of the nocturnal chorus. Palladius, speaking of the mountain of Nitria, on which five thousand monks lived in the time of the great St. Anthony, says, "At the ninth hour, you might hear in each monastery the hymns and psalms sung to Christ, with prayers and lauds, so that you might suppose yourself passed into a paradise of joy.* St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom, explain the particular object of each hour's devotion. At the rising of the sun, it was to return thanks to God; at tierce, to commemorate the descent of the Holy Ghost at this hour; at sext, the fastening of Christ to the cross; at nones, his giving up the ghost; at the setting of the sun to thank God for the mercies of the past day: and then they enumerate the nocturnal vigils and matutinal lauds at the first crowing of the cock. St. Augustin, in numerous places, mentions the same offices, as does also Cassian in his description of the ecclesiastical and monastic life. Peter Chrysologus, Synescius, Victor Uticensis, and St. Cæsarius of Arles, are equally clear in describing the nocturnal vigils, and the daily offices; and holy men in dying used to instruct youths, in the manner of observing them.† Nilus the Monk, relates

* S. Luc. XXIV. 53.
† Suidas in Vit. Philo. Euseb. Lib. II. c. 17.
‡ In Philopatre § Lib. X. c. 97.
‖ Cardinal Bona, de divina Psalmodia, cap. I. § 4.

* Hist. Lauriaca, cap. 7.
† Metaph. Duty apud Surium. 12 Septembre.

that the holy fathers in Sina were killed by the barbarians at break of day, at the end of their matutinal hymns. In the sixth century, the most holy Benedict furnishes in his Rule an evidence of the fervour with which men studied the praise of God; and in the following age, his disciple Gregory the Great closes the evidence produced by Cardinal Bona, in the history of the divine psalmody. Then followed Isidore of Spain, Alcuin of England, Amalarius Fortunatus, Rabanus Maurus, Walfridus Strabo, Rupertus Abbas, Hugo de St. Victor, and others, who cultivated the exercise of the divine offices with the greatest fervour. Thus we discern the gross error of Polidorus Virgil, who supposes the institution of the sacred hours to have arisen in the time of Pelagius II., whereas Cardinal Bona has fully shown that they commenced with the infant Church. Palladius declares that he beheld a state in which there were more monasteries than profane houses, that the divine praises were sung in every spot, and that the whole city seemed to be one church.* In Bythinia arose monasteries ἀκοιμήτων, in which the divine praises were unceasingly sung night and day. Nicephorus relates that one of these was built in Constantinople, in which an association of monks, divided into three choirs, maintained an unceasing psalmody. St. Columban, at Luxeuil, instituted a similar monastery, and St. Gregory of Tours mentions another at Agen. The same rule was observed in the abbey of St. Denis, and in that of Tours, and in many houses of the Cistercian order. The minds of men ever rested upon that divine verse, "Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine; in sæcula sæculorum laudabunt te." Of the clergy of Paris, in the time of St. Germain, Fortunatus says,—

"Carmine Dividico divina poëmata pangens
Cursibus assiduis dulce revolvit opus."

The Cistercian monks always celebrated lauds at break of day, and, therefore, in the winter season, after singing nocturns, they always returned to their cells to spend the interval in study or prayer until the first break of light; but in the summer they sung lauds immediately after matins.† St. Ambrose furnishes evidence that in his time, people of all sorts came to matins on Sunday, men and women, youth and old people, only one or two remained at home to guard the house.* The sacred Scriptures every where record that just men in all ages observed the break of day to devote it to religion. "Dominus visitat hominem diluculo:" and he sends his prophets rising early.† Job, the mirror of justice, rising up early offered sacrifice for himself and his sons,‡ whom he charges to rise up early to God. The holy David meditates the secrets of God in the morning watch, and early in the morning offers praise to God. The just are then all united in sacrifice and prayer, and as Hugo Victorinus says, "There is nothing which Satan so much fears as the unity of charity." The morning is symbolical of piety. The ancient Etruscans offered honey to Aurora, which we consecrate with the sweetness of devotion. The poets represented Aurora as mounted upon Pegasus, because the soul is then light to fly upon the wings of contemplation. Some thought it was called Aurora, from the golden colour of the sky. Taking occasion from this emblem, the writers of the middle age observe, that we ought to shine in the morning with the gold of charity, and that as the poet Nævius speaks of blushing Aurora, so should the modest colour represent the grace of chaste purity in our souls. Homer calls the morning divine, because it brings us light, which is the symbol of the divinity. Therefore with the rising light, the children of divine light emulating the holy angels, who are called the morning stars, sing praises to the Author of light, and shine to him with joy.§ St. Ambrose says, that even the example of the birds should admonish men to praise their Creator at the rise of morning, and to begin the day with the solemnity of psalms.|| Celebrated say the fathers, is the statue of Memnon, described by Philostratus and Callistratus, which of its own accord when first illumined by the golden rays of morning, used to emit a sweet and ravishing sound, an emblem which might remind men to adore the majesty of their Creator, at the rising of the sun. Durantus Tholosanus says, that the hour of tierce used to be called the golden hour. In the canonical law, it is styled sacred, because it is at this hour that the sacred mass is celebrated with solemnity on days of high festival, as the ancient

* See Histor. Lauriaca.
† Card. Bona, de divina Psalmodia, 142.

* S. Ambros. Serm. 34. de Tempore.
† Eccles. xxxix. 6. ‡ Job. vii. 18.
§ Card. Bona, de divina Psalmod. 145.
|| Exam. Lib. IV. c. 1.

custom of the Church has ordained in order to commemorate the descent of the Holy Ghost.

On the various parts of the divine offices let us now hriefly dwell.

Photius says, that a hymn is so called, "qnasi ὑπόμνησις," that is, a commemoration of something past. Eusehius speaks at length on the hymns which the Christians used to sing in the very infancy of the Church. The proses, or sequences, in which we trace the first beginning of the rhyme which distinguishes the modern from the ancient classic poetry,* are said to have been iuvented hy Notker, a monk of St. Gall, in the year 880, whose version of the Psalms in German is still extant; hnt this monk affirms that he had seen the first model of them in a missal of the ahbey of Jumièges, which was hurned hy the Normans in the middle of that century. The celebrated sequence, "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," is attrihuted to Hermann, or to Pope Innocent III. That of Dies Iræ is ascribed to Thomas Celanus, of the order of St. Francis, in the thirteenth century. Of the same order was Jacoponus, who in the fourteenth, composed the Stabat Mater. Peter of Compostella is supposed to have been the author of the Salve Regina and the Alma Redemptoris. The universal adoption of the Romau Breviary, which is acknowledged to have been the slow and snccessive product of time, experience, piety, and the study of the Scriptures, was one of the happy effects, resulting in the middle ages, from the power of the Holy See, aided hy the zeal of the nations, and the desire of devout kings. "We should do all things that the Lord has ordained with order, says St. Clemens, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. "He has wished that we should render him certain duties at certain hours; he has also determined certaiu places and certain persons, where and hy whom his worship should be celehrated: he has assigned to the sovereign pontiff his functions, to priests the place where they should offer the sacrifice, and to the Levites all the detail of their ministry." It was not, however, possible, iu the first ages, to prevent the introdnction of some diversity of customs in the celebration of the Divine offices; hut this was finally obviated hy the express and positive enactment of the Church. "Conformity and unity in the things which relate to the glory of God, must always be preserved in the Catholic Church," says the Bull of Clement VIII. "being founded under one head, Christ our Lord, and subject to his vicar on earth. Especially mnst that uniformity be maintained for ever in the prayers, and hy adhering to what is contained in the Roman Breviary, that in the Chnrch diffused throughout the whole world, God may be always praised and invocated hy the faithful of Christ, in one and the same order of prayers and song."* Walafrid Strabo, who lived under Louis-le Debonnaire, attests, that "in almost all the Churches of the Latins, the customs, ritual, and liturgy of Rome prevailed, on account of the privilege of the Roman See, and the wisdom of its practices." He wrote thus at a period long before the Church had made a law to enforce this uniformity; which proves the Catholic tendency which, in all times and in all things, ohliges every Chnrch to gravitate towards Rome.

Any departure, however slight, or capable of defence, from the general practice of the Church, was felt as an injury hy holy men. St. Bernard supplied an instance, on his first arrival at Paraclet, which he reached as they were sonnding the bell for vespers. He went, therefore, straight into the church; hut he was shocked on hearing the snperior, when repeating alond the paternoster, use the word panem superstantialem, instead of qnotidianum. This sounded ill in his ears as a novelty. When he came to speak to Heloisa respecting it, she proceeded indeed, with the utmost modesty and grace, to prove, hy Greek and Hehrew, hy Scripture and the Fathers, that this was the proper reading. Abeillard too, hearing of what had passed, wrote a learned letter to St. Bernard, in which he shows that St. Matthew, who gives the whole prayer, and who had heard it from Jesus Christ, uses this word; whereas St. Luke only gives a part of it, and he had ouly heard it from St. Panl. Moreover he showed that the Greek Church follows in this point St. Matthew, who wrote in Hehrew, in preference to St. Luke, though he wrote in Greek. Notwithstanding these arguments, St. Bernard adhered to his first opinion, that it wonld have been better to have followed the common universal usage of the Chnrch

Charlemagne lent his assistance to carry into effect the great ohject of the ecclesiastical rulers, to maintain one universal

* Pasquier Recherche de la France, Lib. VII.

* Bullarium, Clemens VIII. Bulla, Cum in Ecclesia.

liturgy among the nations of Christendom:—"Ut non esset dispar ordo psallendi, quibus erat compar ardor credendi:"—that those who were united by the sacred reading of one holy law, might be united also in the venerable tradition of intonation; and that the different celebrations of offices might not separate those whom the pious devotion of one faith had joined together.* When therefore Spain, in the eleventh century, abandoned its Mozarabic ritual to embrace that of Rome, that grand system of universality, which gave such an inspiring authority to the ritual of the Catholic Church, received its full and final development. So early indeed as in the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo regarded this work as nearly terminated, and he demonstrated its advantages and indispensable necessity by the same arguments as those used by theologians of modern times.† The Council of Trent, in its twenty-fifth session, referred to the care of the Roman Pontiff the great work of the correction and definitive publication of the Breviary and Missal. Thanks to this master-piece of religious wisdom, the Catholic was a stranger in no land. Wherever he travelled, he heard the children of the Church sing the same holy chants of Rome—the mother and mistress of Christians—and the sublime tones which rose around the cross of the desert, were the same as filled the domes of the metropolis of the Christian world.

It need hardly be remarked, that although the final adoption of a uniform course of psalmody and reading was the gradual work of time, the more awful mysteries which involved the divine fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, were in all ages, and throughout the whole world, substantially the same. The word Missa, or Mass, though, like the term Trinity, not in Scripture, is of great antiquity, and, at least in the fourth century, it was used to designate the unbloody sacrifice of the altar, as appears from St. Ambrose‡ and St. Augustin.§

The Greek word λειτουργέω, which is derived from a word signifying public, is never used by St. Luke excepting in the sense of sacrifice, as is proved from his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. In the classic poets it is used to express any public function;* and in Scripture it nowhere signifies prayer. The function, or ministry, which by this term the Apostles are said to have discharged, was therefore that of the eucharistic sacrifice. The canon of the mass has received indeed some alterations since the times of the Apostles; for in the year 440, the great St. Leo added four words to it; and about the year 590, Pope St. Gregory some few others; but nothing was changed without the greatest precautions. Thus, not one saint is named who was not dead a long time before the year 400; after which, nothing almost was added. The Apostles are named in an order different from the present, which dates from the time of St. Jerome, who named them as they are now generally placed, which is another remarkable evidence of the antiquity of the ritual. Indeed, the smallest ceremonies pertaining to it may be traced to the most remote period, as in the instance recorded by St. Jerome, who says, that "in all the churches throughout the East, when the gospel is read, there are lights burning, though the sun may shine at the time."† We know that, in the second century, in the time of St. Avaristus, it was the custom to keep holy water even in private houses; in which, during the first ages, were practised all those devotional exercises of Christian worship, which had connexion with art and symbolism:‡ and in short, as a late writer observes, "we can trace, through every part of the office, some doctrine or observance of the primitive times, and may admire the watchful fidelity with which tradition has handed down every little ceremony connected with the first ages of our faith."

Leaving, therefore, the historical question, let us proceed to consider the ecclesiastical offices in relation to our threefold faculty of perception, as constituted for estimating beauty, justice, and truth—the development of which, certain philosophers of late have attempted to express by the term æsthetics; perhaps, indeed, without having sufficiently examined whether the particular combination of ideas really existed, for which they sought to discover a scientific word.

Ere we advance, however, it will be well to examine whether there be any ground of justice in the accusation so commonly

* Caroli Magni contra Synod. Græcor. de Imaginib. Lib. I.
† De Rebus Ecclesiastic. c. 25.
‡ In Epist. ad Marcellin. Soror.
§ Serm. XCI. de Tempore.

* Æschyl. Eumenid. 363.
† Advers. Vigilant.
‡ Rheinwald die Kirchliche Archæologie, 395.

brought against the middle ages, as expressed by Milton, who affirms, that "during their course the far greater part of men deemed in outward rites and specious forms religion satisfied, and that works of faith were rarely found." A sentence evidently expressing the conviction of many whom we still behold entering our churches, and with gloom beholding the rites that sanctify the pile, darting at the altar and the vested priest looks of such suspicion, that one might conclude they were imbued with the opinion of Cecilius the philosopher, mentioned by Minutius Felix, who says that the Christians in their assemblies lick the blood of a slain child covered with flour, and distribute its limbs. For the present it will be sufficient to hear the unpremeditated testimony of the men accused: for if their adversaries refuse such evidence, and continue to ascribe opinions to them which they disowned with every expression of abhorrence, ignorance will be no cloak to malice.

Lewis of Granada, then, that eloquent Spanish friar, expressly says, that "all the sacred ceremonies, and other external works of virtue, which are not the least part of Christian perfection, are commended chiefly on this account, that they greatly assist us to attain to internal beauty and elegance of mind—that is, to a fuller knowledge of the Divinity, to hope, to love, to fear, and veneration of the Divine Majesty."* Ceremony is derived from the ancient word cerus, signifying holy, which also gave rise to the Latin term for men of an exalted station, as if the primal wisdom discernible in the formation of languages, had chosen in this manner to indicate that superior sanctity ought to be their characteristic. "In no name of religion," says St. Augustin, "can men be collected, unless the bond of certain signs, as if of visible sacraments, should unite them together:"† from which Duns Scotus would infer, that even under the law of nature there must have been ceremonies divinely instituted;‡ for though they are nothing in themselves, they are yet acts of exterior religion, by which the mind is excited to the veneration of holy things, and elevated to heavenly objects; and by them piety is nourished, charity enkindled, faith increased, the worship of God adorned, and religion maintained. The simple are thus instructed, and the true faithful kept distinct from false Christians.—Christ himself hardly ever performed a miracle without using some ceremony, as when he made damp clay, and stretched out his hand to touch, and wrote upon the ground. The body should pay its homage as well as the soul. "Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum."* Under the three elements of religion, we find doctrinal learning rather than knowledge, the religion of the heart, as a thing of customary expression, and the symbolic religion of worship; which last remains the peculiarly positive religious object, and as Fries observes, "the most important in the formation of the popular life; for certainly positive religion is the most living and powerful master and instructor of the people, their perception and emotions arising from the view of the world constituting their deepest and strongest idea."†

But the clergy were most careful, as Cardinal Bona shows, to teach the people that piety did not consist in any exterior observances, though these were wisely and holily ordained by the Fathers.‡ The Catholic Church abhors that superstitious belief in the theurgical power of ceremonies, and in their meriting an eternal recompense, which some late writers ascribe to her; but she knew, as the author of Theologia Germanica says, that "by means of these rites and institutions many men are enticed, and converted to truth, who otherwise could not be corrected; and indeed, that few men come to truth who did not first receive these institutions and rites, and exercise themselves in them, while they knew nothing else. Therefore laws, precepts, institutions, and rites, in submissive spirituality or in spiritual poverty, are never despised or condemned, any more than the men who use them, who otherwise would become more inordinate, and worse than dogs or other brutes."§

The extraordinary, and to many, unaccountable stupidity of the peasants, in countries from which the ceremonies of faith have been withdrawn, is only the natural consequence of their having been deprived of the religious worship, and the exercises of prayer and meditation connected with it. It is religion acting through

* Ludovic. Granatensis de Omnibus Sanctis, Concio II.
† Cont. Faustum. Lib. XIX. c. II.
‡ In Lib. IV. Sent. Dist. I. 9. 7.

* Psalm lxxxiii. † Religios Philosophie, 177.
‡ De divina Psal. 499. § Cap. 24.

this medium which civilizes and spiritualizes men. These poor creatures grow up without any idea excepting what is suggested by mere natural and animal wants. "Experience teaches us," says La Hogue, "that by far the greatest portion of men can have no doctrine and precepts of manners, unless by means of the public worship of religion: so that whenever the sacred rites which used to be publicly and solemnly celebrated are intermitted or abolished, it follows of necessity, that the rustic multitude and the unlearned people should relapse into the most foul barbarism, and into the most supine ignorance of the duties of nature and of society."* What some men call Apostolic simplicity, is more acutely noted down by others as Calvinistical folly. In our age, that Protestant simplicity of which some writers speak in admiration, is only a philosophic term for getting rid of God without forfeiting appearances; far more designed for excluding his image from appearing intellectually in the detail of life, than for banishing it in form and symbol from those cold temples, in which no hallowed flame ascends, and where sanctity at one entrance is quite shut out. The heart of man knows of no such simplicity. If it loves God, it must love to refer all things to him, and to worship him with all the beauty of holiness, in spirit and in truth. The sophists who now babble most in praise of simplicity in public worship, are men who seem to think it a great thing if they profess a mere belief in the existence of a God as a sublime abstraction: and as for those who admire it on religious grounds, if they were to study the work of Cardinal Bona on the Discernment of Spirits, methinks they would find other matter for their thoughts besides the danger to which Catholics are exposed of mistaking the operations of nature or of Satan for those of grace.† In fact, as theologians observe, "External is the natural and necessary appendix to internal worship; for we are so constituted by nature, that all the sentiments of our soul break forth to the exterior, and become painted in the demeanour of the whole body; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to love God sincerely with all the heart, and not break forth in his praise, and manifest the intimate sense of divine charity by external signs. Why do men love ceremony in religion? It is because they wish to enjoy life in all the faculties and divisions of their nature. To live is to be happy: and the highest life is that which is spiritual or divine. Therefore we desire that in that life all our perceptions should participate, and consequently we wish that our senses, as well as our reason, should be excited by a divine object. Even the disposition of body in relation to things external, resulting from a habit of devotion, instead of being a scandal to a profound thinker, may only remind him of what Malebranche says, "that every thing which passes mechanically within us, is worthy of the wisdom of our Maker."* Besides, man being constituted of a body and a soul, it is just that the body, with its various abilities, which are so many gifts of God, should come forward on the side of religion.—Further, it is the nature of man to need external assistance to enable him to rise to the meditation of divine things: therefore internal piety requires to be excited and nourished by ceremonies, and certain sensible signs. Moreover every man ought to be religious and pious, not only so as to be conscious within himself that he worships God, but also that he should promote the piety and instruction of the men with whom he lives, and of those who are entrusted to his care; and this cannot be done unless we profess, by some external sign, the intimate sense of religion with which we are animated.†

In the ceremonial and discipline of the Church, there was no part without its use. That which might seem the most trifling, had its proper object, and served, in some way or other, to promote habits of humility, order, patience, recollection, and religion, so as to build up the Catholic character. Hence, the Fathers of the Council of Trent pronounce an anathema against all who should say, that the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church may be despised or omitted, "ad libitum," by the priests, or may be changed by any pastor of the churches.‡ A most important and incalculably beneficial sentence—which delivers Catholic piety from being at the mercy of weak, ignorant, though perhaps well-meaning men, who, in proportion to their weakness and ignorance, are generally vain of being reformers or modifiers of ancient things.

* Tractatus de Religione, cap. 11, prop. 2.
† De Discretione Spirituum, cap. 12.

* Recherche de la Verité, Lib. V.
† De la Hogue Tractat. de Religione, cap. 2. prop. 1. ‡ Sess. VII. Can. 13.

These approved ceremonies of the church are called, by Hugo de St. Victor, Sacraments of Devotion. He divides them into three classes—the first consisting in things, such as the aspersion of water, the reception of ashes, the benediction of palms and tapers; the second in actions, as the sign of the cross, the exsufflations, the extension of hands, genuflexions; and the third in words, as the invocation of the blessed Trinity, and that of Deus in adjutorium—for words themselves are sometimes sacraments.*

There would be no end of following theologians in remarking all the uses of these external rites to imprint the mysteries of our faith on the understanding. They show that, from the exorcisms and insufflations used in baptism, it was easier to understand than the unlearned would have found it from the Scriptures, that children are born under the yoke of the demon, and infected with original sin: that, in like manner, the ashes strewed on the heads of men at the beginning of Lent, teach them, in a most forcible manner, the vanity of all earthly things, and that, in holy week, the solemn ceremonies of the Church recall and imprint a knowledge of the mysteries of human redemption. Certain it is that the Catholic ceremonies, besides answering these ends, conduce, in all ages, to the defence of the faith against innovators, as when St. Augustin drew an invincible argument from the use of exorcisms in baptism against the error of the Pelagians.†

We are told incessantly, with shouts of defiance, that the rites of the Catholic Church addressed themselves to the imagination; as if, in the estimation of sound philosophy, it were an egregious offence to address the imagination, which is one of the powers of the soul, given to vivify and govern the interior man. But will not reason admit, that those persons ought chiefly to be protected who are chiefly in danger? And who are so much exposed to the wiles of the ancient enemy as persons to whose minds the greatest variety of images are continually presenting themselves? Who so liable to sundry distractions and temptations, against purity, against charity, against faith? Who so likely to be terrified at the approach of death, and recalled to the world by images of flesh and blood, by the wretched phantoms of vanity and sin? Assuredly it is a greater marvel to see a man of much imagination hold fast his faith, than to see it kept by one who is more under the controul of unimpassioned and abstract reason.

As for the charge of captivating the understanding by means of ceremonies, the men who produce it should learn from Malebranche, that their senses are not so corrupted as they imagine, but that it is the more interior part of their soul, their liberty, which is corrupted; that it is not their senses which deceive them, but that it is their will which deceives them by its rash judgments.* If, however, the church had ordained her ceremonies with a sole view to gratify the imagination, there might be some grounds for censure, even in reference to the beauties of poetry and art: because, although, in every excitement to spiritual activity, there is indeed a kind of pleasure, still emotion, as such, is not beautiful; but these rites are addressed not alone to the imagination; they are no less so to the affections and to the understanding of the instructed people. Can one suppose that no permanent moral change was wrought in the mind by the mere act of slowly and deliberately tracing the sign of the cross on the forehead, on the lips, and on the heart, when the gospel is announced in the divine mysteries? Can one suppose that the man accustomed to this practice is as likely to blush at the cross in society, and to show vile submission to worldly respect, as another who knows of no such practice? At the end of each lesson in the choral office, the reader turns to the altar saying, Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis, because, as holy writers say, even that work of reading cannot be without some fault, since, if he read well, the mind is tempted with elation, and if ill, confusion follows; therefore, he who reads, stands always in need of the mercy of God, lest a work, in itself good, should be either corrupted by pride or rendered ineffectual by false shame.† Can it be thought that to one instructed in this meaning, the mere ceremony does not incline him to humility, and warn him to beware how he hears as well as reads the divine word? And what, after all, are the first impressions created by the whole ritual? "Were I to enter one of their

* Hugo de St. Victor, Eruditiones Theologicæ de Sacramentis, Lib. II. pars ix. 1.

† De la Hogue de Sacramentis in Genere, cap. 7, prop. 2.

* De la Recherche de la Verité, I.

† Bona, de divina Psalmodia, 389.

churches now," says a writer of the last century, "it would be apt to put me in mind of what St. John tells us he saw once in a vision. 'Another angel came and stood at the altar having a golden censer: and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne of God. And the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the Angel's hand.' These lighted altars naturally made me think of what the good old Simeon said of Christ, 'A light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.'" Similar are the sentiments expressed by the celebrated Lavater on finding himself in a Catholic church. "He doth not know thee, O Jesus Christ, who dishonoureth even thy shadow? I honour all things," continues this philosopher, "where I find the intention of honouring thee. I will love them because of thee. I will love them provided I find the least thing which makes me remember thee! What then do I behold here? What do I hear in this place? Does nothing under these majestic vaults speak to me of thee? This cross, this golden image, is it not made for thy honour? The censer which waves round the priest, the gloria sung in choirs, the peaceful light of the perpetual lamp, these lighted tapers, all is done for thee! Why is the Host elevated, if it be not to honour thee, O Jesus Christ, who art dead for love of us, because it is no more, and thou art it, the believing church bends the knee. It is in thy honour alone that these children, early instructed, make the sign of the cross, that their tongues sing thy praise, and that they strike their breasts thrice with their little hands. It is for the love of thee, O Jesus Christ, that one kisses the spot which bears thy adorable blood; for thee, the child who serves, sounds the little bell, and does all that he does. The riches collected from distant countries, the magnificence of chasubles, all that has relation to thee. Why are the walls and the high altar of marble clothed with verdant tapestry on the day of the blessed sacrament? For whom do they make a road of flowers? For whom are these banners embroidered? When the Ave Maria sounds, is it not for thee? Matins, vespers, prime, and nones, are they not consecrated to thee? These bells within a thousand towers, purchased with the gold of whole cities, do they not bear thy image cast in the very mould? Is it not for thee that they send forth their solemn tone? It is under thy protection, O Jesus Christ, that every man places himself who loves solitude, chastity, and poverty. Without thee, the orders of St. Benedict and of St. Bernard would not have been founded. The cloister, the tonsure, the breviary, and the chaplet, render testimony of thee. O delightful rapture, Jesu Christ, for thy disciple to trace the marks of thy finger where the eyes of the world see them not! O joy ineffable for souls devoted to thee, to behold in caves and on rocks in every crucifix placed upon hills and on the high ways, thy seal and that of thy love! Who will not rejoice in the honours of which thou art the object and the soul? Who will not shed tears in hearing the words, 'Jesus Christ be praised!' O the hypocrite who knoweth that name and answereth not with joy, amen. Who saith not with an intense transport, Jesus be blessed for eternity! for eternity!"*

Another famed objection to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church was grounded on the supposed discovery that certain forms of expression adopted in them had been used by the ancients in their false religions; and this was proclaimed with a vociferation of exulting triumph by the very sophists who were themselves inclined to revive the spirit and doctrines of the heathen philosophy. Polydore Virgil seems to have been so pleased with what he had written on this point, that, although he continued to profess himself a Catholic, as to human eye, he really became one in heart at his death, yet, he looked on with the greatest apparent indifference while England was separating herself from the communion of the faithful. These men, so proudly learned, became fools, losing by pride what they gained by curiosity. To the profound thinkers of the ages of faith, there would have been nothing novel or startling in the proposition itself. Tertullian had shown that the ceremonies of the heathens, which resembled those of the Catholic church, had been transferred from the divine law to the worship of superstition,† and Gregory Nyssensis, and Theodoret had affirmed that even some may have been wisely borrowed from them by the holy Fathers, and employed to the worship of the true God.‡ The advantage of adopting and sanctifying some pagan customs, was stated acutely in the following words by the venerable Bede. "Pertinaci Paganismo mutatione subventum est, quum rei in totum sublatio potius irritasset."

* Empfindungen eines Protestantin in einerl Katholischen Kirche. † De Præscript. cap. 40.
‡ Greg. Nyss. in vita Thaumat. Theodoret. Lib. VIII. de Cur. Græc. Affect.

The conduct of the Church in adopting such ceremonies, was, in fact, only conformable to that of the Deity himself; for in his first covenant with Abraham he established circumcision as a most solemn and religious rite, yet this was in use among the heathens as a religious rite long before the time of Abraham, as is proved by Michaelis. To use the types or figures of a future Messiah in the Christian Church, would no doubt have been deemed inconsistent and monstrous, but it was impossible to infer that there was no one law, no one ceremony in the Jewish ritual, that the Christian Church could adopt. You have borrowed your ceremonies from the pagans, said the modern heathen, but one might have thought that the answer immediately sent forth would have left Middleton without any disciple bold enough to repeat his calumny.* Granting all that he would have granted, where could he find a prohibition in the law of Christians, from sanctifying every thing by prayer? While, on the other hand, with what victorious power might not the followers of Christian antiquity have advanced on their side, and proved that the very men who thus accused them were themselves guilty of having borrowed, not the ceremonies, which of themselves were nothing in the world, but the very spirit, sentiments, and language of the pagans? For let us consider how stood the two divisions of men opposed under these banners? The one were possessed of doctrines and manners perfectly unlike those of the ancient world, though it is true, some of the early sages in availing themselves of the great primitive traditions of the human race, had said many things that seemed to express the beauty and wisdom of the Catholic philosophy; but in the others no eye could discern any opposition to the spirit and habits of the heathen lore. We can pass from the classic authors of antiquity, and even from the profane poets, to their great writers, without observing any sudden transition or change. Their moralists rise no higher than the flight of Cicero or Seneca. Their views of human character differ in no respect from the representations given by Euripides, Plautus or Terence. We find in none of their writers those sentiments and features which were peculiar to the Gospel, which rendered it in the eyes of Pliny and Tacitus, an execrable superstition. Certainly their adamantine authors, as they styled each other, would have given no offence had they appealed to the judgment of the forum or the Areopagus.

But now dismissing these unworthy objections as fitting only in the men who cherish them, let us proceed to contemplate in quiet meditation the beauty and wisdom of the solemn offices which were observed within the holy precints of the Catholic Church; and if Xenophon saith truly, that there is nothing among men so useful and so beautiful as order,* well may admiration be awakened at the memory of them: planetlike in their movement, constant in their duration, universal in their observance, so that holy writers of the middle ages, like St. Columban, St. Boniface, and St. Gregory, of Tours, could apply no other epithet to them; but "that course divine,"—universal, I say, and like the great operations of nature, extended over every part of the earth, for by means of the monastic institutions, these celestial sounds were as familiar to the desert as to the city; they were heard in the solemn depth of forests, on the wildest mountain pass, and they were borne by howling winds, from rock to rock, along with the shriek of sea-birds over the ocean wave.

Nature herself seems to point out the distinction of hours. The Pythagoreans used to take morning walks alone in places of silence and repose, where were temples and groves, and other objects proper for acting upon the mind. They would not speak to any one until they had composed their minds rightly in solitude and contemplation; for they esteemed it a turbulent thing to go amongst the crowd immediately after rising from sleep. Therefore, they always observed this matutinal walk, especially in temples where they could be found, or if not, in such places as most nearly resembled them. In the evening they used to resume their walk, not alone, but two or three together, that they might repeat what they had learned in the day, and recall what they had done, and so exercise their memory.†

Chrysippus with Seneca says, that the Hours are sisters of the Graces, but elder in birth. Homer, in his hymns, calls the Hours wise, and Orpheus styled them chaste, and beautiful, and innocent. These expressions in their application are unintelligible to one who has only in mind a mode of employing the hours, like that of the degenerate times described by Martial, which consists in devoting the first to salutations and compliments, the middle to

* A Popish Pagan, the fiction of a Protestant Heathen. London, 1743.

* Œconom. cap. 8.

† Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 21.

litigation, to business of various kinds, or to entertainment, and the last to banqueting and repose;* but in what justice do they seem founded to the Christian ear when remembrance suggests their employment by the Church and by Catholic men in ages of faith! Good men and holy might sometimes be dismayed at observing that they occasionally felt wearied internally even by the operation of the works of God, if they had not been accustomed to receive and remark with deep attention the counsels and encouragements of the Church, to whose offices we are in general far from sufficiently applying for a solution to difficulties in the study of philosophy. The love of variety, arising from a sense of our own infinity, which implies constant renovation, and development, is not a vain or criminal propensity, since it is part of our nature which God hath made; and the Holy Ghost foreseeing that the spectacle and course of the external world might occasionally prove wearisome to human minds, prompted the Church to add in grateful praise of the eternal Founder of things who ruleth night and day, those remarkable lines:

"Et temporum das tempora,
Ut alleves fastidium."

St. Athanasius observes, that from the creation of the world until Christ, the day preceded the night as we read in Scripture; but from the coming of Christ, the night precedes the day; and thus we begin to celebrate the day solemnly from the vespers of the preceding day. This was typical to show how from light men were to decline to darkness, from God to errors and idolatry; but from the time that the sun of justice, Christ, rose upon us, we are brought out of darkness into the light of divine faith.† The monks of Mount Athos consider the day to begin from midnight, because it was then that the resurrection of our Lord took place; and in allusion to this the Church exclaims, "O vere beata nox quæ sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua Christus ab inferis resurrexit," as if even the very time itself were endowed with intelligence, and more than in poetic figure blessed. The holy Fathers are full of praises of the night generally. The night, say they, is innocent, though it is the time of committing crimes, for the mind ought to be accused, not the time. St. Jerome says, "it is good to meditate during the day, but nocturnal meditation is still better; for in the day various necessities interpose, and cares and occupations distract the mind, but the night is the time of peace and quietness, most favourable for prayer and watching."* Therefore, St. Chrysostom says, "the night is not made for us to pass the whole of it in sleeping and repose. Witness these workmen, these sailors, and merchants. The Church of God rises at midnight. Rise thou, also, and observe the choir of the stars, the profound silence, the great quiet, which of itself can charm the passions of a troubled heart. Be amazed at the wonderful dispensation of thy God. Then the mind is purer, lighter, more subtle. This darkness and silence are enough to inspire it with compunction; but if you behold the heavens studded, as it were, with innumerable eyes, you will take delight in admiring the wisdom of the Creator. God is moved by nocturnal prayers, if you make the time of repose that of penitence."† Speaking of the constant prayer and psalmody of the perfect Christian, Clemens Alexandrinus adds, "ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ εὐχαὶ πάλιν." "The day," says Tertullian, "dies in the night, and is buried in darkness. The honour of the world is shrouded, and all substance is enveloped in blackness. All things are silent and amazed. Every where are justice and rest. Thus nature mourns for the departed light."‡ St. Chrysostom, who had not foreseen what we now behold, in enumerating the beneficent works of God, takes especial notice of the merciful ordination of night to oblige men to suspend their labours who might otherwise be induced by avarice to deprive themselves of necessary repose. It is night, when the woods and the wild seas rest. "Behold," he exclaims, "what tranquillity, what profound silence. Every thing in nature is hushed, every thing is in repose, even beasts and monsters possess quiet in sleep's calm bliss: there is an end also of complaint, and of those groans which proceed from the miseries of human life. The night is like a favourable port in which all men forget the storms with which they were agitated during the day."§ There is an end of the combats of ambition. The friendly night, as Æschylus sings, wide over heaven's star-spangled fields, holdeth her awful reign,‖ and even the intemperate

* Lib. IV. Epig. 8.
† Athan. in 99, Sac. Scrip. 54. Gen. i. 3.

* Ep. 36, De Observ. Vigiliarum, Tom. IV.
† Hom. 26, in Act. Apost.
‡ Tertull. de Resur. Carnis, cap. 12.
§ On Compunction, Lib. II. cap. 5.
‖ Agamem.

passions of the heroic world professed submission to its sway.

*νὺξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.**

"Fatigued by the labours of the day, is it not," asks St. Cyrill of Alexandria, "through favour of the night that we recover the vigour which we had lost? What is more favourable than the night to promote our advance in wisdom? It is the time of those holy thoughts which raise our souls towards the Author of all good; it is then that we can devote ourselves more freely to reading and to the meditations of the divine oracles. Is it not during the night that we find in our soul a greater ardour for prayer, and in our voice more religious sounds to chant the sacred canticles? At what time does the remembrance of our sins present itself to us with the greatest force? Is it not during the night?"

In the last book we remarked how familiar were men with death, and here we see in their language abounding in solemn invocations, how they sympathised also with black night, the mother, not of the furies, but of peaceful and holy thoughts. "It seems to me," says Clemens of Alexandria, "that the night was called '*εὐφρόνη*,' because at that time the soul is at rest from the senses, and partakes more of wisdom. On that account the mysteries are chiefly celebrated at night, and they signify the separation of the soul from the body."† Eustathius writing on the Iliad, cites the ancient proverb which ascribes counsel to the night, to which Æschylus seems to subscribe, saying, that during the day mortals are blind.‡ In the arrangement of the ecclesiastical office these considerations have not been overlooked, for in the office of the night we may observe, that the lessons read are longer than those read in the day; because, as Cardinal Bona says, the night is for contemplation, the day for action.§ It appears from Tertullian, Athenagoras, Arnobius, Justin, and Minutius Felix, that the Christians were calumniated by the heathens on account of their nocturnal psalmody and vigils. They were called a people loving darkness, and addicted to impious rites. The Christians might, indeed, have referred them to their own poets, who speak of the sacred night,‖ to Orpheus, who celebrated the night in noble hymns, to Cicero, who praises the nightly vigil consecrated to the gods,* to Plato, who recommends the employing part of the night in transacting public business, and the affairs of domestic economy, for the reason that much sleep is injurious to the concerns of both body and soul.† But the examples of the Old Testament supplied them with a sufficient authority, for there they read that Abraham rose up by night with his son to ascend the mountain and obey the voice of God; that it was by night when Jacob desired to see the mysterious ladder, and struggling with the angel till morning, received a benediction; that by night the Lord led the children of Israel out of Egypt; that Samuel the prophet prayed all night to the Lord; that Judith went out by night and prayed; that the royal David rose at midnight to confess to the Lord, and invited others to lift up their hands by night and to bless the Lord. "The devotion of vigils," says Nicetius, "has always been known to the saints. Isaia cried, 'De nocte vigilat spiritus meus ad te, Deus.' David says, 'memor fui nocte nominis tui, Domine.' Anna, the widow, departed not from the temple day and night, the holy shepherds too were keeping watch when they beheld the vision of angels in the sky; and the Saviour himself repeatedly reminds us of the need of watching by night, and taught us by his example, and admonished Peter in the time of the passion, 'non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum? Vigilate et orate;' words sufficient to awaken men from the sleep of death. The blessed apostles kept vigils. St. Peter in prison, and the disciples who were assembled in the house of Mary, and Paul, and Silas. As for the utility of vigils, I must now speak," continues this holy bishop, "although this can be more easily felt by the exercise than described by the words of a narrator; for it is by tasting that we see how sweet is the Lord. A good thing, indeed, is meditation by day; a good thing is prayer; but much more grateful and efficacious is nocturnal meditation; because in the day various necessities disturb us, occupation deadens the mind, multiplied cares distract the sense; but the night is secret; the night is quiet and opportune for prayer, and fitting those that watch; know, therefore, that vigils are agreeable to God."‡ "The hour of midnight," says St. Basil, "the hour of repose and silence, is the most favourable to the

* Hom. Il. VII. 282.
† Stromat. Lib. IV. c. 22.
‡ Eumenid. 105.
§ De div. Psal.
‖ Eurip. Ion. 85.

* De Legibus, Lib. II.
† Ib. Lib. VII.
‡ Nicetius Episcop. de Vigiliis Servorum Dei, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.

pure operations of the soul. The sight and the hearing receive then no impression from external things, the soul is then alone; it is disengaged from all earthly things; it is wholly occupied with God. During these precious moments of the night, the memory of sins presents itself most forcibly to her."* It is then that she discerns the rapid flight of life; while every thing else is at rest, the strides of death are more distinctly heard. The whole world seems abbreviated before her, as it did to St. Benedict in the night, and she may almost behold herself already entering upon the eternal world. Ah, well may the night seem solemn!

These views may appear ungronnded and paradoxical to the present race of men; for alas! who now is permitted to taste the sanctified night of Christians, or even the Ambrosian night of Homer? Dead both to grace and nature, if men do not, like some of the ancients, devote the night to the rites of Bacchns,† it is made the time of all others in which, as if they studied purposely to contradict all that the holy Fathers have ever written, they least think of wisdom or of God, and thus the gloom of moral darkness is added to the obscurity of nature. To Adam after his fall, the natural night seemed full of horrors:

> ———— "With black air
> Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
> Which to his evil conscience represented
> All things with double terror."

Bnt during the middle ages, the night continued to appear as it did to the primitive Christians. "The night time is often favourable to devotion," says Thomas à Kempis, "and of no small assistance to sacred meditations."‡ If we reflect on the observation of Quinctilian, who remarked that when sleep was intermitted, thought was assisted by the very darkness of the night,§ we shall have reason to expect that the people of the middle ages who so loved vigils, would be found upon investigation to have been eminently that thinking people, which the moderns are so fond of being considered. "The nights are dearer and more useful to me than the days," says the Abbot Peter, of St. Remi, in a letter to Berneredns, Abbot of St. Crispin. "My occupations by day hurry me away violently and fraudulently from myself, but the winter nights, by their length, confer on me a donble benefit; for they give rest to my body, and they renew my spirits. They give liberty to revisit celestial things, and to inquire into their secrets, and also to be remindful of my friends."* Lucas, Archbishop of Cosenza, in the thirteenth century, used also to pass the night in writing, "yet," says the writer of his life, who lived with him, "to the conventual vigils in the Church he would always hasten, humbly singing and watching with the brethren."† Cardinal Bona observes, that the heavy and continued sleep of worldly people is as much opposed to health of body as to philosophy, according to the jndgment of Aristotle,‡ of Hippocrates,§ and of Avicenna. Then in allnding to the nocturnal vigils, he exclaims, "O si scirent homines quam sanctæ, quam gratæ Deo, qnam salntares ecclesiastici, sed et fideles singuli, simnl in unum dives et pauper, noctem verterent in diem nocturnis precibus summa stndio insistentes."‖ St. Bernard shows how the night is peculiarly favourable for prayer. "When sleep involves the world in profound silence, then," saith he, "prayer will be purer and freer. How securely does it then ascend to God, the sole arbiter, and to the holy angel who is ready to present it on the supernal altar! How grateful is such prayer! How serene! and uninterrupted by any sonnd! How clear from all dust of terrene solicitnde; exempt from all praise or flattery of mortal beholders! 'O insignem nocturni temporis prærogativam! O sacras noctes omni luce splendidiores!' "¶ Not now devoted to Thessalian arts, but conscious of angelic light:

> "O nox purpureo splendidior die,
> O nox delitiis omnibus affluens."**

The heretics, beginning with Vigilantius, whom St. Jerome, on that account, calls the sleeper, condemned the nocturnal vigils and psalmody. Polidore Virgil, generally a rash and vain writer, affirms that they were always held in suspicion on account of the danger of immorality; bnt such an error says Cardinal Bona does not deserve to be confuted. In the third century, nnder Marcellus, it was, indeed, forbidden

* Nicetius Episcop. de Vigiliis Servorum Dei, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.
† Oppian de Venat. Lib. I. 25.
‡ Sermonum III. 11.
§ Lib. X. 6.

* Petri Cellens. Epist. Lib. V. 1.
† Italia Sacra, Tom. IX. 206.
‡ In Œconomicis.
§ 2 Apth. 3.
‖ De divina Psalmodia, 122.
¶ Serm. ult. in Cant.
** Card. Bona, p. 128.

to keep vigils in the cemeteries, in those low regions where sad night hangs round the drowsy vaults, and where moist vapours steep the dull brows of those whose limbs are laid to rest, but no where is it written that the vigils in churches were condemned by the ancients. St. Philip Neri was even accustomed to pass the night frequently in the cemetery of St. Callistus on the Appian way.* St. Romuald had such a horror of sleep after vigils, that if any one confessed to him that he had indulged in it he would not allow him that day to celebrate mass.† Crodegand, Bishop of Metz, forbids the canons on pain of excommunication to sleep during the interval between nocturns and the early sacrifice, unless on account of sickness or with leave. The holy Abbot Ælredus, calls that a blessed interval which intervenes after the nocturnal psalmody, until the rising of the sun; for then he says, the heart is most refreshed with the sweetness of devotion. It is at this hour that celestial visions have been generally imparted to holy men. The rocks and woods of Alvernia were still involved in the solemn grey which precedes the first rosy streaks on the eastern sky, when the winged seraph in living flames descended upon Francis, giving the last signets to his saintly flesh by the fervour which it kindled. —Gilbertus, praising the same interval, exclaims,—"Deus bone! hora illa noctis quàm sine nocte est, quàm nox illa illuminatio in deliciis! Orationes illæ privatim fiunt, sed privata non petunt." Thus St. Anthony, after passing the night in prayer, when the sun rose in the morning, used to say, that it came to interrupt his peaceful ecstasy. St. Benedict used to pass the night in the upper chamber of a tower which rose above the monastery; and it was there, when all the other brethren were taking rest, that the holy man, while standing at a window on the south side, looking towards Capua, had that vision of the whole world, abbreviated amidst a sudden splendour which exceeded the light of the brightest day.‡ Pope St. Leo, when at Rome, used three times every week to walk by night barefooted from the Lateran Palace to St. Peter's Church, privately, attended by two or three clerks, praying and chaunting psalms.§ When St. Odo was a monk at St. Martin's of Tours, he used in the night to go alone to

* P. Aringhi Roma Subterranea, p. 239.
† Petr. Damian in Vit. S. Romualdi.
‡ Chronica Casinensis, S. B. cap. 35.
§ Chron. S. Monast. Casinensis, Lib. II. 87.

pray at the sepulchre of the saint, which was at a distance of two miles from the college, and the wolves used to terrify him as he walked thither.* St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Trojanus, Bishop of Saintes, used to go, in the darkness of the night, to visit all the holy places which were within the circuit of that city, and attended only by one subdeacon.† Thus Neemias rose up by night, and a few men with him, and indicated to no one what God had put into his heart that he should do in Jerusalem. Thus did he go out by the gate of the valley by night, and before the fountain of the dragon, and thus did he contemplate the walls of Jerusalem broken down, and its gates consumed with fire. "For," says Hugo of St. Victor, "it is the duty of spiritual doctors to rise up often by night, and while other men sleep, to go about investigating the state of the Church, that they may discover how they may correct and raise up the things which have been defiled by sins, and overthrown by the tempests of war."‡

These nightly exercises of devotion were practised also by the laity with great assiduity, during the middle ages. One of the most remarkable confraternities of the Church of Paris, was that bearing the date of the year 1205, and entitled "Confraternitas Beatæ Mariæ Parisiensis surgentium ad Matutinas," which was composed of pious persons of the city, who used to rise and repair to the church at midnight.§ It is mentioned in the life of Madame de Maisons,‖ that she used to rise constantly at that hour, and repair to the church of St. Eustache, her parish, when they chaunted matins.

This night of the middle ages must be dear to poets. O how solemn sounds the choral song while the nocturnal wind sweeps round the solitary pile! Angels then may be thought to beat their wings against the windows of the churches; and sometimes has death seemed to beckon with its finger through them, to give salutary warning to a summoned soul.

The ecclesiastical decrees desired that all the people should come to nocturnal vigils.¶ It was, in fact, the practice of the laity, in the middle ages, as in primitive times, to spend the vigils of festivals

* Bibliothec. Cluniac.
† De Gloria Confessorum, 59.
‡ Allegor. in Lib. VIII. 11.
§ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. 1.
‖ In 4to. 1657.
¶ Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars vi. c. 259.

in the churches, and Drexelius laments its disuse in the wretched times in which he wrote. "Alas!" saith he, "what a progress! We indeed keep many nocturnal vigils; but it is over cups, amidst dancing, and playing at tables."* Mabillon, in his Itinerary of Germany, describes certain lanterns at the great gates of the church of the monastery of Luxen, and at that of Bonvaux near Chartres, to guide persons who came in the night to those churches.† "I remember," says an ancient monk, "that during eight days before the festival of St. Paulinus the Briton, Bishop of Capua, who died in 851, the bells used to sound at vespers, and that, on the vigil of the feast, lights used to burn on the top of the tower."‡

Sometimes persons kept vigils in churches throughout the whole night, without any lights burning.§ The pious Emperor Henry, as often as he visited Rome, used to spend the first night in the Basilica of St. Maria Majora.‖ Drexelius also mentions the devotion of Mary de Œnies, who, with one attendant, used every year, and in the depth of winter, to remain during a whole night in the church of our Lady. Thus too, on the festival of the blessed martyr of the Brivatensian church, St. Gregory of Tours has occasion to relate, that a devout poor man came there to celebrate it, who having fastened his horse outside, entered the church, and there spent the night motionless, praying with the other people during the whole night, till break of day.¶ We read in the decrees of Ives de Chartres, that when a bishop was to hold his synod in a church, "all the persons were to be ejected at the first hour of the day, before the rising of the sun."**

To this discipline there was a remarkable exception in the sacred cave or church in the rocks of Mount Garganum, celebrated throughout the whole world on account of the apparition of St. Michael. For, from the first light till evening psalmody, sacred mysteries and prayers were offered there daily by clergy and people, during which time the doors were never closed; but through fear and reverence for the angelic choir, which was said to be present there during the night, no one was permitted to remain after the last office, when diligent search used to be made in order to expel all persons. In the year 1015, St. Henry the Emperor was received there to hospitality by Ursus, Archbishop of Siponto, when he came for the sake of devotion to visit this church of St. Michael. Passing the brazen gates, which were the gift of princes, and descending into that vast cavern obscure, distilling drops through the solid rock, he joined in the offices which were then solemnly sung before the great altar at the end of the choir, in which is a fountain of most sweet and transparent water. When the office was concluded, and every person commanded to withdraw, the saint indeed begged, and obtained permission, to remain in the church during that night; but this was an especial indulgence, which no one else ever enjoyed: and the subsequent lameness of the holy emperor was attributed, by contemporary writers, to the effects of the vision which was then vouchsafed to him, when like another Jacob, he endured an angel's touch.*

The processions of penitents at Rheims, in the year 1575, took place in the night. The Archbishop, Louis de Guise, assisted, walking barefoot along with a numerous confraternity. The litanies, sung with a mournful tone, were often interrupted by the sobs and plaintive cries of the penitents, which produced a most overpowering effect in the silence and horror of the darkness. These pilgrims anticipated, from the aspect of public affairs, the destruction of the Catholic religion in France, and hence their penitential vigil.† The night's dead silence did well become such sweet complaining sorrow.

It is still a devotion at Rome to go by night to the ancient Basilicas without the walls. One morning, leaving Rome while it was still dark, being three hours before sunrise, as I approached the gate of St. Lorenzo, I saw an extraordinary light moving towards me, which soon assumed the form of crosses of light. Presently I heard the murmur of prayers, and the solemn chaunt of the pilgrim's litany; a vast crowd of persons became half discernible, the men going first and the women following, and the light proceeded from two crosses borne alone, to which lamps were attached. It is impossible to describe

* De Jejunio, Lib. II. cap. 6.
† Iter Germanicum in Vet. Analecta.
‡ Italia Sacra, Tom. VI. 313.
§ S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. I. 5.
‖ Jo. Naucl. Gen. 34.
¶ S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. II. 21.
** Decret. Pars iv. 246.

* Italia Sacra, Tom. VII. 821.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. IV. 147.

the awful impression produced by such a spectacle at that hour, and on such gronnd! At first I supposed it to be a funeral train, but on inquiry I was told that they were persons returning to Rome, after hearing mass in the basilica of St. Lorenzo, without the walls. It struck me forcibly that here was a faith and thirst worthy of the days of the apostles. The first Christians could not have evinced greater fervour than these poor people, who filled the lonely precints of the eternal city, at the bitter hour of damp exhalations, with prayers for mercy, with the praises of Christ, and of his blessed mother. At Lucca, there is a holy brotherhood whose members are appointed in turn to sound a bell before dawn, at the doors of such of the citizens as are accustomed to assist at the first mass, in order to apprize them of the hour, and light the torch which is to guide them to the Church. In the monastery of St. Apollonia, at Florence, there is a part granted to a confraternity of pious people, who assembled there only during the night. Through the foul womb of night the hnm of hasty passengers, who murmur prayers as they repair to chnrches, stilly sounds. "There is no rest," says St. Paulinns, "for the multitude who repair to the festival of the blessed Confessor Felix, at Nola."

——" Properant in lucem à nocte, diemque
Expectare piget, votis avidis mora noctis
Rumpitur, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt."*

Even without the interest of a more than ordinary occasion, the watchers who guard the city find them going about it, through the streets and squares, seeking Him whom their souls love. It was so common a practice to go to the chnrch at matins, that the French had an ancient proverh,—"as dangerous as return from matins,"—to express the liability to fall into mischief in the dark from enemies or wolves.†—Petrarch writes as follows :"—I rise always at midnight, to sing the praises of God. The silence of the night is best suited to this employment. It is the part of my life when I am most myself, and most delightfully employed. It is a custom I have observed, which has never been interrupted but by sickness, and which I shall ever adhere to." We find him dating one of his letters from "the most retired corner of the Ambrosian honse at Milan," under that light, and at the same hour, in which formerly the living Light arose npon the earth to enlighten men."—Nicholas Von der Flue, when father of a family at Saxeln, used to retire to rest with his honsehold; bnt as soon as they were asleep, he would rise from his bed, leave his chamber, and spend in prayer to God all the remaining time till day break. His son, John, says of him, "my father used always to retire to rest with his children, but all night long, till morning, I have heard him pray in another room. The heavenly sweetness with which he used to be refreshed served him instead of sleep, so that in the morning, no one ever rose from bed so fresh and cheerful as he used from prayer."* It is curions to remark, that while private devotion instigated men to this dedication of the tragic melancholy night, the very laws of the state lent their assistance to secure it from profanation. By the French laws, all labourers were forbidden to work after vespers. Carpenters alone were permitted to work dnring the night, when coffins were to be made for the dead, or works for funeral ceremonies erected. It was not even lawful for tradesmen to sell goods till the appointed hour had struck, which was generally tierce or nine.† The Roman laws prohibited jndgments from being passed, at night, notwithstanding that Minerva had been made to sanction the contrary discipline of her own favoured tribunal.‡

To the night of the middle ages belonged many solemn and poetic things, of which the trace only remains, as in some towns of England, where, at particular seasons of the year, dnring the night, one hears a small bell tolled a certain number of times, and then, in a mournful tone, some rnde verses chaunted, which had been substituted, no doubt, for the ancient invitation to pray for the dead at that hour, a devotion to which indulgences were attached. In Italy during the octave at all souls, the bell for the dead tolls the whole night long, or at least for a considerable space about midnight. In the history of the church of Durham, we read, the "three bells of the lantern were rung ever at midnight, at twelve of the clock; for the monks went evermore to mattins at that hour of the night."§ On arriving in Italy the

* Italis Sacra, VI.

† Pasquier Recherche de la France, Lib. VIII. 23.

* Leben und Geschichte des Nikol von Flüe, by Weissenbach.

† Monteil Hist. des Français, tom. III. 261.

‡ Æschylus Eumenid. 692.

§ I. 35.

traveller is soon reminded of the beautiful similitude which Dante draws from the tones that sanctify a Catholic night.

> As clock, that calleth up the spouse of God
> To win her bridegroom's love at matin's hour,
> Each part of other fitly drawn and urg'd,
> Sends out a tinkling sound, of note so sweet
> Affection springs in well-disposed breast."*

O, how does a youthful imagination then sympathise with all that the holy fathers have written respecting the night! how does it love that holy silence which reigns on all nature! The river has still its silver flood, but no more its murmur; the highways are desert, the cabins, voiceless; no leaf trembles under the vaults of the wood, and the sea itself, expiring on the strand, scarcely rolls against it a plaintive wave.† How far is every thing here from the frown of sable-vested night, the consort of chaos! How holy is the Catholic night, the night of the middle ages! the time in which saints, all over the earth, are assembled to chaunt the same sacred hymns, and to commemorate the same great deliverance. Some seasons, indeed, there were, as those of Christmas and Easter, in which it was in an especial degree the privileged and blessed time; nights in which things celestial were joined to earthly, and divine to human; in qua terrenis cœlestia, humanis divina junguntur; for as the church of God says, it was, "while all things were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her course, that the Almighty word came from heaven, from the royal throne. Seven times in the year, mass used to be said at midnight. At Christmas, in consequence of the ordinance of Pope St. Telesphorus, in the second century, on Holy Saturday, on the festival of St. John the Baptist, and on the collation of holy orders, on the four Saturdays of the Ember weeks."‡ For a long time after St. Leo, ordinations used to take place on the Saturday night of XII lessons, towards Sunday morning, after the second nocturn of matins, as appears from an ancient Roman order which was in the abbey of Vendome.§

But while the Church of God is thus risen at the solemn midnight hour, where sit the world's children? Alas! for them, the night has no terrors, excepting when there is a question of going to the assemblies of the faithful: worshippers of pleasure—children of night, pursuers of private sins, as hot on the scent, as if like their elder sisters, sung by Æschylos, they were divinely deputed to follow the trace of blood that cried to heaven; who are in constant habits of braving the obscure air at the hour when rest is provided for all flesh, are immediately convinced that they would contract some fatal illness if the way were to the church instead of the festal hall. They might, it is said, meet revellers in the streets, and religion might incur disgrace if her temples were to be open at those hours, which the moderns, by common consent, think must needs be consigned over either to sleep or to Babylonian rites. To them we may address the words of St. Clemens Alexandrinus to the Pagans, who were initiated in the orgies of Bacchus, for, as he says, "in the mysteries of the Atheists," "formerly the silent night was to virtuous men a veil of sweetness, but now, to you, the sacred night is filled with the noise of dissolute speech."* If compelled to absent themselves on such occasions from the assemblies of the faithful, men were not heard in the middle ages to declaim against this devout and most ancient exercise, or to condemn as imprudent those who maintained its utility, as if almost it were an evil as great as heresy, to love the poetical side of a religious life. "Because you are infirm," said Nicetius the bishop, "do not condemn the vigils of others. It would be foolish and sufficiently foreign from religion to depreciate those who run well, because we are unable ourselves to run; though we have not the power, we ought not to envy but to congratulate those who have; for as he who consents to malice is partaker of the punishment, so, a participation in glory may be hoped for from a consent to goodness."†

But now the approach of rosy-fingered morn is witnessed in the eastern sky, and the melody of choirs is resumed to hail the hour of universal lauds to the eternal Founder of things, who ruleth day and night. Dominus regnavit, now is heard, and the rest which follows of that psalm in which, says Hugo de St. Victor, "Christ, with admirable brevity is multifariously praised."‡ The Church seems to come forth refreshed and more than ever joyous. She descends to speak of all the various

* Parad. X. † De la Martine.
‡ Benedict XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, II. Append. 388.
§ Chardon Hist. des Sacramens, Tom. V. c. 6.

* Clem. Alex. Protrepticus, c. 2.
† De vigiliis servorum Dei. Dacher. Spicileg. III. ‡ De Officiis Ecclesiasticis, cap. 10.

duties of men, and sings the dawn with transport; for then the army of errors deserts the hurtful way; the sailor collects his forces; straits and seas grow calm; at the crowing of the cock, hope returns; health is imparted to the infirm; the robber's sword is sheathed; faith is restored to the fallen; Jesus she invokes that he would look upon the wavering, for, at his look, sins would cease and crime be washed away with weeping; that he would enlighten the senses, and dispel the sleep of minds. At the rising of the star of light, —she prays to be protected from all hurtful things during that day,—that the tongue may be tempered so as to serve no horrid contention, that the sight may be directed so as to draw no vanity, that the heart's recesses may be pure and the pride of the flesh humbled: so that when the day shall depart, her children may be enabled, through abstinence, to sing glory to the coequal and eternal Three.

After the offices of lauds and prime succeeded the sacred mass, though in times of persecution, when the assemblies of the faithful were necessarily less frequent, the Eucharistic sacrifice was not daily offered. In the great church of Constantinople, down to the XIth century, mass used to be celebrated only on Sundays and Sabbath days and festivals, which was a vestige of the ancient necessity. Whereas, in all churches of less antiquity, the divine mysteries were daily celebrated according to pious usage,* sanctioned by the constitutions termed apostolical.† Mass used to be said daily in the time of St. Ambrose and St. Basil, after the example of the apostles; a usage which is acknowledged to have existed in the first ages, even by Protestant writers.‡ St. Cyprien shows that mass should be said daily, and that all should communicate daily. To the like effect speaks St. Hilary. With the Greeks, they who passed three Sundays without communion were said to be excommunicated.§ From the sixth century, the daily celebration of mass was a common discipline, but it appears that in the seventh it became still more general for pious men to assist every day at mass. St. Goar celebrated mass every day, and the same is recorded of St. Geremarus Abbot; and Bede affirms the same of Ceolfrid, the abbot of his monastery. The bishop, Licinus, is also related to have daily sung mass with great compunction of heart, but Mabillon interprets the word to mean only having simply recited it. In the eighth century, this discipline was enjoined by the decrees of the synods,* and since the Council of Trent, it continued to be the universal practice of devout Christians. "When you have risen from your bed," says Louis of Blois, "after making the sign of the cross and recommending your soul and body to the Most High, hasten to the church as to the place of your refuge and a garden of spiritual delights."† Hence we may remark, that on occasions of public danger or calamity, there was no necessity, as we read in the Pagan times of Rome, for the state to appoint a day of general prayer, for which a form of words was to be prepared, for the church had already her appointed course, and there was always a sacrifice ready and a sublime invocation for those who sought to propitiate the mercy of Heaven. What the venerable Bede said of priests, who, without a legitimate hindrance, fail to present the divine host to God every day, may well account for the zeal of holy men to offer up mass daily. "Tell me," cries the bishop Iona, in his "Institute of Laics," "tell me, you who come to the church only on feast days, are not the other days also feast days? Are they not days of the Lord, for on what day does not the church celebrate the victory of some martyr or confessor?"‡ Pope Benedict XIV. considers the arguments of those who maintain that mass should not be daily celebrated, on the plea that "semper abundantia contumeliosa in se est," and that, "quicquid raro fit, pretiosius fit, cum fit," and that the priest who seldom celebrates is usually moved to tears, which he would not be if he daily offered. Having refuted these objections, he concludes thus:—"In this last objection there lies an ambiguity, for, as St. Antoninus says, 'If any one should estimate that disposition in himself, from the sensible compunction of heart, profusion of tears, fervour of mind, and similar sentiments, so that when he feels these, he believes himself to be disposed, and when he does not feel them, he supposes himself indisposed, he walks very

* Thomassinus de veteri et nova Ecclesiæ disciplin. Pars III. Lib. I. c. 72.
† Const. Apost. II. 59. VIII. 35—39.
‡ Rheinwald Die KirchlicheArchæologie, p. 332.
§ Walafrid Strabo de rebus ecclesiasticis, cap. 20.

* Mabill. Præfat. in II. Sæcul. Bened.
† Guide Spirit. cap. 2.
‡ Ionæ Aurelianensis Episcop. de Institutione Laicali, Lib. I. cap. 2. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.

uncautiously, and is most often deceived. Frequently those who have no such things are in a state of grace, and they who have them are altogether without grace, though they do what is gracious.'"

Admirable was the diligence evinced by the church to enable the faithful people to perform their devotions without interruption to their social duties. Within the churches the divine mysteries were successively celebrated from break of day till noon, to suit the early traveller, the labourer, the domestic, the student, the charitable matron, the pious father of a family. We have seen that in almost every street there was a church or chapel, that no time might be lost in passing from the study, or the workshop, or the palace. The number of altars in churches was partly designed for this object. In the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, built by Constantine, there were three altars, but when visited by the bishop Arculfus, in the seventh century, it contained five altars. There were four in the Basilica of St. Mary, in the Vale of Josaphat. In the sixth century, it appears from St. Gregory of Tours,* there were two altars in the basilica of St. Peter at Bourdeaux. St. Ambrose also mentions many altars being in one church.† In the new church of the monastery of Cluny, which was dedicated in the year 1131, there were twenty-four altars. The altar of St. Gabriel, the Archangel, was in the tower of the bells; that of St. Michael the Archangel, was over the portal. The ancient chronicles of Strasbourg attest that there were formerly in that cathedral fifty altars. In some churches a mass used to be said expressly for servants.‡ Portable altars were in use long before the eleventh century. St. Wilfram, bishop of Sens, passing the sea in a ship, is said to have celebrated the sacred mysteries upon a portable altar. Bede§ relates that the two Ewaldes offered sacrifice daily, having with them vessels and the table of an altar dedicated. Hincmar prescribed that no one should celebrate mass upon an altar which was not consecrated. All this discipline prevailed at least as early as in the fifth century.

The Eucharistic sacrifice terminated, the church resumed her holy songs, and celebrated tierce and sext, after which followed an interval of repose while the day reigned in its fulness. But nothing is constant with men. Every thing revolves and perishes. "Alas," exclaims Bona, "we proposed to perform great things when the sun was mounted to the meridian, and lo! in a short time, it descends to evening. The church is about to sing nones. It is the ninth hour, in which Christ died for man, in which man had been expelled from paradise;* the day is become old, the night is approaching; such is the frailty of this mortal life. How soon the day declines, the heat cools, the light sinks and is buried in the shade of evening, but we must run our course until we shall behold the Lord of Lords in Sion." Nones having been sung, the church prepares to celebrate a more august office.

It is the vesper hour. "Ah, what a symbol is here," cries Bona. "Let us say, therefore, with the disciples, whose hearts burned within them by the way, 'Mane nobiscum, Domine, mane nobiscum, quoniam advesperascit.' Now evening, the mother of night, will bring forth darkness; now sadness oppresses us, and despair sinks us down. The waters have come even unto our soul: now a horrible tempest afflicts our spirits: the cold of iniquity freezes us, and a wounded conscience dreads the terrible sentence of the Judge. Remain with us, O most clement Lord, since without thee we can do nothing; we are nothing! Thou art our consolation, thou art our refuge and strength; thou art a tower of might against the face of our enemies. The night of wickedness covers all things; the light of truth faileth; depravity abounds; charity grows cold; our eyes are turned to thee, that we may not perish. Remain with us, that the darkness may not come upon us, and that the shining light, which shineth to us in that dark place, may not be extinguished in the night. The end of life is near; the evening of our day: deliver us from the power of darkness, and turn not in anger from thy servants; because if thou art with us, we shall fear no evil in the midst of the shadow of death, but with the brightness of thy grace we shall be enlightened in that region of the dead. It is good to be with thee, O sweet Jesus. Remain with us, and turn not away from us. These are the shades of evening; the darkest night draws on, in which no man can work. Remain with us, and close the door upon

* De Gloria Mart. 34.

† Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. II. tit. vii. § 1.

‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, chap. Corbeil.

§ Lib. V. cap. 11.

* Durandus Rationale, Lib. V. 8.

us, until the darkness shall pass over, and light again rise to visit us."*

O, who can appreciate the charm of these short, pathetic, affectionate addresses from the altar, after vespers, when so many a youth is grateful to the darkness for concealing his falling tears!

It is the vesper hour, when the poor soul thirsts and hungers more intensely, inasmuch as the trials of the day have worn her down. It is now that she seeks the silence of ancient groves, and the peaceful walks of moss-grown battlements. The very poet of the secular society is not insensible to its influence:—

"Sweet hour of twilight!—in the solitude
Of the pine forest, and the silent shore
Which bounds Ravenna's immemorial wood,
Rooted where once the Adrian wave flow'd o'er
To where the last Cæsarean fortress stood.
Ever-green forest! which Boccaccio's lore
And Dryden's lay made haunted ground to me;
How have I loved the twilight hour and thee!"

Pythagoras prescribed that in the evening, before the hour of rest, after the perturbations of the day and the tumult of action, the mind, which is then moved like a flood, should be appeased and composed by the sound of gentle music.† We read of our Divine Lord, that having dismissed the crowd, he ascended a mountain alone to pray; and when it was evening, he was there alone.‡ In the heart of cities, and even wherever the towers of a feudal castle cast their broad shadow over the open lands, there was always, during the middle ages, a sacred portal, sure to be open to receive the pilgrim, at the evening hour, to a temple, in which he might compose his turbid thoughts by holy meditations, joined with those Hypodorian strains, which soothe the imagination and tranquillize the heart.

Vespers were always celebrated with more solemnity than any other of the lesser hours. St. Benedict prescribes that they should be fully and sweetly sung.

* Card. Bona de Divina Psalmod. ccxxii.
† Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 15.
‡ Matt. xiv. 23.

But now begins night, with her sullen wings, to double-shade the desert.—

"Good things of day begin to droop and drowse,
While night's black agents to their prey do rouse."

Fowls in their clay nests are couched, and wild beasts come forth, the woods to roam. Five, six, seven—the clock has ceased, and now we shall hear the toll of the cloister bell for the benediction. Complins may represent the end of life, as it is the last office of the day;—for, as Pindar says, "Men are but of one day, and the shadows of a dream." How delightful that calling to memory of the complin hymn, when Dante marked, from among the spirits that sat apart in limbo,

"One risen from its seat, which with its hand
Audience implor'd. Both palms it join'd and rais'd,
Fixing its stedfast gaze towards the East—
'Te lucis ante,' so devoutly then
Came from its lip, and in so soft a strain,
That all my sense in ravishment was lost.
And the rest after, softly and devout,
Follow'd through all the hymn, with upward gaze,
Directed to the bright supernal wheels."*

Complin sung, silence was observed till after mass the following morning. This was prescribed by St. Benedict; and we find the observance recommended by all the great spiritual writers of the middle age.† Now succeeded the solemn matin bell, tolling at the hour of nature's silence and repose, which seems like a suspension of this mortal life! "O awful sound!" cries Bona. "One's course then seems finished. Then we may say with the holy Columban, 'O tu vita quantos decepisti! quæ dum fugis, nihil es; dum videris, umbra es: quæ quotidie fugis, et quotidie venis, veniendo fugis, quæ fugiendo venis: dissimilis luxu, similis fluxu. Te ostendis tanquam veram, te reducis quasi fallacem. Ergo nihil es, O mortalis vita, nisi viæ imago, fugitiva ut avis, ut nubes incerta, fragilis ut umbra.'"‡

* Purg. VIII. † D'Avila, Epist. LXVII.
‡ S. Columban. Homil. de Fallacia Vitæ Humanæ.

CHAPTER III.

THE divisions of the sacred hours marked, let us proceed to observe the general character belonging to all these offices of grace: for there is much in them intelligential and abstruse, that deserves deep attention, much to excite a reasonable and pious curiosity, and somewhat, perhaps, to explain and defend, in consideration of tho ignorance and wants of an age which has endeavoured to render every thing perspicuous but what relates to heaven, and which toils unceasingly to make vain provision for the gratification of every thirst but that of justice.

To have seen the importance of an uniform liturgy, one must have felt the necessity for its being unchangeable, and that for the reason assigned by St. Augustin: "Lex orandi, lex credendi;" for the prayers which the Church uses in the administration of her holy rites, are so many proofs of the respective doctrines on which they depend; and these prayers could only be preserved from alteration through a long series of ages, by retaining the ancient language in which they were originally composed.*

Stephen Pasquier has well said, "Il ne faut rien eschanger de ce que une longue ancienneté a approuvé en une religion; voire jusques aux paroles mesmes."† Divine Providence had caused the language of Rome to become, in a certain sense, universal, in order to facilitate the extension of the Gospel and the maintenance of ecclesiastical unity, as in earlier ages he had preserved the Semitic languages in a stato of immobility, in order, as Walton supposes, to render more easy the migrations and external relations of the patriarchs; or, as the Count do Robiano suggests, to preserve more unchangeable, clear, and certain, the reading of the sacred text.‡

The Germans, Franks, Poles, and all northern nations, when converted to the faith, received the liturgy in the Latin tongue. The Moravians, indeed, form an exception, to whom, in 867, Adrian II. gave permission to have mass celebrated in the Sclavonic, but he himself recalled this faculty, which was again given to them by his successor, and again recalled in the eleventh century by Alexander II. The only answer that the Duke of Bohemia could obtain on this head from Gregory VII. who had a deep conviction of the necessity of the ancient discipline, was this—"Scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquam satisfacere posse." In fact, had this most important law of discipline been abrogated, a wide field would have been opened to innovators in matters of faith—for the living languages, in consequence of the natural disposition of men to be esteemed great and distinguished, are liable to constant mutations—and therefore, it would have been necessary to translate the liturgy as often as languages changed. There would be as many versions as tongues and dialects; so that there would be no end of making liturgies, and the doctrines of faith, at the mercy of human vanity, could no longer be preserved, as in a sacred asylum, under the faithful key of the ancient language.

Besides this wo must remark that, in the ages of faith, men were not children in philosophy: they had drawn for themselves the proper inference from the fact remarked by Clemens Alexandrinus, when speaking of "the first and generative languages, which," saith he, "are barbarous, but supplied with names from nature;" he observes, "and men confess that prayers delivered in a barbarous—that is, in a tongue different from their own—are more impressive; *καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυνατωτέρας εἶναι τὰς βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ λεγομένας*."* Certainly there was no reason why theologians, in reference to the use of things divine, should not possess the same

* Vide Digressio Historic. II. in Chron. S. Monast. Casinens. cap. 32.

† Recherches de la France, Lib. VIII. 12.

‡ Etudes sur l'Ecriture de l'Egypte.

* Stromat. Lib. I. c. 21.

advantage as was proved to be so conducive to the good of poets with the Greeks and Latins, who had a distinct language by which they could convey the most familiar things in terms intelligible to all, and yet wholly different from those under which they might be associated with vulgar or unworthy ideas, from being in common use. This usage did not contradict the maxim, that it was the simple and ignorant who were capable of the highest prayer: for, as St. Thomas and St. Bonaventura distinguish the three modes of attention to the divine offices, the first consisting in the material pronunciation of the words—the second in their literal sense—the third in their mystic sense, which is God: the first, which relates to the words, belonging not to the simpler sort, who are ignorant of Latin; the second, which relates to the sense, regarding theologians and learned men; the third, which relates to the affections, belonging to monks and men of devout life, although they may be void of letters; it follows that incompetency with regard to the first, which is called the material, and even a less degree of knowledge respecting the second, which is termed the formal, diminishes not the perfection of those who possess the third, which is the final attention, constituting the piety of the religious and the poor.* Pure prayer, as Hugo of St. Victor defines it, is when the mind, from the abundance of devotion, is so inflamed with love, that when it supplicates God, it forgets the precise object of its desire.†

Unction, again, no less incommunicable than authority, is the distinctive character of the prayers of the Catholic Church. This impressive quality can be felt; it can never be defined. It is the ravishing expression of a filial confidence; it is the work of the spirit of love, which prays in the Church by ineffable groans. It is the result of order and peace; it is the echo of a soul, of which all the faculties are held in accordance by obedience. The words of the Roman liturgy, besides that they are the expression of the vows of the Church, which is holy, are also the words of saints, of men capable of finishing the hymn begun by angels. These texts chosen in Scripture to edify piety, have been selected by humble, and innocent, and fervid souls, accustomed to find in them

* S. Thom. 2. 2. 9. 85, art. 13. S. Bonav. Lib. VII. de Process. Relig. c. 3.
† De Modo Orandi Libellus, cap. 2.

the sweetest nourishment. These mysterious words, which they have given us from their own fund, breathe still the faith and the candour of past ages. In general, the deeper we search, the more we shall be convinced that there is a profound reason for every institution of the ecclesiastical order. True, the Church offices, in the solemn antiquity and symbolism of their language, may have presented difficulties; but these are greatly exaggerated by the moderns. They were such as might easily be overcome where desire was felt; and of them we may say, in the words of St. Augustin, speaking of the many and multiplex obscurities in the holy Scriptures—that all this was purposely provided in order to subdue pride by labour, and to prevent the understanding from becoming fastidious, which generally contracts a contempt for things of easy investigation: for, as Pellico justly observes, "Exquisite sentiments, whether of art or of morals, are only acquired by a diligent will, and by assiduous efforts."*

Men babble now of the necessity of having prayer composed in language more refined; but as De Maistre remarks, "the beauty of prayer has nothing in common with that of expression, for prayer is like the mysterious daughter of the great king, 'omnis gloria filiæ regis ab intus.' It is something without a name, but which is perfectly perceptible, and which mere talent alone can never imitate." Perhaps one might affirm with justice, that a studied expression would distract and misdirect the attention; at least, there are many who might cite the words of the ancient critic in reference to the style of Cato and the Gracchi, and say in allusion to themselves, "veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam."† But yet on the other hand, where shall we find, in the true sense of the term, grace of composition, if it be not discernible in the voice of the Church? What skills it to study harmony of words if here be not the soul stirring might of poesy?

——— "Ah, that piece of song,
That old and antique song, methought it did relieve my
Heart much more than light airs, and recollected terms
Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times."

That frequent repetition of uniform

* Dei Doveri Degli Uomini, cap. 12.
† Quinctill. Lib. VIII. 5.

syllables and the sound of these terrible finals in the ancient pieces, when sustained by the majestic gravity of the Gregorian chaunt, possessed a great empire over minds. Cicero remarks the grandeur of many monotonous finals in a verse, and adds, "Præclarum carmen! est enim et rebus et verbis et modis lugubre." The lines which he thus eulogises might be passed on a modern reader for a monkish composition.

> "Hæc omnia vidi inflammari,
> Priamo vi vitam evitari,
> Jovis aram sanguine turpari."*

Those archaisms too or antiquated forms of expression abounding in the Vulgate, which are elsewhere only met in writers anterior to the Augustin age, were rather a beauty than a defect in the divine offices. The introduction of words, also new to the Latin tongue, but required by the doctrines of faith, was another feature calculated to awaken noble and devout thoughts. Vivifico is a word not used by profane writers. St. Jerome was driven to the necessity of often adopting it, as the idea of giving or restoring life is so essentially Christian, that no heathen could have been found to express it. The classic authors would themselves defend this usage on principles of common sense, for as Cicero says, "logicians, physicians, geometers, musicians, and grammarians, speak after their own manner, and use peculiar words. Not even common workmen can retain their arts without using words unknown to us, but in use with themselves. 'Quo magis hoc philosopho faciendum est. Ars est enim philosophia vitæ; de qua disserens arripere verba de foro non potest.'"† Zeno himself was an inventor rather of new words than of new things. If this was permitted to Zeno, why not to St. Jerome? "Sunt enim rebus novis nova ponenda nomina," says Cicero, citing the example of Epicurus himself, who called πρόληψιν what before him no one had ever named by that word.‡ The celebrated lexicographer, Gesner, used to say, that he considered the Vulgate as a classical work, since it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its full extent. But even if no such titles were available, men should learn, as St. Augustin says, that "it is not the voice but the affection of mind which reaches to the ears of God. Therefore, they ought not be disposed to laugh if they should hear God invoked with barbarisms or solecisms, for though it is by a tone in the forum, it is by a vow in the Church that they are blessed. 'Itaque forensis illa nonnumquam forte bona dictio, numquam tamen benedictio dici potest.' Of the sacrament which they are about to receive, it is sufficient to the more prudent to hear the meaning, but with minds of slower apprehension, it is necessary to employ more words and similitudes, lest they should despise what they behold." The high antiquity of the Roman offices may be seen also in these responses and anthems composed of words from the ancient Volgate, whose religious and apostolic simplicity is long anterior to the age of St. Jerome, in that division of the Psalms traced by this great doctor at the desire of Pope Damasus, after the ancient usage which recalls the vigils of the first Christians,—in the mysterious, profound, and inimitable style of the collects, and other deprecatory formula, in those hymns composed by a great bishop in the Ambrosian Basilica to occupy a faithful people while besieged by a furious princess, in those hymns of Prudentius, Sedulius, Gregory, and Hilary, of an Innocent and a Thomas Aquinas. In truth, I should never finish were I to trace, in reference to antiquarian lore, all the grandeur and interest of the Roman Liturgy. Shall I speak of the sublime chaunts which have come down to us along with these admirable prayers! I might call to witness even Protestant authors in whose ears they have never sounded without causing to vibrate the Catholic chord. Who has not felt the charm of these sublime passages imprinted with the genius of ages that are no more, and that have left no other vestige behind them? Who has not shuddered at the simple plain chaunt of the office of the dead when the tender and the terrible are so admirably blended? What Christian has ever heard the pascal chaunt of "Hæc dies," without a sentiment of infinity, or the "O filii et filiæ," without feeling his heart inflamed with a more tender love for the children of men? Who has ever heard on the festivals of the Assumption and of All Saints, a whole people making the holy vaults resound with the inspired accents of the Gaudeamus without feeling himself carried back, through the lapse of ages, to the time when the echoes of subterraneous Rome repeated this triumphant chaunt, while the empire was hastening to its end, and the Church commencing its eternal destinies?*

But not only was Latin the language of

* Tuscul. III. 5. † De Finibus, Lib. III.
‡ De Nat. Deorum, Lib. I.

* Le Mémorial Catholique, I. 2.

the Church, symbolical too in the highest sense was the expression of her desires, so that in proposing her liturgy as an object of litorary and philosophic study, one might say each moment in the words of Dante,

———" Ye of intellect
Sound and entire, mark well the lore conceal'd
Under close texture of the mystic strain."*

The origin of this whole discipline must he sought for in the very nature of things, for, as a German philosopher observes, "all thought communication of men upon religious truth must in its affirmative expression be figurative and exhibited in symbols."† Angels behold spiritual things by means of divine illumination, but to mortal eyes they can only be presented through the medium of sensible symbols. The language of the Church in this respect meets us still in every department of the arts, where it is often not comprehended; for it was in conformity with it that painters and sculptors employed those lilies, pelicans, stags, and other objects of visible nature to signify spiritual and invisible things. The creature as well as Scripture being, as Hugo of St. Victor saith, the book of God to recall man to the true and immutable good.‡ How naturally and unavoidably the Church inclined to this usage will be obvious at once, if we bear in mind the practice of the Holy Scripture, and above all the example of our Lord, the fact of whose profound parables shonld pnt to silence the rash objectors who would blame the Church, without considering that the symbol is the same whether it consist in words or in visible objects. Who need be told that the judgment of the wise in all ages has sanctioned the use of symbols? Clemens Alexandrinus§ relates that Hipparchus, the Pythagorean, was expelled from the school, because he had openly written down the precepts of the Master; and that they placed a column to him as to a person that was dead. The wise ancients saw the necessity of using allegory and figure in the expression of sublime truth. Gregory Nazianzen says, that the sacred mysteries are not to be explained before the base, according to the principle expressed by Sallust, the philosopher, that to hide truth in fables, prevents the foolish from despising, and compels the studious to philosophize,‖ for which reason it was that the Egyptians placed sphynxes at the entrance of their temples. Bnt let us remark the difference between the figures of the ancient sanctuaries and those of the Catholic temple. In the former, the symbol which conveyed truth only to a few of the initiated, gave birth to the grossest idolatry with the rest of men; whereas the Church, on the contrary, commences with a verbal and authoritative promulgation, and only after that clothes the mysteries which it has announced in sensible forms as an earthly refraction of the heavenly light, accommodated to the necessities of her children. The Christian use of mystic words dates from the very cradle of the Church. "The use of symbolic language," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "is most useful for many things; it is conducive to right theology, to piety, to the exercise of understanding, to hrevity of speech, and it is an argument of wisdom."* He remarks that the style of the old Greek as well as of the Hebrew philosophy was enigmatical, for that brevity of expression was studied as most useful and persuasive. He shows that the prophets made use of enigmas, and that the mysteries were not shown clearly to all men alike, but only after certain purifications and previous instruction. "In a word," he says, "all theologians, both barbarians and Greeks, concealed the principles of things, and delivered truth throngh enigmas and symbols, in allegories and metaphors, and snch tropes. Nay, even the wise men of the Greeks conveyed their lessons in short words and apophthegms, such as γνῶθι σαυτὸν and the like. The poets also teaching the theology of the prophets, philosophize by means of allegory, as did Orpheus, and Linus, Musæus, Homer, Hesiod, and other wise men of that class, more obscurely conveying truths in dreams and symbols, not through envy, hut that hy means of searching ont the sense of the enigma, men might be more enticed to the discovery of truth. In the same manner," he remarks, "we are instructed in the Psalms and in the prophets, where the Lord opens his mouth in parables;† and hy the apostles who speak wisdom to the initiated, the wisdom of God in a mystery which the princes of this world knew not." "Sapientes abscondunt scientiam," says Solomon, in order that the mocker may seek wisdom and not find it;‡ for the first essential qualification for nnderstanding symbolic language is a revering spirit. All ancient wisdom certainly recognised the

* Infer. c. 9.
† Fries Religios Philosophie und Philosophischen Æsthetik.
‡ Institut. Monasticæ Sermo VIII.
§ Strom. Lib. V.
‖ Lib. de Diis et Mundo, cap. 3.

* Stromat. V. 8. † Isa. lxv. 3. ‡ Parab. X.

importance of symbolic instruction. The Pythagorean symbols were celebrated in the philosophy of the barbarians, such as "keep no swallows in your house," that is, have no talker or busy body, and smooth down your bed when you rise from it, that is, extirpate every vestige of passion. In fact, the symbolic mode of teaching by enigmas was characteristic of the whole Pythagoric institution.* Idanthuras, the Scythian king, as Pherecydes the Syrian relates, replied to Darius by a symbol instead of by words.† Androcydes, the Pythagorean, describes the letters called Ephesian, as consisting of symbols and obscure expressions, as for instance, darkness is called ἄσκιον, from having no shadow and light κατάσκιον, since it involves a shadow; τετρὰς, is the year, from its having four seasons, and βέδυ was the air, as being βιόδωρον.‡ The stoics say that Zeno in order to prove the vocation of his disciples, wrote his first instructions in such an obscure manner that it was hard to understand them. In like manner, the writings of Aristotle were twofold, τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ for his initiated, and τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ for the vulgar without, and the former were unintelligible to common men.

What is mysticism? what must be mystically viewed? Religion, love, nature, and state. The Church offices were composed of symbols, and as an ascetic writer remarks, "nisi omnia referantur ad laudem Creatoris, inanis est omnis visio videntium."§ "Every thing in the Church is full of divine signification and mystery," says Durandus. "Every thing in it abounds in celestial sweets, when one knows how to look at it, when one knows how to draw the honey from the stone, and the oil from the hardest flint. Who can enable us to do this? Lord, the well is deep, and I have no vessel wherewith to draw the water! It is for the priests, the dispensers of the mysteries, to comprehend and reveal them to others." To condemn the use of symbolic instruction as unworthy of an age of the highest intelligence, would indicate a total ignorance of the general law and construction of human minds, since whatever be the method of instruction adopted, the fact which Dante remarks is incontrovertible, that

——— "from things sensible alone ye learn
That which, digested rightly, after turns
To intellectual."||

It should be observed, moreover, that the spirit of the middle ages was peculiarly favourable to this method, so that the symbols adopted in the ritual of the Church, must have then possessed extraordinary charms in the estimation of all ranks of society. No object or occasion seemed too trifling to furnish matter for the exercise of their disposition to view things in the light of symbols. Ives, of Chartres, receiving a comb as a present from his dear friend Gerard, in reply to him, interprets it as an emblem which can teach him the duties of his episcopal office.* The laity evince the same inclination: men that were not all tongue, but deeds and truth, would thus in the common intercourse of life, in dumb significants proclaim their thoughts, and, as Shakspeare witnesseth in the Temple garden, give, in the plucking of a red rose or a white, an answer to the summons of Plantagenet. Dom Claude de Vert, a learned Benedictine, in his work upon the ceremonies of the Church, offered a simple and natural explanation of most of them. Languet, Archbishop of Sens, published a reply, and assigned to them a wholly symbolical origin. Both of these views no doubt were just. As Duns Scotus remarks of the sacred Scriptures, the divine offices of the Catholic Church had a literal and a spiritual or mystic sense, which last, in threefold division, was either allegorical, tropological, or anagogical, referring either to what was to be believed, performed, or hoped, and sometimes one sign or word, like that of the cross, or the name Jerusalem comprised all—a literal sense, signifying an event or a city, a tropological, denoting trust and sanctity, an allegorical, denoting the Church militant, and an anagogical signifying the triumphant Church.† No one who loves to study the doctrine of perception, in reference to the beauties of poetry and art, can be insensible to the care evinced by the Church, to press into her service every thing which can bring unity into a visible form; and, indeed, the great charm and might of poetry over human life, is never more fully felt than when it employs consecrated figures and symbols to express the mystery of our existence in the world of wishes, and the ideas of anticipation which console it. That the symbolic sense was intended in the ceremonies of faith, is proved from the ancient fathers. Thus St. Ambrose says to the Neophites, who have been just initiated

* Jamblich. 34. † Strom. V. 7. ‡ Id. V. 8.
§ Thom. à Kemp. Hortulus Rosarum.
|| Parad. IV. 41.

* Ivonis Carnotens. Epist. VI.
† Duns Scoti Miscellan. IX. 6.

by baptism into the Christian mysteries, "Recollect what you have done, what you have seen. You have seen the Levite, you have seen the priest, you have seen the high-priest. Consider not the figures of bodies, but the grace of mysteries. You have spoken in the presence of angels, for he is an angel who announces the kingdom of Christ and eternal life. Esteem him not by the appearance, but by the gift. Consider the ancient mystery of the holy rites. Do not believe only your bodily eyes, for what is seen is temporal, but what is perceived only by the mind is eternal; and do not regard the merit of the persons, but the office of the priests. Believe that Jesus our Lord was present, by reason of devout prayer, and the celebration of his mysteries. In the washing of the feet recognise that the mystery itself consists in the ministration of humility; in the white robe, and the unction, and the cutting off of the hair, and in all the rites, observe how beautiful is the Church, and how she desires to arrive at the interior mystery, and to consecrate all the sense to Christ. You have seen the most holy altar composed, and the people approaching to it. Remember that the sacraments of the Church are more ancient than those of the synagogue, and more excellent than the manna; for there is the offering of a priest for ever, and that which you have received is the bread of angels, the very body of Christ. For here there is no order of nature, where there is excellence of grace. You have seen, therefore, the mysteries of the Church, which is said to be an enclosed garden, a sealed fountain, to signify that the mystery ought to remain sealed with you, that it may not be broken by the deeds of an evil life, or divulged to improper persons, or disclosed to the perfidious by garrulous loquacity, but that it should be placed under the protection of faith, and of a holy life and silence."* St. Thomas says, that it is on account of the war which the ancient enemy always makes against those who are at prayer, that the Church directed by the Holy Ghost, begins all the canonical hours with "Deus, in adjutorium meum intende," a custom of immemorial usage. At matins, this is preceded with the verse, "Domine, labia mea aperies," because after complins the preceding evening the lips had been closed, and therefore in beginning the nocturnal office, this prayer was added, that God would vouchsafe to open the lips of his servant to praise his name. Amalarius, shows the origin of the antiphons and the double chorus of the Church offices. The antiphon, which refers to love, is alternately sung by the two sides of the choir, because charity cannot exist where there are not at least two to respond. That charity, therefore, may be perfect, it was necessary that there should be one to whom the other might exhibit its affection. Therefore, the psalms are sung with alternate modulation to evince mutual love. In vain he prepares to sing the psalm who does not join to it the antiphon of love. On the more solemn festivals, the antiphon is double, to show that love ought then to be more perfect. In others, the beginning of the psalm is imperfectly announced, and at the end it is completed, because, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "Charity begun in this life is to be consummated in the end. The chanter alone begins the antiphon, which is then finished by all, because charity from one Christ is diffused into all the members. After the psalms all in common joy sing the antiphon, because common joy springs from common charity." On the use of the Allelujah, Hugo of St. Victor says, "Here neither words nor understanding suffice, and yet love will not admit of silence. Therefore, the Church by thus uttering sound—pneumatizing—indicates admirably, with more expression, and in a better manner without words, than it could by means of words, what is the joy of God where words shall cease. For by this sound, though we do not describe what it is to feel eternal joy, at least, we show that it is indescribable. And since the praises of eternal life will not resound in human words, the sequences are sometimes mystically sounded forth without words; for no signification of words is necessary where the hearts of all will be laid open to all beholding the book of life."* The Rubrics prescribed that the number of the collects should be always uneven, for the Church desires unity and conjunction, which is expressed by an uneven number, which, as it cannot be cut into equal parts, preserves its integrity.† The credo is repeated in some of the offices, partly in secret, and partly aloud, to show as Cardinal Bona says that "Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem." St. Edmund, the Cistercian monk, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Mirror of the Church, seemed to

* De iis qui mysteriis initiantur, Lib.

* Hugo de Sanct. Victor, Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiæ, cap. 7.

† Bened. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, I. 110.

reprehend all prayers but the divine form taught by our Lord, which was in fact the universal prayer of the middle ages, as Dionysius the Carthusian observes.* But Cardinal Bona shows the necessity of attending to his real meaning, lest we should conclude that he actually did intend to condemn all other forms according to the heresy of Basil.† Hugo of St. Victor, indeed, shows that the several petitions contained in this divine prayer, correspond to the graces which qualify men for beatitude, since their fulfilment would render men poor in spirit to hallow the name of God, meek to inherit his kingdom, mourners, from the repentance attached to that knowledge produced by submission to his will, hungry and thirsty after justice, seeking from heaven their daily bread, merciful, from a consideration of their own trespasses, clean of heart, being freed from temptation to the vices which obscure the intelligence, and children of peace, in consequence of being delivered from evil.‡ The Church also uses a certain language of impassioned piety borrowed from the mystic Scriptures, which Richard of St. Victor thus proceeds to explain. "Reason and affection," saith he "have both their hand-maidens, imagination and sensuality. So much is each necessary to its own mistress, that without them the whole world itself could confer nothing upon them, for without imagination reason would know nothing, and without sensuality, affection would taste nothing."§ "Osculetur me osculo oris sui. Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, quia amore langueo. Favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua tua." "What, I pray," asks this devout contemplatist, "can be sweeter than these words? What can be more agreeable? What language would be heard more willingly, more greedily? These words seem to sound something carnal, and yet there are spiritual things which are described by them. Thus Nephtalim knows how to mix carnal with spiritual things, and to describe incorporeal by bodily things; so that the twofold nature of man finds in his discourse whence he can admirably refresh himself, consisting as he does of a bodily and of an incorporeal nature. Hence it is that these things sound so sweet to man."* But in order to understand this point more fully, let us again hear Richard. "After the human race," saith he, "had been expelled from joys of Paradise, entering on the journey of the present life, it had a blind heart, to which if it had been said by a human voice, follow God, or love God, as is said in the law, once sent out and cold with the torpor of infidelity, it would not understand what it heard. Therefore, by certain enigmas, the divine word speaks to the torpid and frigid soul, and by the things which it knoweth secretly, doth it insinuate into it the love which it knoweth not. For allegory to a soul placed far from God, is, as it were, a certain machine by which it may be raised to God, by means of interspersed enigmas, while something which it knows in words of its own, it understands in the sense of words which is not of its own, and by earthly words it is separated from the earth, for knowing exterior words it comes to understand interior. Hence in the book of the song of songs, words of corporeal love are employed, that from the body the soul may be warmed, and led to the love which is spiritual: in which words the holy Scripture is not to be ridiculed, but rather the greater mercy of God is to be considered. For it is to be remarked, how wondrously and mercifully it deals with us in this condescension. We ought, therefore, in these corporeal words to seek what is interior, and as if to leave the body. We ought to this marriage of the spouse to come with the understanding of intimate charity, that is, with the nuptial vest with which if we are not clothed we shall be driven away to eternal darkness and the blindness of ignorance. We ought by these words of passion to pass to the virtue of impassibility, for the holy Scripture in its words is like a picture in its colours, and he is foolish indeed, who so adheres to the colours as to be ignorant of the thing which is painted."†

But it was not in words alone that the enigmatical expression of the Church was conveyed. Her ceremonies also were high symbols, demonstrating things of which the mystic sense and invisible truth are known by divine illumination to the angelic spirits. Philosophers and poets will

* De Judic. Anim. XXXVIII.
† Yet a late writer in the Quarterly Review accuses him of a superstitious fondness for formulæ of prayers!
‡ In Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiæ, cap. 7.
§ De Præparatione Animi ad Contemplationem, cap. 5.

* De Præparatione Animi ad Contemplationem, cap. 24.
† Richard. Victorin. in Cantica Canticorum Prolog.

find no works more rich in profound and beautiful thoughts than those which are designed to develope and explain the ecclesiastical symbols, written during the middle ages by such men as Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, Durandus,* Duranti,† Remy of Auxerre,‡ Honoré St. Autun,§ St. Bruno of Asti,|| Martene,¶ and many others. The symbolic sense of the holy vestments worn by her priests was seen in the sublime prayers which they repeated as they clothed themselves to minister at the altar.** A long sermon of Ives de Chartres is devoted to explaning, for the edification of manners, the mystic beauty of the priest's vestment, in which every part had a divine meaning. "Witness," says Walafried Strabo, "that alb denoting purity, that belt signifying continence, that stole obedience, and that flowing chasuble which is placed over all to denote charity, the greatest of all virtues."†† The gloves of the bishop were put on to signify that his good works were sometimes to be in secret and not before men; and they were laid aside, to remind him that his light was to shine before men.‡‡ The mystic sense of the pallium, symbol of unanimity, as Pope Symmachus styles it, writing to a bishop of Austria, in the year 504,§§ and which ancient authors mention as being taken from the body of St. Peter, that is to say, from the altar over his relics, and to which they ascribe the plenitude of the pontifical office,|||| is explained by Isidorus Pelusiota, in his epistle to Count Herminius. "The bishop," he says, "wears upon his shoulders a band, not of linen but of wool, to signify that he is an imitator of Christ, the great shepherd who carried on his shoulders the sheep which he had lost and found." In the same manner Simeon Gretserus interprets the omophorium.¶¶ The procession is the way to the celestial country. "He who ministers to others the light of good works is spiritually an acolyte," says Hugo of St. Victor.*** Many usages and institutions will be unintelligible if we do not bear in mind their spiritual interpretation. Why, for example, was a church to be consecrated afresh if the altar had been moved, but only its walls washed with salt if the other parts of the building had been repaired after having fallen? Ives de Chartres explains this, by showing, that as the altar signified faith, its removal signified a loss of faith, which could only be repaired by a fresh reception of sacred mysteries; but the rest of the edifice when injured and repaired, was only to be washed with salt, to show that by tears and penance other sins were to be purged away. Thus, as he says, "whatever was done in the temple made with hands signified what ought to be done spiritually within us, that by the observance of visible sacraments we might be led to the knowledge and love of the invisible building."* It may be remarked generally, that the Church had nothing for mere ornament, but, like nature, all her rites had regard to use as well as beauty. She loved symbols that were beautiful, but no unmeaning decorations. It is observable also, that a vast number of loving harmonies and sweet incidents, fruitful in sublime, poetical, and religious emotions, were produced by keeping this in mind, and doing things in consequence simply and spiritually, without attending to the part which was material, without any regard to formality, or fancied decorum, but just as the bare need of the occasion required.

As yet we have taken but a very cursory glance at the divine offices, and already we can perceive with what solemn majesty they were clothed, and how well they corresponded to that sentiment of beauty, under the religious feeling, which, in the unity of our life of perception, divides itself into the epic of inspiration, the dramatic of resignation, and the lyric of devotion. O how the soul is moved at that solemn harmony of holy song, at that anthem chaunted by a hundred voices, recurring with such irresistible precision, and with as much certainty as if ordained by some law of nature, at that instant rising of the tall lights, when the still sweet tone of the saintly orison solitarily ascends. So have I found it under the noble dome of Florence, where, on one side, stood the portrait of Dante, and in the centre, the last work of Michael Angelo, the dead Christ in the arms of his mother, —sublime masterpiece! which death prevented him from finishing. "Omnes sitientes, venite ad aquas." The Church

* Rationale Divin. Offic.
† De Ritibus Eccles. Cath.
‡ Tractat. de Dedic. Eccles.
§ Gemma Animæ.
|| De Sacramentis Eccles. Myst. atque Eccles. Ritibus. ¶ De Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus.
** Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, sect. 1. 54—62. †† De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, Lib. I.
‡‡ Id. cap. 55. §§ Germania Sacra, I. 7.
|||| Sicilia Sacra, I. 41.
¶¶ In Codinum, Lib. I. c. I.
*** Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiæ, cap. I.

* Ivonis Carnot. Epist. LXXX.

had many secrets to minister refreshment to the parched and fainting soul. Her silence had words—for, as St. Ambrose says, "Non solos Dominus audit loquentes qui audiebat Moysen tacentem. Plus audit tacitas cogitationes morum quam voces omnium."* What rapture in that lofty, that deep, that sweet, that divine silence, in which all injuries are forgotten—that admirable silence, as much superior to all harmony as the Divine darkness is more luminous than the sun and every other light in heaven,†—yielding at length only to that majestic voice which comes to our ears, after the lapse of ages, through Moses, the rapt prophets, the Psalms and Gospel; and which, like the voice of God himself, "breaks the proud cedars, and makes the deserts tremble."‡ The divine office was not a mere rise and fall of organ sound, swelling and dying away under the Gothic arches, and causing solemn reverberations like those mountain echoes, which produce such a pleasing astonishment in the admirers of nature, who make journeys to hear waterfalls, or cannon fired under hanging rocks. In the Catholic Church, the divine office was a provision, not for the vague raptures of a wandering mind, but for the wants of the understanding, and, through the intelligence, for the necessities of the heart. At the farthest extremity of her vast temples, through the long and lofty aisles, the words of the psalm, of the antiphon, or the hymn, came to the ear loud and distinct:—and certainly, no harmony of instruments could equal the effect produced by that unearthly light of words which issued from the sanctuary.—How solemn, on entering beneath Ogygean vaults, to hear the loud solitary voice entoning from the choir, the first verse of a psalm—"Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum"—which is then caught up by a multitude, in which laymen's voices mingle with the priests', eager to complete that sublime announcement.

Sometimes the Church, in her affliction, appears like a person become insensible through excess of sorrow, and reduced to a state in which the soul wishes to forget every thing but the counsels of eternal wisdom—as where she sings the tenebræ, and suddenly interrupts the chant of her particular sorrow, to break forth in that exclamation, expressing a general thought —"Blessed is the man who hath borne the yoke from his youth." What terrible sadness in those tones and words of the matins on Maunday Thursday—"Melius illi erat, si natus non fuisset?"—How awful and impressive are those tearful or joyful fragments which she is continually singing—the beauty of which was so keenly felt by Dante, as appears from his so often introducing a similar usage into his divine vision, like that prophet who begins with a conjunction, to whom were present those things which seem absent to our ignorance, and in whose mind interior and exterior things were so conjoined, as if he beheld both at the same time, so that his words were only a continuance of his inward thought. At one time you hear a voice saying, "Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me veste contexit," at another, "Sancti mei, qui in carne positi certamen habuistis;" at another, "Media nocte clamor factus est;" at another, "Mea nox obscurum non habet, sed omnia in luce clarescunt:" and all the while there is on every side a crying,

> "Blessed Mary! pray for us.
> Michael and Peter! all ye saintly host."*

How conformable to the most intimate emotions of the human heart, is that frequent repetition of solemn and suppliant words, round which the mind seems desirous of lingering, as if it could not be torn away from them. Without recurring to the repetitions which occur in the Psalms, and in other parts of holy Scripture, of which St. Hilary gives so profound an explanation, we can witness how true to nature is this feature of the liturgy, by referring to the ancient grave tragedians, where the chorus, in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, desires Clytemnestra to repeat what she has just announced respecting the fall of Troy—adding, "I should wish to hear those words continually, and to be filled with admiration while you repeat them again and again."† In the high lyric pathetic beauty of the hymns, we feel the true power of poesy; while that syllabic composition of song in Pindar's style imparts a tone of the utmost majesty to the triumphs of the poor. Some of the antiphons contain the last words of martyrs in their agony; others the memorable exclamations of confessors before kings; others the sentences of holy doctors, and the

* Lib. Offic. I. 41.
† Tasso, Dialoghi ovvero della Pace.
‡ Psalm xxiii.

* Dante, Purg. XIII. † 318.

replies of saints, on occasions that are transmitted in the archives of history to everlasting renown. Such are those words, sung on the festival of St. Laurence—"Quo progrederis sine filio, Pater? Quo, sacerdos sancte, sine ministro properas?" Will you hear how the vilest instrument of torture can be made sublime by the confession of a martyr? Hear that fearful cry of the Church on the same great day—"In craticula te Deum non negavi, et ad ignem applicatus te Christum confessus sum." How impressive are those anthems, sung on the festival of the great advocate of Gaul—"Dixerunt discipuli ad beatum Martinum, cur nos, Pater, deseris?" and that—"Domine, si adhuc populo;"—those sung on St. Andrew's day, "O bona crux, quæ decorem et pulchritudinem de membris Domini suscepisti;" those on the feast of St. Clement, "Omnes una voce dixerunt: ora pro nobis, sancte Clemens:" those on St. Agatha's day, "Quis es tu qui venisti ad me curare vulnera mea? Ego sum Apostolus Christi," and those on St. Cecilia's day, which relate the visit of Valerianus to the catacombs on the Appian way, in search of St. Urban, who was there concealed? The antiphons on the festival of St. Lucia, at vespers, and in the office of the night and at lauds, bring us in presence of scenes so pathetic, so ineffably sweet and sad, that a youthful mind can make no comment upon them, unless by weeping. "In tua patientia possedisti animam tuam, Lucia sponsa Christi: odisti quæ in mundo sunt, et coruscas cum angelis: sanguine proprio inimicum vicisti." Can you hear what is sung without feeling the fountain of tears flow over? "Rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mei." Can you hear what follows without experiencing that chill which attends the sublime mysterious consolation? "Soror mea Lucia, virgo Deo devota, quid à me petis, quod ipsa poteris præstare continuo matri tuæ? Nam et fides tua illi subvenit et ecce salvata est." Can you hear, lastly, the song of triumph without falling upon your knees? "Benedico te, Pater domini mei Jesu Christi. Quia per filium tuum ignis extinctus est à latere meo?"

A modern poet, in his description of the first Christian society, when he introduces the evening prayer, can find no words more harmonious or noble, amidst his gracious and sublime picture, than those which the Church actually uses in her complin office—"Visita, quæsumus, Domine, habitationem istam;" and he observes, that through familiarity many are insensible to the beauty of this prayer. In fact, when any of these collects, or the words of some litany, which have a cry for every feeling of the heart, are placed by a poet in the midst of the most brilliant passage, there is no transition perceptible, no interruption to the beauty and majesty of the style; but the words of the Church seem the genuine effusion of the poet, in his happiest moment of inspiration. What majesty in those antique verses murmured by the priest—the force of which has been so often felt by hell! Witness those words in the office of the dedication, pronounced by the pontiff on first entering the Church, while with his crosier he traces the victorious sign upon the threshold: "Ecce signum crucis, fugiant phantasmata cuncta!" While many must have felt how the prayers of the Church are composed with attention to the sweets of harmonious cadence, there are perhaps few at present who remark sufficiently with what accurate precision they invariably agree with the most profound truths of philosophy, as well as with the mysteries of faith. Political science might be learned from her prayers for princes and for all the faithful—as when, amidst the joy of the paschal solemnities, she prays that God may enable his people to attain to perfect liberty:*—and physiological researches might be furthered by a close attention to the words of her various supplications. Nor can we overlook the undeviating consistency and the strict adherence to definite principles, which characterise all expressions in the divine office. Of this, Hugo of St. Victor may supply an instance. "The spirit of itself," he says, "is termed spirit—and in connexion with the body it is called soul. The human soul, because it can exist both in the body and out of it, is called, in the ecclesiastic offices, soul and spirit. Therefore," he says, "the holy Church, which believes most faithfully in the resurrection of the flesh, prays not only for the spirit, but also for the souls of the faithful."†

Well, indeed, on every consideration, may these be styled angelic offices. In the grand painting in the Church of St. Dominick at Bologna, St. Thomas—himself rather an angel than a man, one of those, of whom the whole course of the world's

* Easter Monday.
† Allegor. in Marcum, Lib. III.

history can hardly produce two or three examples—is represented writing the Lauda Sion from the dictation of angels, whose beaming countenances are reflected in his looks. Of the hymn, "Gloria in excelsis," the writers of the middle age simply say, "This was begun by the angels and finished by doctors of the Church."—"Prima hujus hymni verba e cœlo ad nos angelorum voce derivata sunt," says Cardinal Bona.—"Cætera quis addiderit incertum est."*

The origin of the hymn on Palm Sunday, "gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor," is thus related. "Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, being falsely accused and imprisoned by the Emperor Lewis, son of Charlemagne, in a tower at Angers, on Palm Sunday the procession passed by the prison, when he opening his casement and making silence, entoned these verses of his own composition. The Emperor, who was present, was so pleased, that he ordered him to be released, and restored to his see, and from that day these verses were sung in the procession."†

Time and words would both fail me if I attempted to point out all the beauty and beatific influence of the various forms of devotion practised in the Church. Only let the litanies of our Blessed Lady, of Jesus, and of the saints, which are sung in every region of the earth, be recalled to memory,—only let it be considered how they express the feelings with which hastening shepherds and adoring kings in Bethany must have beheld the virgin mother of the Divine infant,—that the symbolical titles given to her in accordance with the usages of sacred Scripture, can inspire the loftiest and purest conceptions of grace almighty,—that a soul which is enlightened by the Divine intelligence, discovers and feels within herself things which can never be expressed, except in symbolic language,—that the love for Jesus can only dictate short seraphic praises, and ardent desires to supplicate his power,—that those adopted in reference to Mary, besides their intrinsic beauty, are sanctified by the innumerable holy persons who have used them from age to age, in life and death,—how the litany of the saints transports us into the presence of all the great and good that have adorned the Church in past time—the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, monks, hermits, virgins, widows, and all the saints of God—how it raises up their image before the mind's eye,—how it carries us into the colosseum of Pagan Rome, into the catacombs, into the deserts of Thebaid, into the caves of the mountains and forests, into the cells and monasteries of the middle age, and finally, into the confines of the ineffable presence of the elect in glory!—how, returning to ourselves, it reminds us of every evil to be shunned in the passage of mortal life, and of every good to be desired,—how it instructs, elevates, and ravishes the soul,—only let this be considered, and I think, in a mind most prejudiced with a prejudicating humour, these will all be found in excellency fruitful.

The corrections which some men, in modern times, have proposed in the offices, only furnish an additional evidence that they had no profound sentiment of religious truth, and that even those few mysteries of faith which they profess outwardly, have never been, as with Catholics, transfused into their very souls. Such is the necessary inference to be drawn from that substitution which was invented of the term Redemptor for Regina in the hymn "Salve Regina;" for, to no Catholic would such words ever occur in addressing his Redeemer as to say that to him he had recourse in the sorrows of his pilgrimage, since he knows at least, by faith, that his life should be Christ, and that he should live in Christ; but to his blessed mother he turns in sighing and sorrowing in this vale of tears. Sooth, when one hears the moderns propose to modify or alter what the Church has ordained, one might think it enough to answer them in the words of Beatrice to Dante, when she beheld him terrified at the shout of spirits in Paradise—

> ——"Knowest not thou thou art in heav'n?
> And knowest not thou, whatever is in heav'n
> Is holy, and that nothing there is done
> But is done zealously and well?"*

One whose lore has been by genius guided may be warned with somewhat of Mercutio's zeal when he hears certain lisping, affecting fantasticoes, new tuners of accents, fashion-mongers, speaking on such subjects, as if any fluent phrase-man were competent to correct the liturgy of the Catholic Church; and one who is of intelligence profound may indulge a smile at their expense; for these pretended clear and exact speakers, like Euripides, are sure to be convicted of absolute error when

* Benedict. XIV. Rer. Liturg. Lib. II. cap. 4.
† Durand. Rationale, Lib. VI. c. 67.

* Parad. XXII.

they have an Æschylus for their judge; but the milder and gentler ascetic, to whom piety imparts the privilege of genius without its dangers, will be content with observing that prayer, by its very nature, must be mysterious, and that they who approach God, with ardent devotion, must have very different notions of what is fitting language, from others, who, with unmoved affections, would draw towards him scientifically with their lips alone; consequently, that it is wrong to criticise pieces of this kind, since one ought rather to respect them as mystic words which comprise a spiritual sense, and which are so many testimonies of the sublimity of the state to which their authors were raised.

The moderns pride themselves on certain studied compositions which they seem to consider perfect models of prayer. Certainly no one can object to these forms on the ground of their not being sufficiently clear, as far as the words themselves are concerned, which are very precise; or of their omissions, for every want that can be conceived is specified; but it may be doubted whether they would have sounded religious, or even wise, to our ancestors, who were very averse to the use of long wordy narrations in addressing God, and who even considered it an indication of the divine spirit when nothing nominally was sought in prayer.* "That kind of supplication," says Hugo of St. Victor, "which consists in merely accumulating epithets, such as misericordia mea, refugium meum, susceptor meus, liberator meus, and so on, is so much the more full of internal delight as it is imperfect in external expression; for affection has this property, that the more fervent it is within, the less can it be developed externally by the voice. And whatever be the words we use, the nearer devotion approaches to humility, the more acceptable is it to God. In no way is God more effectually bent to bear us than when the mind of the supplicant is wholly converted to him with affection. And, therefore, whatever be the words of supplication, they are never absurd if they are only calculated to excite the affection of the supplicant to love God, or, what is still better, if they demonstrate that he is already kindled with his love."† Nor is this all, the Doctors of the middle age had learned with the author of the Angelic Hierarchy, that as negations in divinity are often true affirmations, so to the obscurity of mysteries, a manifestation by means of dissimilar forms is more adapted,* and that divine and celestial things are often beautifully expressed by dissimilar symbols. Hence, as Hugo of St. Victor thinks, oxen, lions, eagles, horses, wheels, chariots, thrones, roses, towers, gates, stars, and similar figures are introduced, which, in the estimation of those who only regard external things, are ridiculous, but to those who think piously and profoundly, they are far otherwise; for besides that from all material and bodily forms, figures may be taken to represent the incorporeal splendours of a spiritual nature, it is certain that the very dissimilitude of the symbol conduces to express the excellence of the supernal object; for dissimilar figures, more than similar emblems, lead the mind from material and bodily things, and prevent it from resting in them. Every figure, therefore, so much more evidently demonstrates truth in proportion as by its dissimilitude it is clearly a figure and not the truth, and the more unlike is the figure, so much the more does it lead the mind to truth, preventing it from resting in the similitude. Therefore the wisdom of holy theologians wonderfully descends to the use of indecorous similitudes, not permitting our material carnal sense, so in love with matter, to rest in material images, but compelling it to pass on in search of other things more fair and true, and by the very baseness of the image, purging the intellectual power of the soul from all admixture with images, in order that purely and simply it may be led to contemplate spiritual and invisible things.† Moreover, to any one who reflects, it is evident that a prayer of any length which is to be often repeated, must not be a studied, smooth composition, like a narrative arranged according to the rules of rhetorick, for besides that mere rhetorical effect, however sublime may be the emotion resulting from it, can never satisfy the religious ideal, such an attempt would argue an ignorance of the inevitable impotence of human language to approach what is due to the perfections of God, and the wiser heart would disdain the presumptuous effort of the understanding. After the first effervescence, all this froth of eloquence, and this inflated wisdom, would be converted into dregs, such as would excite rather loathing than kindle

* Card. Bona, de Discretione Spirituum, cap. 8.
† De Modo Orandi libellus.

* Dionys. Hierarch. cap. 2.
† Hugo Victorin. Annotat. in Cœlest. Hierarch.

devotion; but as a philosopher remarks, when we have employed the loftiest hyperboles, and exhausted all the figures of symbolic language, when we have dressed metaphysical abstractions in poetic raptures, when we have ransacked whatever things are most excellent among the creatures, and having defecated them and piled them up together, have made that heap but a rise to take our soaring flight from, when instructed as well as inflamed and transported by that inaccessible light which is inhabited by what we adore, we seem raised and elevated above all that is mortal, and say things that surpass the intelligence of men, we can for ever open our lips in such strains of prayer, because, although, these expressions otherwise applied would be hyperboles, and though they do not express the object, they yet proclaim the fervour of our devotion, and declare not, indeed, what God is, but how much we honour him.

No, the prayers of the church were composed by saints, and what is more, were used by saints and men of the interior life, of intuitive aesthetic ideas, as some philosophers would say, and they knew what they were about; or, rather, they wrote from the inspiration of Him who made and knew what was in man. The human heart during many generations has responded to the chord which they alone knew how to touch. Not from a trivial popular erudition, nor from the school of grammarians, nor from the tribune of rhetoricians, but from a sense and contempt of human things, from a profound care and investigation of wisdom, from a deep consideration of their own misery, and of the divine mercy, did they descend to compose these sacred offices.

The church, it is true, has endeavoured to protect the faithful in the possession of her prayers, unmixed with other inventions, by prohibiting all new litanies in the public worship, excepting with such restrictions as one might hope would be generally sufficient to discourage all attempts of this kind; but it is, perhaps, still rather to be wished than expected, that these modern writers, who never question but that they are in the van of what is termed the march of intelligence, should cease from exercising their talents in this way; for, generally, in proportion to the poverty and ignorance of the mind, there will be a passion for changing and modifying ancient things. Impelled by a desire to do something, a shallow, conceited, restless intelligence will seek to distinguish itself by reforming, as it pretends, the reliques of a less enlightened age; and, indeed, it would almost seem, as if in a certain stage of society, taffeta phrases, silken terms precise, had a greater charm for the cultivated class than the noblest sentences of a Chrysostom, or than the most majestic symbol of the Catholic liturgy.

But to return. Wondrous is the skill with which the church in her offices blends together the ancient testament and the new, the figures and the realty, the promise and the accomplishment, and shows in the infinite variety of her forms, the profound unity of the Christian faith. She speaks, she sings herself. All these voices of prophets, evangelists, fathers, doctors, hymnographers, form a magnificent concert in which no dissonance wounds the ear, but all is one spirit and one inspiration, and amidst a warmth, an enthusiasm, a tenderness, an astonishing comprehension of the great characters of the Christian mysteries, and above all, a firm, profound, and wondrously communicative faith.

Admirably has the church evinced her judgment with regard to that greatest of difficulties which used to be treated of by the ancient philosophers, the observing of what the Greeks termed *πρέπον*, the decorum of the Latins. This is evinced in every part of the divine offices and ritual, in which the order of words is suited to the authority, the age, the condition, the place, and the time which are involved. Reader, I dare not give the reins to my discourse as we approach certain confines. Truly, with respect to them, it would be well to return to the ancient discipline of secrecy and the use of doubtful words, which was observed during so many ages, even after the liberty of the church had been accomplished. It is well, like Orestes, to have learned from the purifications with which one has sought to remedy his evils, to know when to speak and when to be silent.* I would walk lightly here. The very ground seems to bleed and suffer. A great mystery is taking place. I see death and passion, and one is more inclined to weep than to admire; but thus much I may observe, as one who to a single ear imparts his thought, that the sublime poetry of the opening dialogue of the holy Mass has been remarked by many great authors. This dialogue says one, "is a true lyric

* Eumenid. 276.

poem between the priest and the catechumen. The former, full of days and experience, groans over the miseries of man, for whom he is abont to offer sacrifice. The latter, full of yonth and hope, sings the victim by whom he is to be redeemed." When the vanlts of our churches resound with the joyful melody of O filii et filiæ, what heart does not burn at hearing "the King of glory rises from the tomb! who is this angel clothed in white seated at the entrance of the sepulchre? Apostles hasten! happy are those who have believed and have not seen!" Wonld not this simple channt of the church bear a comparison with the grandest creation of poetry? Does it not verify the saying of the ancients, that men are winged hy means of words, for hy these suhlime words is not the soul lifted np, and is not the man raised?

Witness again the prose of Easter, Victimæ Paschali laudes. Behold how this song of triumph is lively, rapid, how it carries one with it, how in a few lines it invites to joy, relates the great combat, apostrophises Mary Magdalen as a witness, and makes an act of faith and of prayer to the victorions Christ. "If that be not the genius of lyric poetry," says a French critic, alluding to it, "I know not what is."

But where shonld one finish if one were to speak of the "landa Sion," the "adoro te supplex," the "stahat mater," the "dies iræ?" If one were to describe the office of the dead, with its mournful lessons, its awful rememhrances, its solemn and heart-piercing tones? When to this majestic poetry and sound, is added the aspect of one of our Gothic churches hy night, lighted np, notwithstanding its vastness, so that every mullion of the highest windows of the choir can be traced with all its beauteous tracery against the darkness of the exterior sky, while only the distant vaults of the nave and transepts fly away and bury themselves in mysterious obscurity, as I have seen the sublime Cathedral of Amiens on the night of All-hallows, when the vigils of the dead were sung there, at which an immense multitude assisted till a late hour in profonnd devotion,—assuredly the impression from the whole on all minds of ordinary susceptihility, must be such as no language can adequately describe; it must be like that resulting from some great event of which the memory is indelible. "Let one only represent to himself," says Michelet, "the effect of the lights on those prodigious monnments when the clergy moved in procession through those forests of columns, animating the dark masses, passing and repassing through the long aisles, nnder those complicated arches, with its rich vestments, its tapers, and its chants, when light and sonnd of nnearthly harmony issued from the choir, while the ocean of people responded from the shade below;—there was the true drama, the true mystery, the representation of the journey of hnmanity through the three worlds, that suhlime vision which Dante has immortalized in the 'Divina Commedia.'" And on all occasions too what a beanty of solemn form surrounds one in the Church? Those shrines with sacred hurning lamps in order long; those altars hright with a tall forest of hurning tapers, casting streams of tremulous lnstre like the matin star; those hanners that move on in hright procession; those angel forms bearing the lights; those lofty things which come so slowly moving towards us, that the bride would have outstript them on her bridal day*—how does all this pnrify and exalt the imagination? Can we wonder that it shonld have seemed to our feeling ancestors like the holy city, the new Jerusalem, descending from heaven, prepared as a spouse adorned for her husband, that they should have expected to hear that great voice from the throne, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and he will be their God? See those heautiful little chapels of our Lady or of the Patron Saint on each side of the nave, where every object is so admirahle and delicate that those who assist within may imagine themselves to be in a paradise. There amidst these bright symbols, from this clond of fragrant incense, sweetly rises the day to Catholic youth, and no marvel that the remaining hours should flow on in innocence and joy. No marvel, I say, that the Church, as she desires in her prayer, shonld receive spiritnal augmentation from what she gains in material space, and that an eternal hahitation for the majesty of God, of living and chosen stones, should be prepared out of the supplicant people. Look again, and let your eyes rest npon those children, who stand or kneel clad in white robes, and with lights in their hands, so like things enskyed and sainted, so expressive of purity, of obedience, and love,

* Dante, Purg. XXIX.

that if angels were to descend visibly, one concludes that assuredly it would be in such a form. Fix them still upon that altar and mark what is passing before it. How beautiful is every thing! how serene! as if the harmonious wisdom of the Church had actually moulded the external form of matter to its own perfection. Is not here that beauty manifested which Plato said was nothing but the splendour of truth? Catholicism has produced all the lovely forms which order can assume within the narrow limits of space and time. Mark the celestial habits and the reverence of the grave wearers. O the sacrifice! how ceremonious, solemn, and unearthly it is in the offering! It fills one's breast with the emotions described by Dante, when, after telling of the sweet strains of Paradise, he adds,—

"And what I saw was equal ecstasy;
One universal smile it seem'd of all things;
Joy past compare; gladness unutterable;
Imperishable life of peace and love;
Exhaustless riches and unmeasur'd bliss."*

These impressions are not only thus profound and inspiring, but they are also durable, for to the mind that has once experienced them, all external beauty ever afterwards seems to be only a homage to the mystery of divine love. Every object in nature seems to merit the appellation which the Church applies to the element in the benediction of her fonts, "hæc sancta et innocens creatura;" and, in some way or other, serves to bring the mind in presence of those mysteries which are the fountain of all joy. The separation between spirit and matter is thus removed, and all seems resolved into the unity of an harmonious creation, of which every part is good, so passing lovely, mind cannot follow it, nor words express its infinite sweetness.

But let us investigate these things with unmoved bosom, as one who only chronicles the past. The altar erected by Angelbert, Archbishop of Milan, in the year 830, in the Ambrosian Basilica, was valued at thirty thousand pieces of gold. The whole front was composed of solid gold, studded with innumerable jewels, and over it stood twelve images of silver gilt, representing the Apostles.† That in the Basilica of St. Mark, at Venice, was composed of alabaster and porphyry, and tablets studded with precious stones.‡ Yet every church possessed what Ughelli mentions in describing the Cathedral of Naples, festive coverings for solemn days, which could add beauty even to these altars of gold and jewels.* What must have been the splendour on extraordinary occasions when more than usual magnificence was required? The writers of the middle ages, to describe a person struck mute and made forgetful of every thing by one object, say that they felt an impression like that caused by the sight of a high altar at Easter or Christmas; for on these occasions, the Church displayed all her treasures in honour of God, and the people used to offer choice flowers and costly vases for receiving them. Then were used those choral elephantine books of such magnitude and weight that it exceeded the strength of a man to support one of them, and of such rich adornment, that they used to be preserved in treasuries, wonderful specimens of art and industry, whether we consider the exquisite loveliness of the painting, the admirable beauty of the writing, or the costly and superb decoration of the exterior. In that vast and well filled choir of the dome at Florence, a light darkened on all sides but one, streams upon the huge volume over which it is suspended, which seems then from the distant parts of the nave, like one great flame in that solemn assembly, as if it were literally illuminated by that mighty book. The ancient sacerdotal vestments, besides the general distinctions of colour, frequently bore in rich embroidery, either a representation of the mystery of the particular festival on which they were used, or as those in the monastic Church of the Escurial, an image of some saint or of the instrument of his martyrdom, in order to commemorate a patron or local founder. Generally from those white vestments denoting the unsullied lustre of a mystic and immortal joy, to those which are red from the memory of human evils, we can trace the same genius, the same delicacy of conception which designed the ornaments in the stone of the Gothic portal. A chasuble was like the rich splendour of a rose or tulip leaf. The Creator saw man in making the former only imitating his own art. Yet these gave offence to the moderns; as if God who has painted the flowers of the field, and clothed the beasts and fowls of the earth, with such curious and exquisite colours, could be offended at the beauteous vestments of the

* Parad. XXVII.
† Italia Sacra, Tom. IV. 82. ‡ Id. V. 1177.

* Italia Sacra, Tom. VI. 669.

priest who adores him, who assumes them with prayer, and trembling, and who wears them only out of humble reverence. Many details are extant respecting the pomp of worship in the middle ages. It would seem from an expression of Ives de Chartres, that out of reverence for our Lord, the chalice and paten were generally of solid gold, for he requires that, at least, they should be of silver.* In the church of Monte Casino there were seven greater, and five lesser chalices of pure gold ;† but Saba, in his Testament, speaks of silver chalices gilt which he had brought with him from Greece, for the church of St. Saviano at Messana, to which he also gave three most beautiful thuribles which he had purchased from certain Greeks.‡ In a document of the eleventh century, we read of books bound in gold, and of gold chalices adorned with admirable gems, with an abundance of various inestimably precious ornaments for divine worship which had been treasured up from ancient times in the great church of Salzburg.§ On two expositors and a ciborium of pure gold, there were reckoned upwards of three thousand of the most precious stones of rare magnitude: one of the expositors wrought with images, was moulded by Archbishop Eberhard de Neunhause, and cast, according to popular report, from a treasure found in Inberg.‖ In the cathedral of Naples, in the eighth century, the holy vessels of the altar were of solid gold. Those in St. Mark's Basilica, at Venice, were also of gold covered with gems. Ughelli says, that to describe the sacred ornaments, vestments, and other riches in the church of St. Justina at Padua, would require a volume.¶ We read of the ancient church at Durham, that in the processions, the prior had a marvellous rich cope of cloth of gold, which he was not able to walk upright with, for the weightiness thereof, but one held it up on every side. On one vestment only of Loretto they counted seven thousand jewels. In the ecclesiastical annals of Sicily, we read of vestments in the churches of Palermo covered with innumerable pearls.** In an ancient manuscript, which describes the destruction of Catana, by the eruption of Mount Ætna, in the year 1169, in which

* Decret. Pars II. c. 131.
† Chron. Casinensis, Lib. III. cap. 74.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, II. 1005.
§ Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 181.
‖ Id. 1065. ¶ Italia Sacra, V. 4. 22; VI. 65.
** Sicilia Sacra, I.

fifteen thousand persons, including the bishop, and a number of the monastic flock perished, the loss of the ecclesiastical ornaments was deemed a part of the calamity not unworthy of commemoration.

"Unde superbit homo? Deus una diruit hora
Turres, ornatus, vestes, cunctosque paratus."*

Florence could send forth nothing in costliness or beauty superior to those which were procured from her for the Abbey of Westminster, some of which still clothe on solemn days the worthy successors in the priesthood of England. Frequently it happens in this island, that ancient tombs of pontiffs and abbots are broken open, and invariably we find the vestments of the richest texture and of the most beauteous design. Forty persons worked continually during three years under the conduct of Lermino, a celebrated embroiderer, making vestments for the Cathedral of Strasbourg. This was in a later age, but an enumeration of the gifts of Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, to the church of that monastery, will convey an idea of the prodigious splendour of public worship in the tenth century.† In consequence of that profusion of jewels which adorned the altars as we remarked in a former book, and which is found again here in surveying the vestments and other ornaments employed in the solemn worship, mineralogical studies were then much cultivated. Thus Petrus Diaconus wrote a book, "De Generibus Lapidum Pretiosorum," which he dedicated to the Emperor Conrad, and he translated from Greek into Latin, the book of Heva, King of Arabia, on precious stones addressed to the Emperor Nero, and which the Emperor Constantine had removed from Rome to Constantinople.‡ Mention has been made of the fragrant odour which filled the holy place on which men need not disdain to philosophize; for who has not experienced the associations connected with it? To how many minds does it recall the sweetest years of mortal existence, the recollections of youth, and the thousand circumstances of early life, which derive such a secret charm from the solemn and beautiful ceremonies of the sacred choir? "More good may be drawn from odours than is drawn," says Montaign, "for I have often perceived that they

* Sicilia Sacra, Tom. I. 531.
† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. III. c. 20.
‡ Chronic. Casinens, Lib. IV. cap. 66.

nange me, and act npon my spirits, which iakes me approve of what is said respecting the nse of incense and perfumes in hurches, which is to gladden, excite, and urify the sense, to render ns more fit for ontemplation." An affecting allusion to iis usuage of the Church is often met with i the great ascetical writers. "O most enign Lord Jesu Christ," cries one of iem, "my consolation and refuge in all iy trials and tribulation! O that thon rouldest deign, with celestial light and ttending angels, to enter the house of my iind, and from a golden thurihle filled rith aromatics, to incense all my interior, ad to consecrate my heart as a temple of ie Holy Ghost, to sign it with the holy :oss, to anoint it with the oil of grace, to lace there the golden urn with manna, ad to attach to my side fixedly the book f thy law, that in that I may study celesal thiogs, and thy divine commandments ay and night, so long as I shall be an cile on the earth."*

Incense, which was used in the Jewish, of great antiquity in the Christian hurch, and it is mentioned with honour ι the Scriptures, where it is compared ι prayer, of which it is still a symbol.—ight was always regarded as a mysrious emhlem. Clemens Alexandrinus iinks that man was called by the ancients ῶς, from the same word signifying light.† he lamps and candelabras, of curions orkmanship, which were fonnd in the cred cemeteries of Rome, attest the sage which prevailed in the earliest times the celehration of the Christian mysries.‡ In the middle ages, the lights in turches were an occasion of wonderful agnificence. We read that, in the time Charlemagne, in the church of the onastery of Ania, there was a multitude lamps of pure silver, in the form of a own, which used to be lighted with oil ı the festivals, which so illuminated the ioir, that in the night the whole church as as light as in the day; and before the tar there were suspended seven lamps of e most beautiful and astooishing workanship.§ Pope Adrian I. in the same ;e, gave to the church of St. Peter a can-:labra, which held, withont confusion, irteen hundred and seventy tapers or mps. The crowns and chains from which lights were suspended, were often of pure gold or silver.* Two great crowns of silver, from which were suspended thirty-six lamps, hung withont the choir before the cross, in the chnrch of Monte Casino.† There were there twelve towers of light called Phari, as if to shine over the ocean. Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grao, in the seventh centnry, gave two crowns of light to the church of that island, which had been desert till the year 565, when Christians first sought an asylum there from the Longobards. In each of these burned an hnndred candles.‡

Nor was it only during the celebration of the sacred offices that symbolic lights hurned; they were maintained perpetually, night and day, before the hlessed sacrament, before the images, and before the shrines of the saints;—and a reference to wills, and other documents of the middle age, shows with what zeal devout persons contrihnted to the expense incurred by them, leaving often their lands to the church for this express pnrpose. "Pale lamp of the sanctuary," exclaims a French poet, "why, in the obscurity of the holy place, unperceived and solitary, consnmest thou thyself before God? It is not to direct the wing of prayer or of love, to give light, feehle spark! to the eye of Him who made the day. It is not to dispel darkness from the steps of his adorers. The vast nave is only more obscure before thy distaot glimmering. And yet, symbolic lamp, thon gnardest thy immortal fire, and under the hreeze of basilicas, thou dost flicker before every altar, and mine eyes love to rest suspeoded oo this ærial hearth, and I say to them, whom I comprehend not, ye pious flames, ye do well. Perhaps, bright particles of the immense creation, they imitate before his throne the eternal adoration. Is it thus, say I to my soul, that, from the shade of this lower place, thou burnest, a flame invisible in presence of thy God? In the night of the sensible world, I feel that there is a point inaccessihle to the obscurity of earth, a dawn on the hills, which will watch all the night long—a star which never sets—a fire which remains unextinguished, unconsnmed, in which incense can be at all times enkindled, to ascend in fragrance to heaven."

The procession with litanies was a solemn symbol, employed in the ecclesiastical offi-

* Thomas a Kempis, Sermonum Pars III. 2.
† Pæd. Lib. I. c. 6.
‡ P. Aringhi Roma Subterranea, p. 282.
§ Vita S. Benedicti Abb. Mabillon, Acta S. d. Bened. IV. I.

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, in cap. 26. notæ. † Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. III. c. 33.
‡ Italia Sacra, Tom. V. 1101.

ces from remote antiquity, as may be proved from Tertullian. In the first ages, churches were constructed with aisles for the processions, as expressly and constantly as with a sanctuary for the celebration of the eucharist.—

"Densa triumphali video procul agmina pompa,
Atque hilares placidosque choros.
Plurima pars niveis, variis pars altera fulget
Vestibus auratisque stolis.
Jam sinuosa leves rapuerunt stemmata venti,
Jamque micant pia signa crucis.
Tartareas Christi propellit imago phalanges,
Et superi properant cives.
Ordo sacerdotum venerandaque turba canoris
Carminibus passim exultant.
Jam devota sacris operitur scena viretis,
Jam sanctæ resonant voces.
Alternis precibus pueri, innuptæque puellæ,
Atque senes, juvenesque canunt."*

Dante is reminded of such things on beholding a tribe of spirits in the other world :—

——— "Such their step as walk
Quires, chanting solemn litanies on earth."

Behold that solemn procession through the aisles of the Abbey Church of St. Germain! The holy virgins in pure white robes, like very sanctity, and bearing bright tapers in their hands; crowds of holy laymen, the noble and the mechanic, side by side, alike humble, alike devout; the saintly students, the venerable clergy, slowly moving along, singing their pensive melody through the dusky space, shedding radiance as they pass along, while all around them lies in deep darkness. What an emblem is here of the path of the just through earth's short pilgrimage. O, it is an impressive thing to mark the countenance of each one who glides before you. There are some who walk, rapt like men in sleep, unconscious of all around them, conversant solely with the internal vision, in a rapture of angelic thought. Nicolas Flamel, whom we have so often had occasion to mention as constantly employing painters and carvers to adorn places in Paris with devout figures and inscriptions, caused to be represented, on the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, a procession in sculpture, under which was written,

"Moult plaist à Dieu procession,
S'elle est faite en dévotion."

During the ages of faith, the procession was considered an institution of no small importance, in an intellectual and spiritual point of view. Before those mystic flames, which seem to be mingled with the supernal luminaries,—emblems of that star which never sets—it was thought that the delusive meteors of corrupt passion would die away, and be no more seen. That pious crowd, still increasing as it proceeded, which passed on, walking in such humble guise after the blessed sacrament, was in sooth a sublime spectacle, as exhibiting to the eye of the world a multitude of men who sought to follow their celestial King, hungering and thirsting after him. "Isti sunt viri sancti, facti amici Dei," is the involuntary testimony of all who behold them. Such were the conquerors and friends of God, who, despising the orders of triumphant princes, deserved eternal recompense.

Whether this ghostly triumph—so venerable, from the associations connected with it, so inspiring, from the solemn truths which it symbolically shadowed forth—conduced to sanctify and illuminate the heart, no one, who worthily joined in it, was ever found disposed to question. It was while thus slowly moving along, step by step, with the multitude of believers, having the eyes bent upon the ground, and the ears charmed with an unearthly melody, that men felt their minds impressed with a new sense of the mysterious and supernatural side of life. Then it was that they meditated on the eternal years, contrasted with the little space that remained to them of that mortal existence, the approaching end of which seemed to be proclaimed by the very stones beneath their feet. The earth on which they trod seemed to utter the Homeric lesson,

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.*

Processions besides these, universally observed by the Church, used to be celebrated in particular places, in consequence of the foundations made by private devotion. At Caen it being the custom for every trader in the market to give a penny to God, or more, according to his devotion, each trade selected one member every year, who was to receive this money, and on the day of Pentecost there was made a solemn procession of all the trades, from the church of St. Peter to the church of St. Nicholas, and each bore a great taper, to which was

* Card. Bona, de Divina Psalmodia, 289.

* Il. VI. 146.

attached as many crowns as had been received from that trade in the course of the year, in order, by this public display, to excite the people to mercy and charity to the poor; and after making the circuit of the church and cemetery of St. Nicholas, the procession was to return in the same order, and the tapers were then to be given up to the Hôtel Dieu."*—In the year 1412, at the general procession of the Holy Innocents, there were a hundred thousand Parisians who walked barefooted. —So dear to men in the middle ages were these affecting solemnities, that we find them observed even in camps, between the contending hosts. The description which Tasso gives of the procession before the walls of Jerusalem, is taken from historical facts. Here first the clergy are seen leading the van, followed by the mighty duke, walking alone, after the manner of princes; then come the barons and knights, two by two, all chanting the litany, invoking the blessed Trinity, and Christ's dear mother and St. John, the holy angels with the elected twelve, the martyrs, confessors, and those whose writings teach the certain path that leads to heavenly bliss, and hermits also, with cloistered nuns, who pray upon their beads. Singing thus with easy pace, thus ordered they pass along—while the deep caves and hollow mounts give round about them a thousand echoes.—

"It seem'd some choir, that sung with art and skill,
Dwelt in those savage dens and shady ground;
For, oft resounded from the banks, they hear
The name of Christ and of his mother dear.
Upon the walls, the Pagans, old and young,
Stood hush'd and still, amated and amazed
At their grave order and their humble song;
At their strange pomp and customs new they gazed:
And when the show they had beholden long,
An hideous yell the wicked miscreants raised,
That with vile blasphemies the mountains hoar,
The woods, the waters, and the valleys roar.
But yet with sacred notes the hosts proceed,
Though blasphemies they hear and cursed things:
So with Apollo's harp Pan tunes his reed,
So adders hiss where Philomela sings.
Nor flying darts nor stones the Christians dread,
Nor arrows shot, nor quarries cast from slings;
But with assured faith, as dreading naught,
The holy work begun to end they brought."†

With respect to the material grandeur of these spectacles, some idea may be formed by those who have visited Catholic countries even in our times. At the procession in Milan on St. Charles's day, several vast antique crucifixes, of solid silver covered with gold and jewels, and vast candlesticks, of gothic and most exquisite workmanship, are borne along. In the year 1191, took place the consecration of the Church of St. Mary de Flumine, at Ferentinum, which is a town in old Latium, upon a hill near the Latin way. In the procession were borne numerous lighted torches, twenty silver thuribles, twelve silver crosses, and four reliquaries.* To observe what a sense was generally entertained of the symbolic meaning of the procession, we should peruse the ancient writings, and the discourses which were on such occasions addressed to the people, many of which contain passages of extraordinary beauty. "Interior processions we should always make," says Richard of St. Victor, "but chiefly in this solemnity which is presented before us."† St. Bernard speaks as follows:—

"The procession which we are about to celebrate, supplies us with many subjects for remark. We are this day about to celebrate a procession, and shortly after it we shall bear the passion. What means this strange conjunction, or what were our Fathers' thoughts in adding the passion to the procession? For the procession represents what was done this day, and why is the passion added which did not follow till the sixth feria? Wisely is the passion added to the procession, that we may learn to place no confidence in any joy of this world, since sorrow is the end of gladness, and that our prosperity may not slay us like fools, but that in prosperous we may be mindful of evil days, as also conversely. For the present scene is mixed with both, not only to secular men, but also to spiritual. Therefore, we have to imitate our Lord's humility in the procession, and his patience in the passion. But why did our Lord wish to have the procession, when he knew that his passion would so soon follow? Perhaps, that the passion might be more bitter which had been preceded by the procession. O! what a contrast between 'tolle, tolle, crucifige eum;' and 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, osanna in excelsis.' What a contrast between 'King of Israel,' and 'We have no king but Cæsar.' What

* De Bourgueville Recherches et Antiquitez de Normandie, Liv. II. 40.
† XI. 11.

* Italia Sacra, I. 675.
† Sermo in Die Paschæ.

a contrast between the green branches and the cross, between the flowers and the thorns; between strewing their own vestments for him, and stripping him of his own and casting lots for them! And now in this procession to day there are those who go before, those who follow our Lord, and those who walk by his side. The first are they who prepare the way for the Lord to your hearts, who guide you and direct your steps in the way of peace. The second are those who, being conscious of their own weakness, follow devoutly and tread in the footsteps of those that walk before. The third, who adhere to his side, are those who chose the best part, who live only to God, and consider his pleasure. But behold all are in the procession of our Lord, and no one sees his face; for those who before are engaged in preparing the way, solicitons abont the dangers of others, and they who follow cannot hy any means see his face. Those who are at his side can sometimes see him, hnt only by glances and not constantly or fully, so long as they are on the way. Thus it must be, for no man shall see me and live. I shall not be seen, he says, in this life; no one shall see my face in this way, in this procession. Therefore, may he of his goodness enahle us so to persevere in his procession while we live, that in that great procession when he will be received with all that are his hy God the Father we may deserve to enter the holy city with him, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen."* Again, on the festival of the Purification, he speaks of the procession thus. "In the procession of this day, we shall walk two by two as a sign of fraternal charity and social life. A solitary person intruding himself wonld disturh the procession, and trouble both himself and others, symbolical of those who separate themselves, caring not to ohserve the nnity of the spirit in the bond of peace. We shall all carry lighted tapers in our hands, lighted from the holy fire of the altar, and these represent good works; and that humility may be practised, the last are first, and the first last in the procession, for the boys and those of least honour are to walk before. And in the procession no one can stand still, hut all must continue to move forwards as in the way of life, where nothing can remain in the same state."† Thus speaks Bernard, and thus through his lips speak the ages of hlessed thirst, so that this solemn walk of choirs was grateful alike to understanding and to sense.

* Dominic. in Ramis Pal. Serm. II.
† Id. in Purificat. Serm. II.

CHAPTER IV.

AFTER considering the divine symbolism of the sacred offices, we are naturally led to philosophize respecting the ecclesiastical music which was found such sweet medicine to moderate the thirst of human souls, and prepare them for the refreshing streams of justice. Music, like painting, as a fine art, is a new art, for as we owe perspective painting and the infinite exaltation of the modern over the ancient art to the paintings of the Catholic Church, so we are indebted to the ecclesiastical musicians for harmony. Approach we now to contemplate altars bright with amarant and gold, and vaults that breathe ambrosial fragrance, and holy words that in the blessed spirits elect, sense of new joy ineffable diffuse, and sacred song that wakens rapture high; no voice exempt, no voice but well can join melodious part, such concord is in faith. In all ages men have been convinced that music was a thing divine and belonging to the worship of God. Maximus of Tyre enforces this doctrine.* Strabo says, that music is the work of God.† Pythagoras, that he might keep his mind always imbued with the divinity, used always to sing and play on the harp before going to rest, and in the morning. He also ascribed importance to it in respect of education.‡ Socrates, when of venerable age, did not disdain to learn the principles of music with boys. Plutarch, who calls it the universal science,§ says, that the Lacedemonians paid more regard to music than to their food. The music of the ancients, which began in temples, was regarded as the source of civilization. Plato and Aristotle maintained that music was an essential part of the education of youth.|| Plotinus thought that by music men were led to God. Quinctilian says, that music is conjoined with the knowledge of divine things, that the wisest men were studious of music, and that it formed part of the education of youth from the days of Chiron and Achilles to that time.* Cicero observes the general opinion of the Greeks, that the highest erudition was in music, so that Epaminondas the prince, he says, of Greece, was skilled in playing upon the lute and in singing, and Themistocles when he declined to play at a banquet was considered on that account less learned. Whoever was ignorant of music was regarded as deficient in learning.† "The early fathers remarked the excellence of music in its adaptation to the human soul. "The science of music," says St. Augustin, "is probably the science of moving well the mind."‡ "To sing and to chant psalms," saith he, "is the business of lovers."§ "Nothing says St. Chrysostom, "so exalts the mind and gives it as it were wings, so delivers it from the earth, and loosens it from the bonds of the body, so inspires it with the love of wisdom, and fills it with such disdain for the things of this life as the melody of verses and the sweetness of holy song."|| The vague indetermined mysterious character of music defies all exact interpretation, but for that very reason it admirably represents the interior man. Whether it throws the soul into a revery full of noble melancholy, or into an enthusiastic rapture, no art harmonizes so marvellously with the sentiment and idea of infinity, and with the relations of God and man. "Music, like poetry, is a longing desire which charms and even seizes upon the soul with a magical power. In music," continues Frederick Schlegel, "as in other arts, the higher and the earthly, like soul and body, are bound to one another. The heavenly longing desire and the earthly are often inseparably blended together in one tone, as is the case also with the first sentiments of youth."¶ How beautifully does Shaks-

* XXI. † Lib. X. Geograph.
‡ Jamblich. 15. § Lib. de Music.
|| Conviv. de Legibus, VII. Politic.

* Lib. I. 10. † Tuscul. I. 2.
‡ Lib. I. de Musico. § Serm. 33.
|| Hom. in Ps. 41.
¶ Philosophie der Sprache, 124.

peare represent the effect of even the lightest music upon minds contemplative, in the scene between Amiens and Jacques, when the former repeats that song which begins with

"Under the greenwood tree,
Who loves to lie with me,
And tune his merry note,
Unto the sweet bird's throat."

And Jacques says, immediately, 'More, I pr'ythee more." "It will make you melancholy, Monsieur Jacques," replies Amiens. "I thank it," cries his friend. "More, I pr'ythee more." I can make any song yield melancholy. "More, I pr'ythee more." Still the other is loath. "My voice is rugged, I know it cannot please you." The answer is the same. "I do not desire you to please me; I do desire you to sing; come more; another stanza." The philosophers of the middle age think it not too much to affirm that a love of music has a connection with a love of justice; for the pleasure of music arises from finding that every thing moves according to order, and that there is no disarrangement or discord. In fact, as Novalis says, "All enjoyment is musical,"* and for the same reason, since the original thirst of man is for justice. Great were observed to be the effects of music. St. Albertus, a monk, while he was a secular in the world, being present at a certain play with its music respecting the life and conversation of St. Theobald, was suddenly by divine grace so filled with compunction, that he began from that hour to lead a life of great sanctity.† St. Ansbertus, a monk, and Bishop of Rouen, while as yet a layman, and living in the court of the king, hearing some instruments of music said within himself, "O glorious Creator, what will it be to hear that song of the angels who love thee, which is to sound for ever in the celestial courts! How sweet and admirable will be that chorus of saints when you ordain that the sounds of a mortal voice, and the skill of human instruments, should be able to excite the minds of the hearers to praise thee devoutly, their God and Creator." When I was at Rome, I heard a young and noble Englishman, a man of blessed life, and now of saintly order, express the same feelings on hearing music in the street. Gerard says of St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby, that he was constantly of such a sweet intention towards God, that if while assisting at the royal councils he heard melody, he had it not in his power to refrain from tears; for all sweet music seemed to remind him of the sweetness of his celestial country.* Dt. Dunstan, while a youth, withdrew from the world to devote himself to music, and to the meditation of celestial harmony.† "They who love God," says St. John Climacus, "are excited by secular and spiritual songs and melody to joy, and divine love, and to tears, although they who are addicted to pleasure may collect from them matter of perdition for themselves.‡ Osbert, in his life of St. Dunstan, relates that the holy archbishop had recalled many from the turbulent affairs of the world by means of his musical science. Brother Pacific, one of the first disciples of St. Francis, had been celebrated while in the world for his musical science, and the holy Father employed him to instruct the other brethren in singing the hymn of the Sun, which he had composed in honour of God; for he wished that they should always sing it after their sermons, and that they should tell the people they were God's musicians, and that they wished no other payment for their music but to behold them doing penance for their sins. Grievous enmity existed between the bishop and the governor of Assitium. St. Francis deputed two of his friars to present themselves before the governor, and invite him on his part to repair, with as many persons as he could collect, to the bishop's house, whither he had deputed two others to apprise the bishop. When all were assembled, the friars said, "Lords and brethren, beloved in Jesus Christ,—Father Francis being prevented by sickness from coming here in person, has sent us here to sing a canticle which he has composed, and he implores you to listen to it devoutly." Then they commenced this song, to which St. Francis had added a strophe appropriate to the occasion. The governor heard them with hands joined, and eyes raised to heaven, weeping. When they had finished, he professed his desire to be reconciled with the bishop, who on his side only lamented that he had not been the first to show an example of humility. Then they embraced and kissed each other, mutually demanding forgiveness, and filling the beholders with wonder and joy.§

* Schriften, II. † Surius, 7 Aprilis.

* Vita S. Adalhardi. Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.
† Osbert, Monachus Cantuar. in ejus vita.
‡ Grad. XV.
§ Les Chroniques des Freres Mineurs Liv. I. c. 116.

"Music," says Cassidorus, "dispels sorrow, soothes anger, softens cruelty, excites to activity, sanctifies the quiet of vigils, recalls men from shameful love to chastity, by the sweetest rapture expels the diseases of the mind, and soothes, through the medium of the corporeal senses, the incorporeal soul."* They who would dwell on this subject, may consult Clemens Alexandrinus;† Justin Martyr;‡ Bede;§ John of Salisbury,|| who pays a tribute to the noble nature and admirable properties of music; Williams of Paris;¶ and Athanasius Kircher Fuldensis.** Many and interesting are the reflections of the ancients with respect to the principles and application of music. Plutarch explains a saying of antiquity, "Love taught music,"†† on the ground adopted by the Platonists, who taught that love was the master of all arts and sciences. Theophrastus says that music has three principles—"grief, pleasure, and the divine inspiration." If our space were not too limited, one would be tempted to collect some interesting details respecting the different kinds of ancient music, and the use to which each was deemed applicable. It appears that the Dorian, which corresponded with our church music generally, was deemed proper for the education of youth; that the Hypodorian, which seems to answer more particularly to our vesper strains, was rather soothing; and therefore the Pythagoreans used it in the evening to appease the cares of the mind, though Aristotle styles it magnificent, constant, and grave.‡‡ It was called Hypodorian as being not greatly Dorian. The Phrygian music was martial;§§ and, what is very remarkable, both Plato and Aristotle interdicted its use to youth. The Hypophrygian was adulatory and attractive, and suited to unstable minds. Aristotle says that its effects are like intoxication.|||| The Lydian was the music of pleasure; and yet such is the inherent dignity of man's soul, from which nothing can totally banish the remembrance of its fall, that, as Plato asserted, it was sad and plaintive.¶¶ It was this which was said to resound in the Elysian fields.*** So associated is melancholy with the highest joy, that the Hypolydian was decidedly tearful, and said to arise from devotion and gladness; the Mixolydian produced a double effect, for it excited men to joy, but immediately recalled them to sadness. It was this which the ancients used in tragedy. These seven tones were all recognised by the Pythagoreans.* In accordance with St. Augustin and the early Fathers, St. Thomas, and all the noble geniuses of the middle age, are the faithful echo of the ancients, and agree with their opinion respecting the divine origin of music. The importance attached to it in the middle ages, may be collected from various contemporary authors, such as Rabanus Maurus;† Isidore;‡ Rupertus Abbas;§ an author mistaken for Bede; and Richard of St. Victor.|| Vincent of Beauvais says that music is joined not only to speculation, but also to morality, for that there is nothing so proper to humanity as to be affected by it, and that no age is exempt from its influence;¶ and John of Fulda says, that all the Roman Pontiffs were either musicians or men who delighted in music. Raban goes so far as to say, "This discipline is so noble and so useful, that he who is without it cannot properly fulfil the ecclesiastical office.—'Quicquid enim, (he adds,) in lectionibus decenter pronunciatur ac quicquid de psalmis suaviter in ecclesia modulatur, hujus disciplinæ scientia ita temperatur, et non solum per hanc legimus et psallimus in ecclesia, immo omne servitium Dei rite implemus.' For musical discipline," he continues, "is diffused through all the arts of our life in this manner. First, if we keep the commandments of our Creator, and with pure minds observe his law; for it is proved that what ever we speak, or with whatever sentiment we are internally moved by the pulsation of veins, is associated by musical rythm with the virtues of harmony. If we observe a good conversation, we prove ourselves associated with this discipline; but when we act sinfully, we have no music."**—"Sine musica," says Isidore, "nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta: nihil enim est sine illa."†† In the middle

* Lib. II. Var. Ep. 40. † Stromat. VI.
‡ Qu. 107. § Lib. de Musica.
|| Lib. I. c. 6. Policrat.
¶ De Universo, Pars II. cap. 20.
** Lib. III. Artis Magnetica.
†† Sympos. Lib. I. ‡‡ See 19th Problem.
§§ Clemens Alex. Strom. VI.
|||| See 19th Problem. ¶¶ III. de Repub.
*** Propert. Lib. IV. Eleg. VII.

* Card. Bona, de Divina Psalmodia, 431.
† De Inst. Clerical. III. 24.
‡ Origin. Lib. II.
§ In Lib. Reg. v. 23.
|| De. Contemplat. v. 17.
¶ Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. XVIII. cap. 2.
** De Institutione Clericorum, Lib. III. cap. 24. †† Etymolog. Lib. III.

ages, kings had their musicians, great nobles their musicians, towns their musicians. Music was deemed part of liberal erudition. It was treated upon by Boethius, Severinus, Berno, Otho, St. Gregory the Great, Theogerus, Cosmas, St. John Damascenus, Guido of Arezzo, and many others.* In the fourth century, the ecclesiastical music became more artificial than it had been in the infant church;† but it was St. Gregory the Great who was the chief author and promoter of the choral song, called from him Gregorian or Roman, which was propagated throughout the whole western Church. This, which was richer and more variegated than the ancient Gallican psalmody, was a precious remnant of the ancient Greek music, which had retained much of its original beauty. St. Gregory founded a school expressly to teach it, and compiled books with notes to perpetuate it. We find musical skill, joined with exact judgment in divine mysteries, reckoned among the qualities of Leo II. Bishop of Palermo, in the seventh century.‡ During St. Gregory's time, the choral song was introduced into England by St. Augustin, as John the deacon relates. Bede is a witness that, in the monasteries of Britain, the divine office was sung as in St. Peter's at Rome.§ St. Theodore of Canterbury and St. Wilfrid of York were great patrons of this Gregorian song. In the year 747, in the Council of Cloveshoe, there were decrees for its especial cultivation. Charlemagne, who loved every kind of excellence, endeavoured also to promote it throughout the empire, being anxious, as he said, that the Latins should yield in nothing to the Greeks. He was passionately fond of the ecclesiastical chant, and used to sing himself in the church, morning, noon, and night, but only in an under tone, as Eginhard relates. The school of Mentz, for ecclesiastical song, had flourished under Pepin. Charlemagne sent two clerks to Rome, that on their return to Metz they might be able to teach the Roman song. From Metz it was propagated over all France.

The names of some celebrated musicians of this time have come down to us. And modern writers, like Sir John Hawkins, though Protestants, pay profound homage to the genius of those ancient monks and bishops who were the conservators of music during so long an interval.*

Notwithstanding this extraordinary zeal for the cultivation of music, the relative importance of virtues was not overlooked. Charlemagne condemns some who prefer a clerk or monk that sings well to one that lives justly and holily. For though, he adds, musical discipline is not to be despised, yet if both merits cannot be obtained, it seems more tolerable to us to bear imperfection in singing than imperfection in living.† In the tenth century, music was in the highest repute. The greatest masters, such as Remi of Auxerre, Hubald of St. Amand, Gerbert, and Abbon, taught it with as much care as the highest science. "Est decus humanæ naturæ musica summum, quam qui scire negat, ipsum se scire negabit," says a manuscript poem in the Vatican, written in the time of Otho the Great. In England, celebrated for musical science were St. Adelm, in the eighth, and St. Dunstan in the tenth century, Eadmer a chanter of the church of Canterbury, in the time of St. Anselm, Simeon at Durham, Joannes Thannatensis, a great mathematician, at Canterbury, Wolston at Winchester, Thomas Walshingham at St. Alban's, William Somerset, in the monastery of Malmsbury, and William of Evereux, treasurer of Henry I. In France, the musical science was celebrated of Geoffrey of Tours, St. Odo of Cluny, Peter, chanter and doctor of the university of Paris, and Adulphus, raised from being a chanter to the episcopal see of Autun, an example not unfrequent in history. Pope Urban IV. in the thirteenth century, had been educated among the children of the choir of a cathedral; and Lebeuf mentions a certain cardinal who had risen from the same condition in the church of Lyons. Orderic Vitalis says that the Abbot Durandus, having a great knowledge of music, enriched the divine office with new pieces, and with new and very melodious airs. In Ireland there seems to have been no regular ecclesiastical chant introduced till the twelfth century. St. Bernard says that St. Malachy was the first to establish it there, "according to the custom of the whole world." John the Monk, of Fulda, a disciple of Rabun Maur, was a poet and musician, "who first composed with varied modulation, artificial song in the church in Germany—a country in which it took

* Gerbert, de Cantu et Musica Sacra Præfat.
† Id. Tom. I. p. 240.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, notit. I. 37.
§ Lib. IV. de Gest. Angl. c. 18.

* General Hist. of the Science and Practice of Music. † Capital. II. An. 811. Baluz. Tom. I.

such deep root, that in no other part of Europe was it more assiduously cultivated." Mabillon, in his Itinerary, speaks of the great importance which the Germans attached to music in the church; whereas, he says, the French in his time regard figured music as an impediment to devotion. But it was an obscure and devout recluse who prepared a new epoch in the history of music. This was Guido of Arezzo, a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Pomposa, in the Duchy of Ferrara, who in the eleventh century, was the author of the present system of musical notes, for which he was so greatly honoured, that Pope John XX. sent three messengers to invite him to come to him. He published his Micrologus about the year 1028. In a contemporary work he is entitled "Musicus et monachus, nec non eremita beandus."—In the prologue to his work, and in his letter to Michael, he speaks of the success of his invention with great humility. "Since my natural condition, and the imitation of the good, made me diligent, I began, among other studies to instruct boys in music. At length the divine grace was with me, and some of them, by the use of our notes, learned, within the space of a month, to sing at sight new and most difficult pieces, so that it furnished a spectacle to many.—Since posterity will be able, with the greatest ease, to learn the ecclesiastical chant, which cost me and all before me so much pains, I trust that I and you, and the others who assisted me, may obtain eternal salvation, and, by the mercy of God, remission of our sins, or at least, some prayers from the charity of so many. For if they used to intercede with God so devoutly for their masters, from whom they could scarcely, in ten years, obtain an imperfect knowledge of singing, how will they not pray for us and for our assistants, who in the space of a year, or at the most, within two years, can make them perfect singers."

With respect to the merits of the music of the middle ages, it is certain that it had arrived at a very high degree of perfection. The love of God can supply and surpass all things. The most sublime elevation to which the soul can attain, becomes also, in relation to art, an inexhaustible source of celestial inspiration; for that which is most admirable in music, is derived from the sentiment of religion. In comparison, therefore, with the productions of the old Catholic school, modern science must stand mute. What, in fact, can any secular academy do to encourage music, comparable to a church, where the voices of three thousand faithful are to mingle in the hymn of lofty praises, which is to be heard with ravishment by the glorified choirs of heaven? On this ground, the importance of the musical schools which were in cathedrals, where children were instructed, has been pointed out by recent authors.* Truly, it would require a different tongue from mine to speak of all the musical beauties in the sacred offices. The plain chant in the Holy Week, irresistibly affects the soul with a sadness unutterable. That of the "Stabat," places the blessed Mary before our eyes as if with the pencil of Raphael; that of the "Miserere," moves the soul to its centre; that of the funeral office, is terrific like the voice of death, sublime like the angel's announcement of resurrection. The admirers of the wonders of art flock to the Sextine Chapel, at Rome, to behold the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, but in every country of the world, one may turn pale with fear and admiration before a still greater work, a composition of still more marvellous energy, before the "dies iræ," which is sung over the dead man's bier. "If a musician were asked to compose a piece without accompaniment, without either rythm or modulation, and to confide the execution to the rude voice of some parish singer, and on these conditions to create the sublime, where," says a modern French critic, "is there an artist that would accept the wager? Nevertheless, this is what has been realized by some poor monks, whose names have not even come down to us, but in whom faith and piety have been able to accomplish what genius would not have had courage to attempt."

The religious houses have always proved themselves the asylums of the Muse. Jomelli, Gluck, and Mozart, sought advice in music from the Franciscan friar, Martini, of Bologna, who formed a musical library of seventeen hundred volumes, and who is said amidst modern corruptions to have preserved in his compositions all the dignity of the ancient style. The music as well as the poetry of the Catholic Church seem like a faint echo of that primitive language in which man spoke to God in the state of innocence, the sounds of which can revive in some manner those powers of sentiment and virtue, which the Creator placed in his heart. In the middle ages, men were scrupulous in adhering to the great traditions of art in the

* Sur l'Origine de la Maîtrise des Enfans de Chœur de la Basilique Metrop. de Paris. Mag. Encyclop. Tom. V.

composition of music. Thus Letaldus says of himself, on composing music for the feast of St. Julian, that "he was unwilling to depart from the similitude of the ancient song, lest he should produce either a barbarous or a novel melody. For the novelty of those musicians does not please me, he adds," speaking like Plato, "who make use of such dissimilitudes that they seem to disdain to follow the old authors." To the same effect speaks Hugo of St. Victor, "Non enim decet, ut cantus et usus ecclesiasticus fieri debeat secundum arbitrium diversorum, sed firmiter servandus est secundum scripta et instituta majorum." The psalms of David were tuned to that Dorian harmony which sounded forth in the hymn of Terpander, the antiquity of which music is remarked by Clemens Alexandrinus;* and and as Muller observes, a manly character was always attributed even to the Dorian dialect. St. Bernard, in his letter to the Abbot Ærremacens, describes what ought to be the style of Church music, "full of gravity, being neither lascivious, nor rustic. Sweet without being frivolous, soothing to the ear, but so as also to move the heart. It should appease sadness, mitigate anger, and not diminish but fecundate the sense of the words." There was no affectation or levity in the ecclesiastical music of the middle ages. "With the canticles and hymns of the Church," says Cardinal Bona, "we console this solitude of our exile until we come to our celestial country, when we shall sing that new immortal song, without any mixture of grief." For at present as there are no joys without some misery, so, as the Abbot Paschasius Radbertus says, "there is no song found without lamentation: for songs of pure joy belong to the heavenly Sion, but lamentations to this our pilgrimage." The Church was so impressed with a sense of the importance of music being adapted to the Catholic philosophy, that all music composed by heretics was prohibited from being used in the Church by a synod in the year 1567. In fact, Catholic music is the sister of Catholic manners. It is the expression of faith, hope, and charity: it is the voice of penance, of simplicity, and love. However rich, however ravishing, this was its essential character. What musicians were those who composed the sublime masses which raised souls to heaven, in which the music consisted entirely in a simple phrase of the chaunt in an artless and even popular air, but which, directed by all powerful harmony to suit the different parts of the mass, could express so many various passions! At the "kyrie," those of submission and pity; at the "gloria in excelsis," those of admiration; at the "passus," suffering; at the "resurrexit," joy; at the "agnus Dei," gratitude and peace. These were the inspirations of men in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a Dufai de Chimai, a Binchois de Paris, an Ockeghem of Bavaria, a Leteinturier of Nivelle, a Josquin of Cambray. These great musicians of the school of Cambray, instructed all the north of France. Artificial skill is not art. The moderns, as a German philosopher remarks, "have cultivated more and more the luxury of harmonic accompaniments and instrumental concord, but only to promote the phantastic interest of a confused entertainment. The best judges sigh after the simple elevation of the ancient style, and recognise their chief masters in the first composers of the old simple harmonies of the Church."* Under the inspiration of faith, art was a great and holy thing. It was the reflection of God. It was the invisible world, the soul world. Palestrina and Mozart composed figured music equal in solemnity and feeling to the noblest tones of the Gregorian chant. They created melodies which should never be sung excepting on one's knees: the beautiful simplicity of the ancient Church chants so struck Purcell when he began to study them, that he exclaimed, "surely this must have been composed at the gates of heaven, where is such melody, as but to hear, for highest merit were an ample meed."† Under the influence of Catholicism, poetry and music sent forth sounds such as the ear of man had never before heard. Sooth no tongue can be adequate to give an idea of the impression produced by the plain song of the choir. It is full of poetry, full of history, full of sanctity. While the Gregorian chant rises, you seem to hear the whole Catholic Church behind you responding. It exhales, says Genéroult, a perfume of Christianity, an odour of penitence, and of compunction, which overcome you. No one cries how admirable! but by degrees the return of those monotonous melodies penetrates one, and as it were impregnates the soul; and if to these be added personal recollections a little sad, one feels oneself weep, without ever dreaming of judging, or of appreciating, or of learning the airs which one hears. In respect to art, one may pronounce without hesitation,

* Stromat. VI. 11.

* Fries. 241. † Dante, Par. XIV.

that men such as Æschylus describes, who never in their hands bear the olive branch, having lost the faculty of prayer, the thrilling emotion in presence of the Father and Creator of the world, who, in short experience nothing but ordinary sensations when they hear the chants of the Church, must be degraded beings, insensible to the magnificence of nature, deaf to the nightingale or to the murmur of the woods, dead to poesy and to music, and susceptible of no enthusiasm, (man must desire something with ardour) but for objects disgusting and absurd.

Organs, whether hydraulic or pneumatic, were nearly the only instruments used in the churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, all others being rejected in consequence of abuse and the fear of theatrical effect.* Some writers, among whom was our Œlred of Rievaulx,† complained of excess in the use of organs, though in the same age, Peter the Venerable, of Cluny, was defending the use of them against the Petrobrusians. The sacred Psalmist had expressly desired men to take up the harp and the cymbal, which judgment was more than sufficient to counterbalance the opinion of isolated philosophers. St. Augustin had lamented the blindness of the Manichæans in rejecting sacred music, saying, "that they knew not these medicines, and that they rage against the antidote by which they might be healed." The first organ which appeared in Europe was sent as a present by Constantine Copronymus, to Pepin, King of France, in the year 757. This was placed by him in the church of St. Corneille, at Compiègne. The secret of the construction of these steam organs is now entirely lost. The first organ on the present principle which was seen in the west, was that which Louis-le-Débonnaire placed in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. It is an organ of this kind which is mentioned in the annals of Fulda, in the year 828. At the close of the ninth century many skilful organ builders were drawn to Rome by Pope John VIII. In the tenth century, an organ of this description was placed in the Abbey of Westminster. Walafried Strabo, describing the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, mentions a surprising instance of the effect of the wonderful organ which was in it; for he says, that a woman expired through rapture and surprise at the sweetness of its sound.

"Dulce melos tantum vanas deludere mentes
Cœpit, ut una suis decedens sensibus, ipsam
Femina perdiderit vocum dulcedine vitam."

This organ was made by George, a priest of Venice and by a Count Baldric. So delicious and astonishing was the music of organs and flutes, at the consecration of the monastic church of Cava, near Salerno, which was conducted with the utmost pomp, that what between the harmony and the sweet odours which were continually burning, the Serene Duke Roger, and all the people present, thought themselves on the very borders of heaven, as is attested by the chronicle in the archives of that house.* In the tenth century, organs used to be supplied from Italy, as appears from the epistles of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. The organ in the church of Brunswick was made by Arnold, a priest of the order of St. Francis, and that in the monastery of Trudhert, in the Black Forest, was made by Conrad Sittinger, a Benedictine monk of St. Blaise. As these instruments were made by religious men, so were they chastely touched by their pious and master hands.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was the custom to place the organ in the choir; but in the fifteenth century it was deemed preferable to remove them to the western extremity of the nave. The expression of golden mass, "aurea missa," which occurs in the books of the middle ages, implied a mass which was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. This used to last three or four hours, in consequence of the music.† Of these solemnities, Dante is reminded when borne along by Beatrice over the waters of Lethe, and led to the symbol of our Saviour:

"The blessed shore approaching, there was heard
So sweetly, 'Tu asperges me,' that I
May not remember, much less tell the sound,"‡

alluding to the prelude of scattering the holy water, which usage has been always in the Church from apostolic tradition,§ following the example of Elijah the prophet, who is recorded to have mingled salt with water, that with this infusion the bitter fountains might be converted into sweet.|| Admirable was the adaptation of the different strains to the successive stages of the sacred mystery. Rupertus says, that the gradual used

* Gerbert de Cantu Sacra, Tom. II. 99.
† Specul. Charitatis, Lib. II. cap. 23.

* Italia Sacra, VII. 368.
† Gerbert de Cantu Sacra, Tom. I. 354.
‡ Purg. XXXI.
§ Joan. Devot. Lib. II. tit. VII. § 1.
|| Hugo de St. Victor de Sacramentis, Lib. II. P. IX. c. 2.

to be sung in lugubrious tones by men, and that this was followed by children singing in a sweet and joyous manner the Allelujah in a continued strain, protracting a short word, as it is not strange that the human voice should fail in speaking, where the mind does not suffice for thinking. This was so ordained he says, to express the consolation which awaited mourners according to the sentence, "Beati qui lugent quoniam ipsi consolabuntur;" for this joyful Allelujah carries away the astonished mind, and directs it to that place where will be always life without death, and day without night. The sequence was that breathing or protracting of short words to denote a joy which was greater than one could express. Hence in the ancient sequences, we find unknown words, because, as Cardinal Hugo says, the manner of praising God in our country is unknown to us. But the proses sung before the Gospel, which date from the tenth century, were also called sequences, because the Gospel followed them. The music at the offertory continued while the oblations were received, and until the "Per omnia sæcula," was chanted by the priest. The Mixolydian song of the preface, which shall be sung long as time endures, is the same as what is found in the most ancient monuments. After the "Sanctus," the choir, or as it was sometimes called, "the school," was silent. This custom prevailed in the time of St. Chrysostom, for he says, that at the consecration all was silence, πολλὴ ἡσυχία, πολλὴ σιγή. This is the moment when the priest is left alone at the altar, the deacon and sub-deacon falling back, to signify, as Durandus says, how the disciples forsook Christ and fled.* "The silence which follows the 'Sanctus,'" says Stephanus Augustodunensis, "indicates the commemoration of the Passion;" and Rupertus says, "After the joyful acclamation of the people there follows the history of secret grief, which is a cause for profound silence. At the fraction of the Lord's body, the agnus Dei, and the dona nobis pacem were solemnly sung by the choir, and at the communion the sweetest strains of hypolydian harmony were protracted, in order, as the writers of the middle ages say, that the minds of the people who were about to receive the Lord's body might be exalted and tranquillized: or according to the words of a manuscript of the tenth century, "that the faithful about to communicate may inhale, in harmony, him whom they receive within their lips, that they may remember, that he whom they feed upon as corporal food, was crucified dead and buried." For this cause the music continues, that so long as the people are receiving the celestial benediction, their minds, by the charm of melody, may be retained in a state of sweet imprisonment. Finally, the deacon was to chant the Ite missa est, in a wondrous and a melodious note, in order, as it were, with the last hand to impress on the hearts of the people the memory of what they had seen and heard.* What a profound sense does all this indicate of the reverence due to the celebration of those tremendous mysteries in which God has placed the fountain of all holiness!

Such then was the ecclesiastical music during the middle ages, till the commencement of its decline, which, according to the natural order of things was contemporaneous with the decline of faith and the introduction of the new opinions; for a change of manners necessarily superinduced a change in the style of music. In the fifteenth century a profane theatrical music began to be introduced into churches, which was censured by Pope Benedict XIV. in his encyclical letter in the year of the jubilee, and again in his works, in which he called upon all bishops to correct this abuse. Martin Gerbert, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Blaise, in the black forest, composed his great work on sacred music, expressly with a view to stem, if possible, this deplorable evil, which he laments in language of piety and good sense. This abuse of church music gave great scandal at its commencement, as may be seen in the writings of Cornelius Agrippa, Erasmus, and others. It arrived at such a height, that the fathers of the Council of Trent deliberated whether they ought not to abolish all music in the churches excepting the Gregorian. Satan seemed to have again crept into the paradise of man on earth, the house of God. The chants were left to profane untonsured artists, who substituted a hypophrygian style, consisting of fanciful digressions and exaggerated bombastic flourishes for the ancient simplicity, the dignity of the priesthood, and the reverence of God. Anthems were sacrificed to exhibit the fantastic powers of vain men, who knew nothing of devotion, and who very often were persons who, by the canons, stood excluded from so much as entering the assembly of the faithful. False character, false expression, and frivolity, under the title of brilliant

* Rationale, Lib. IV. cap. 34.

* Rupertus Tuitiensis de Div. Off. lib. II.

execution, became the prevailing vices of music. This Phrygian, or hypophrygian music, full of insolent grandeur, noisy, tedious, and abounding in insipid repetitions, adulatory and suited to unstable minds, indicated clearly enough the influence of the new spirit which had superseded the reign of faith and Catholic devotion, and might have made men desire even the Lydian strains of the ancients, which, though their music of pleasure, had still, as we have before remarked, the character of sorrow and compassion.

The abuse of organs was strictly prohibited, though in more recent times it has outstript all bounds. St. Charles Borromeo prescribed, that although the organ may be used in hymns, yet every verse is to be distinctly pronounced in the choir;* that in like manner the credo was not to be performed alternately by the choir and by the organ, but that all of it was to be sung.† At the Synod of Treves, it was required that the organ should be silent at the elevation; and according to the Synod of Cologne, one of the questions to be proposed by the visitors of churches was, "Whether the organ was silent at the elevation." Generally it was enjoined that no verses should be intercepted, and no hymns mutilated by the organ. The pontifical chapel at Rome, to the present day, has constantly rejected the use of organs, as have some ancient churches, such as that of Lyons, and some religious orders, such as that of the Carthusians.

Sweet and intellectual was the harmony of youthful and aged voices joining in saintly chorus, worthy to be of angels heard; but sudden bursts of deafening noise, large floods of sound, mechanically sent forth in impetuous streams, would seem less in accordance with the still small peaceful voice of heaven.

* Concil. Mediol. I. p. 2. N. 51.
† Concil. Rhemense, an 1564.

CHAPTER V.

WE have seen the importance ascribed to music generally by the great philosophers of the middle age: but let us now attend to what they deliver in its praise, when directed in particular to enhance the solemnity of the ecclesiastical offices.

"It is good," says St. Bernard, "to glorify God with hymns, and psalms, and spiritual songs. The church chant rejoices the minds of men, refreshes the weary, invites sinners to lamentation; for although the heart of secular men may be hard, yet immediately when they hear the sweetness of psalms, they are converted to a love of piety." Dante seems to express this when he describes his hearing in purgatory the strains of dulcet symphony:

> ——— "Then the ice
> Congealed about my bosom, turn'd itself
> To spirit and water, and with anguish forth
> Gush'd, through the lips and eyelids from the heart."*

St. Isidore of Spain speaks to the same effect, recommending music, that those who are not moved to compunction by words, may be excited by the sweetness of melody; for, he adds, quoting the words of St. Augustin, "all our affections have I know not what certain occult connection with diversity or novelty of sounds;" and St. Thomas proves the advantage of music on the same ground.† Of St. Adelard, abbot of Corby, it is related in Bollandus,‡ that whenever he used to hear a sweeter music in the divine office, he could not refrain from tears. St. Bernard relates that St. Malachy used

* XXX. † 2. 2. 9. 91. Art. 2.
‡ T. I. Jan. ad. diem XI.

often to say how greatly he was delighted by the chant which he heard in the monastery of Clairvaux. For even in these austere houses of penitence the graces of music were cultivated and appreciated. In the chronicle of the monastery of St. Trudo, it is related how Guntram, when first admitted as a youth into the choir, on the night of the conversion of St. Paul, filled the whole community with astonishment, unmixed with envy, at the sweetness and power of his voice; and with what humility he stood forth, at the command of the abbot, to sing the response which belonged to the office of another, who was of high dignity, which he executed with such power that the abbot, immediately after the office, appointed him to the second place in the choir.* "The reading and meditation of the scriptures, and the devout chant of psalmody," says Richard of St. Victor, "strengthen the mind and render the weak firm."† Vain is the censure and most shallow the judgment of the moderns, when they say that the poor cannot understand the regular offices. "When men hear sacred song," says St. Thomas, "although they may not understand the words which are sung, yet they understand for what purpose they are sung, namely, to praise God, and this is sufficient to excite devotion."‡ That ignorance of the poor can hardly be so great an evil, since Dante describes his having experienced it in paradise:

> "Unearthly was the hymn which then arose:
> I understood it not, nor to the end
> Endured the harmony."

And in fact, who has not marked the profound impression which the solemn tones of the Gregorian chant make upon the multitude in Catholic lands?—the mystic joy with which it is sung by children, like holy innocents, and by old men, who have in their looks an expression which seems to tell that they know what takes place in paradise? It is not by learning that men can qualify their souls for the reception of that heavenly peace which this holy song visibly inspires. Truly the words of David thus loudly and articulately announced in the majestic Latin of the vulgate, seem an unearthly voice, teaching the wisdom of the eternal ages. Each word makes every heart vibrate as it unfolds the thousand mysteries of human thought, and the secrets of the conscience of man. How this divine voice enables us to see from on high and without fear, all the shocks which make weak mortals tremble, and which drag so often to the abyss, individuals and nations! Oh, who is not moved by the oracular sentence of the psalmist? Amidst the regrets, the agonies, the discouragements of life, who has not felt the power of that great voice which speaks in the depth of night, which touches and which consoles? These Latin psalms and hymns, so sweetly and solemnly sung in the daily offices of the church, in which all classes joined, diffused a complete tone and spirit through society in the middle ages; so that the spirit of the psalms, and the spirit of the Gregorian song, became the spirit of the times. It is one thing, as the character of modern ages can testify, to read these things in a library, and it is quite another to hear them announced in majestic strains under the holy vaults of those churches which no one that has a heart can ever enter without veneration and trembling.

The most familiar office was always new, for the events of the world and the vicissitudes of each man's fortune, every day throw a fresh light upon the words of this eternal wisdom, so that their profound sense seemed never exhausted, but was continually receiving further illustration by the crimes and follies, by the calamities and by the virtues of men; for in the psalms every thing is foreseen and set at rest on its true foundation, even down to the calamities and sophisms of the time we live in. Homer says of his hero, "He was suffering cruel wounds from a diseased heart, but he found a remedy, for sitting down beneath a lofty rock, looking down upon the sea, he sang as follows."*— If the aspect of rocks and the sound of the waves could inspire consolatory thoughts and prompt a cheering song, what would he have found in our churches had their reviving oracles been heard?

When Francis I. was made prisonor in the park of the Carthusians at Pavia, he desired to be conducted into the church, when the monks at that moment singing Tierce, were chanting the verse, Coagulatum est, sicut lac, cor eorum; ego vero legem tuam meditatus sum. The king, disposed to a solemn feeling by his misfortunes, joined them in repeating the next verse. "Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas." O genuine glitter of Eternal Beam, with what sudden

* Apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. II. 661.
† In Cantica Cantic. c. II.
‡ Serm. 2. 2. 9. 91. Art. 2.

* Il. VI.

force dost thou enlighten the darkness which resteth upon the uncertain and intricate ways of mortal life, pregnant with delusive phantoms!

What counsel, what consolation for humanity amidst its unnumbered woes, in the constant recurrence of those holy psalms, sung by the church, day and night! For what lesson of wisdom and patience, and heroic virtue, did they not teach? Did they not inculcate, as St. Basil says, "the magnificence of fortitude, the exact severity of justice, that temperance, so venerable even in its aspect, the perfection of prudence, the form of penance, the measure of patience and every kind of good?* To observe with what care the profound sense of the different parts of the ecclesiastical office was explained by the doctors of the middle ages, we need only refer to the remarks of Hugo of St. Victor, on the song of the Magnificat, where he shows that it is not without great reason that it is sung with such peculiar veneration by the church.†

"In the book of Psalms," says St. Ambrose, "there is a medicine of salvation for the human race: the psalm is the benediction of the people, the praise of God, the voice of the church, the confession of faith, the full devotion of authority, the joy of freedom, the cry of rapture; it mitigates anger, it banishes care, it alleviates sorrow, it hails the birth of day, it attends also its decline, it sanctifies the stillness of night. The apostle commands women to keep silence in the church, but they may chant the psalm with praise. This is sweet to every age and becoming to both sexes; this old men sing and forget their infirmities; this young men sing and commit no intemperance; youths sing the psalm without danger to their innocence, and maidens without disparagement to their modesty. Children love it, and it even fills infants with admiration. Kings and emperors sing with their people, because the psalm is profitable to all."‡

Hugo St. Victor, in a golden little book on the mode of prayer, refutes the objection of those who would deny the fitness of the divine offices, on the ground of their not being composed exclusively in the deprecatory form. "Some," he says, "are accustomed to ask why, when we wish to pray God for ourselves or others, we sing certain psalms, which neither contain words of petition nor have any relation apparently to our wants,—and moreover, use other parts of Scripture as a prayer, though they have no form of supplication or connexion with our state; what advantage arises then from using words which express nothing of what we ought to ask from God? what skills it to sing, 'Quare fremuerunt gentes,' or 'Attendite, popule meus?' Is it not ridiculous to fancy that we pray when we sing such things?—This is what they say: but whoever diligently considers the nature of prayer, will easily discern how such words avail. This kind of prayer is often found more efficacious than that in which we manifestly and explicitly declare our wants. For there is this difference between supplicating man and God—that man cannot know our necessity unless he be informed of it; whereas God knows it before we ask. Man, therefore, must be informed by our narration; but in prayer to God, narration is unnecessary. Therefore, to speak briefly, when we praise God, whatever be the words used, however prolix, what else do they express but this one thing—that adoring we love him, and that loving we adore him? Similarly, when we treat of our misery before him, whatever be the words, and however prolix, what do they express but that, from our heart, we seek his mercy, and place all our confidence in it? No parts of the Scripture are to be counted alien from the office of prayer, since, whether by insinuation, or inference, or entreaty, or announcement, all parts can infuse the affections of virtue, by means of which we shall pray more effectually than by the mere words of prayer. And who can enumerate all the virtues of the Psalms? Who can number those ignited compunctions of holy affections with which the mind that uses them is kindled in prayer, when the most grateful sacrifice to God is offered up on the altar of the heart?"*

We have already had incidental proof that in the early as in the middle ages, the multitude joined in the choral song of the church.—

"Intonet omnis homo cantica sacra Deo,"

is the line of Cosmas Materiensis, in his Poem entitled "The Passion of the Holy

* Præf. in Ps.
† Annot. Elucid. Alleg. in Marcum, Lib. III.
‡ S. Ambros. Præf. in Psalm.

* De Modo Orandi Libellus.

Martyrs," dedicated to Gregory, the monk of Nonantula, and after seven hundred years, discovered among the ancient manuscripts of that abbey.* The people joined in the Psalmody of the clergy in primitive times.† St. Cæsarius of Arles compelled the laity to join with the religious in singing in the church the divine office, the psalms and hymns, the proses and antiphons: and in the second Council of Vasens, he entreated the people to assemble in the church at matutinal vigils, tierce, sext, and nones. In his sermons he exhorts the faithful, that, "despising the bitterness of the world, they would repair to the church, where they may receive the sweetness of Christ." Fortunatus says of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris,—

"Pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit et infans."‡

"My brethren," says St. Ephrem, "be assiduous in repairing to the places of our assemblies, whether during the night or at sun-rise, or during the day; whoever you be, of whatever rank, of whatever sex, of whatever condition, hasten to assist at the celebration of the divine mysteries."§ Not only clerks, but also laymen, used to meet daily to assist at the divine office,|| unprevented by the hours of the secular life. St. Gregory Nyssen relates in the life of his sister, St. Macrina, that after supper and a familiar conversation with his sister, he went to the church to return thanks to God at the vesper service—for every one used to go to the church at that hour, which the Greeks called ἐπιλύχνιος. The English Fathers of the Council of Cloveshoe, in the eighth century, required the faithful laity to assist at the divine psalmody in the church. They call it a medicine for the soul; and they add, "Although some one may be ignorant of the Latin words, yet he should supplicantly refer the intention of his heart to those things which are to be asked of God. And after the offices, such a person ought to pray secretly, in Saxon, for mercy and remission of his sins, and for the repose of the dead."¶ The early canons required the faithful to assist at vespers as well as at mass. In one church at Lugano I observed it was a custom for laymen to go into the choir, and sing the canonical hours like monks. In Verona there were five oratorios, where many youths used to assemble on festivals to recite the hours of the Blessed Mary, after which the Gospel would be explained to them by a priest.* Young women, in the castles of our ancestors, used to follow the advice of St. Jerome, when he requires that a daughter should recite the hours of matins, tierce, sext, nones, and that with lighted tapers she should offer the vesper sacrifice.† Indeed the intention of the Church is sufficiently seen in the indulgences which she bestows on all the faithful who assist at matins and lauds, and at the first and second vespers, as also at the lesser hours of Christmas,‡ and Corpus Christi.§ At the consecration of the Church of St. Mary at Ferentinum, in the year 1191, the office began in the evening, at which assisted a great multitude of laics as well as clergy from Campagna and the Maritime Provinces. The people remained without the church during the night, watching the relics which were under illuminated tents, and singing "Hæc est vera fraternitas." On all sides a song, and a jubilation of laymen and of women, never ceased throughout the whole night.||

In one of the Capitularies which Dacherius brought to light after lying in dust for more than eight hundred years, we read as follows:—"It is to be intimated, that the appropriate responses should be said to the sacerdotal salutations; for not only clerks and priests, dedicated to God, should offer the response, but all the devout people ought to answer with consonant voice."¶ By several councils in the time of Charlemagne it was decreed that "a laic in the church should repeat the psalms and responses, but not the allelujah."** The people, as we see in Catholic countries at present, knew the psalms by heart. "Facile psalmi memoria retinentur," says Nicetius, "si frequenter psallantur. In psalmis Christi sacramenta cantantur."†† An affecting instance of this knowledge is presented in the history of Spain. When the Catholic army under Ferdinand and

* Italia Sacra, Tom. I. 3.
† Gerbert, de Cantu Sacra, Tom. 1. 158.
‡ In Lib. II. Car. 101.
§ Serm. IV.
|| Joan. Devot. Instit. Canon. Lib. II. tit. iv. 1.
¶ Can. 27.

* Italia Sacra, V. 661. † Epist. LVII.
‡ Sixt. V. Bref. 1586.
§ Urban V. 1264, Martin V. 1429.
|| Italia Sacra, 1. 675.
¶ Capitulare Ahytonis Episcop. Basiliensis III. Spicileg. Tom. VI.
** Concil. Mogunt. c. 9, Capitul. 49, 1. 5. Capitul. 136. Heraldi Turon. 10. c. 105, p. 7. Burchard, c. 87, I. 8.
†† Nicetius Episcop. de Psalmodiæ Bono apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.

Isabella entered Moclin in solemn state, with the standard of the cross borne in the advance, they were accompanied by a band of priests and friars, with the choir of the royal chapel, chanting the hymn "Te Deum Laudamus." As they were moving through the streets in this solemn manner, every sound hushed excepting the anthem of the choir, they suddenly heard, issuing as it were from under ground, a chorus of voices, chanting the words, "Benedictum qui venit in nomine Domini." The procession paused in wonder. The voices were those of Christian captives, who were confined in subterraneous dungeons. The heart of Isabella was greatly touched: she ordered the captives to be drawn forth from their cells; and then these poor creatures came forth, wasted by hunger, half naked, and in chains. Many of them were brave knights who had been wounded and made prisoners in the defeat of the Count of Cabra.

It must be acknowledged that this familiarity of the people with the ecclesiastical offices, is a fact in the history of the middle ages of which many modern readers may not have been prepared to hear: for undoubtedly, in latter times, after so long a period has elapsed since the removal of the blessed source of light and warmth, when the public mind and manners have been so estranged from the supernatural tone of faith, when the only thirst recognised is for delusive streams, when the only provision made is for mere material interests, —men lose all personal acquaintance with the sublime and beautiful liturgy of the church; and in compliance with their weakness, the solemn proses, the venerable hymns, are either omitted altogether, or else passed over in haste, as something frivolous or obsolete, in which there is no interest taken. There remain but a few men, lovers of antiquity, in whose minds the idea of the divine office is mingled with a certain Virgilian sadness, as if it were a thing that had been; and who cannot but feel in some degree the affliction of the prophet when he cried, "How is the gold obscured, the best colour changed!" "Dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii in capite omnium platearum." But some estimate may be formed of what existed in ages of faith, from what we find in countries wholly Catholic at present, where is still fulfilled the prayer of the church in the benediction of the paschal candle—that in which she desires that her courts may resound with the great voice of the people. Mabillon speaks of many secular men, kings and nobles, who used, like Alfred and St. Louis, to recite the Breviary every day.* The young and old, the poor and rich, persons of both sexes and of all conditions, used to know these compositions by heart, and would love to return to them with the course of the ecclesiastical year, and to sing them with the utmost fervour, uttering so ready and so cordial an "Amen," as plainly spoke a personal and profound conviction of their justice. In fact, for many natures, the soul being imbued with the melody of the different Catholic hymns, psalms, and proses, was thought to be an essential part of education, and almost as important as a knowledge of the catechism; for, as the ancients held that it was necessary to be a musician to understand the Timæus of Plato, so it seemed that, without a knowledge of music, the philosophy of the Catholic Church, could not be understood. The truth is, that with our fathers domestic or patriarchal had not superseded Catholic and Christian manners; the dividing and appropriating spirit had not destroyed that of diffusion; men had not become so formed to habits of savage ferine seclusion as to make their hearths their altar; the entertainments, the conversations of their domestic circle, were not dearer to them than the public offices of religion; the festival had not yielded to the banquet, nor the benediction to the amusements of evening society. The churches being the assemblies most generally and dearly loved, careful and curious provision was made for the edification of the laity, by maintaining the solemn offices unmaimed, and by celebrating them as the church prescribed. In those grave times, when men deeply felt the utter incompatibility of reverence with levity, offices, however rapidly recited, were not mutilated or passed over in an inarticulate and confused manner. For no man, vested in sacred or any public dignity, could then have been accused of forming an exception to the general character of the human race, as we find it designated by Homer, when he speaks of *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*. The words read by the priest for all were, as Mabillon observes, to be pronounced aloud, that those who assisted could hear them.† In places the farthest removed from centres of faith and fervour, the offices were still celebrated according to the universal custom of the

* Præfat in VI. Sæcul. Bened. 6.
† De Studiis Monast.

church—for it was the desire of the holy and fervent, not that of the scornful and indifferent, which was consulted during the middle ages; on account of which judgment, let no one attach blame to former guides, since it was an evidence of their wisdom to reject the policy that would require things to be reduced to the lowest standard, in order to please the weakest. To prove this, we need only observe how the Creator himself deals with men; for the beauty and the magnificence of the natural world, which are also a sacred scripture, or a kind of holy office, are not proportioned to the capacities of children, but it is only as men approach to the highest cultivation of which their intelligence is susceptible, that they can fully appreciate them. By adhering uniformly to the Roman offices, the strong were supplied with the nourishment appropriate to the wants of their intelligence, without neglecting the interests of the weak: for besides that their particular wants could easily be supplied, it was well known that they are always attracted and pleased by meeting with what contains more than they can fully master, in the same manner as children are ravished at the works and voice of nature. It is not merely the expert swimmer who loves to behold the ocean stream; children too are delighted when they look down upon its profound abyss, and listen to its foaming tide. So do the humble and illiterate contemplate with awe the mystic solemnities of the church, and in an extacy of the most sweet imprisonment, listen to her lofty song.

In conformity with these principles, the divine offices were not merely celebrated in cathedrals and monasteries, but also in all churches, from the sixth century. The canons of the Council of Lyons, in the year 475, commanded clerks who should be in villages to assist at matins. It was decreed in the year 787, in England, by a council, that every church should discharge its course of canonical hours with reverence; and King Edgar, in the tenth century, decreed that the bells should be tolled at the regular hours to give notice to the people. The same custom prevailed in France,—"so far," adds Mabillon, "were the laity of those ages from considering it a proof of great religion to hear a mass on days of obligation."* In fact, so habituated were the laity to find consolation and assistance in the regular offices of the church, that when, to meet the exigencies of evil days, a new order arose, illustrious for the sanctity and learning for its members, but so instituted as to be obliged to abandon their public celebration for active combat, the fact of its having churches without choirs was adduced as a serious charge against it; and that, not by the religious of the ancient orders who adhered to them, but by secular magistrates and lawyers, speaking in the name of the lay society.* St. Cæsarius, of Arles, on account of the number of laymen who used to come to matins and to complin, used to recite homilies and passages from the sacred Scriptures and from the passions of the martyrs. From the ninth century we find, in the books of every age, that the acts of St. Stephen, which according to the Roman ritual, were alone read at mass, are given in the vulgar tongue; for, after having been read in Latin, they used to be sung in the vulgar language to the people.† It is a favourite opinion with those who feel no regret for the abandonment of ancient discipline, that the devotional assiduity of men in the churches in the middle ages, was not combined with spiritual piety, or the habit of mental prayer. On referring, however, to the books of that time, we find this opinion has no other foundation but the abuse to which the best institutions are always liable. Constant allusion is made to the maxim of St. Augustin, "Non clamans sed amans cantat in aure Dei." It was the edict of the blessed Benedict, "Sic stemus ad psallendum ut mens nostra concordet voci nostræ. Non in clamosa voce," saith he, "sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrymarum nos exaudiri sciamus."‡—Prayer is of the heart, not of the lips," says Hugo of St. Victor;§ who, on the other hand, shows elsewhere that the psalmody and long offices of the choir are not on that account to be blamed, but to be animated with the fervour of internal love.|| The remembrance of having pronounced one verse without a firm attention during the office of matins, upon which he was then meditating in the church, according to his custom, after singing it with the clergy, was sufficient to induce Raynaldus, Archbishop of Ravenna, to re-

* Disquisit. de Cursu Gallicano.

* Pasquier Recherches de la France, Lib. III. 44. † Gerbert, de Cantu Sacra, I. 390.
‡ In Regul. c. 20. 52.
§ De Anima, Lib. III. cap. 29.
|| Annot. Elucid. Allegor. in Matthæum, Lib. II. 2.

commence it from the beginning; which devout exercise detained him till the break of day. This was in the beginning of the fourteenth century.*

"In the ecclesiastical song, we do not regulate our judgment by the rules of the theatre," says Cardinal Bona, following St. Jerome; "so that if there be any child with an indifferent voice, yet if he has good works, he is a sweet singer before God." "Alas!" cries St. Augustin, "quam multi sonant voce, et corde muti sunt! Cantat Deo, qui vivit Deo."

The celestial music consists in the contemplation of God, in exultation of mind, and in immortality of body. "Neither sweet music," says the wise Ascetic, "nor hymns, nor holy books, nor beautiful treatises, nor the presence of good men, nor of devout brethren, can profit much when we are deserted by grace, and left to our own poverty." "The prayer of the mouth," says Louis of Blois, "is like the straw; and that of the heart is the grain. These two joined together are favourably heard by God."† Another spiritual writer, exhorting the novices, when assisting at the divine offices, to cherish the most fervent devotion, in imitation of the angelic hierarchy, adds, "For all acts, if viewed of themselves, separated from elevation of mind, are like dead bodies lying on the ground; but if that spirit of life, which the mind can receive from God, begins to blow, then instantly they rise, and declare the glory of God."‡ We read in the canons of Crodogang, that "the singers must be humble and devout men," "quorum melodia animos populi circumstantis ad memoriam amoremque cœlestium non solum sublimitate verborum, sed etiam suavitate sonorum, quæ dicantur erigat."§

The most express and minute rules were given to regulate the external behaviour in the churches. The canons of the Synod of of Risbach, in the diocese of Ratispon, held in the year 799, commence with these words, "In æde sacra ne strepunto; ne ambulanto; ante finem rei divinæ ne excedunto."|| The decrees of Crodogang descend to such particular details as to direct their censure against those loathsome guttural feats which the Easterns hold in horror, though at present in the most civilized nations of the West they are practised every where with effrontery. In this prohibition one discovers the gentle courtesy of the middle ages, for the words of the canon are, "ut infirmis mentibus non vertatur in nauseam."* Speaking unnecessarily in the Church subjected offenders to heavy ecclesiastical censures in the middle ages as well as in primitive times.† "To external reverence in the Church," says Cardinal Bona, "belong the keeping a watch upon the senses, the composition of the outward man, the tone of voice, gravity of manner, decency of habit, and the observance of all ceremony and prescribed rite; that the knees be bent, that we stand, sit, rise again, and incline as the occasion requires, that nothing may appear which can offend the beholders."‡ Cassian,§ and St. Benedict|| sanction the custom of sitting humbly and modestly in the Church, when the occasion permits. In the decrees collected by Ivres de Chartres, we read that the clergy are to teach the people to kneel at mass during Lent; but that on Sundays and festivals no knee should be bent from eve to eve, but that all were to pray standing, according to ancient discipline attested by Tertullian,¶ and St. Irenæus,** and enforced by the Council of Nice,†† which had never been interrupted in monasteries; Paul, the deacon, speaking of the monks of Monte Casino, expressly mentions that they never bent the knee at the public office on Sundays, nor on any day between Easter and Pentecost.‡‡ The custom of resting one knee only on the earth is denounced in this collection, as having an indecorous resemblance with the act of the Jews who mocked our Lord.§§ In the tenth century, during the canon of the mass, men lay prostrate on the earth; but towards the period of the great outbreak of heresy in the fifteenth century, the piety of men became so cold, that one bishop published ten days of indulgence to those who should remain at mass until the end, and his successor continued it to all truly penitent and confessed, provided they remained on their knees, from the elevation of the holy Eucharist to the elevation of

* Italia Sacra, I. 383.
† Instit. Spirit. c. 8.
‡ P. Joan. a Jesu Maria Instruct. Novehorum, III. 1.
§ Crodogangi Regula Canonic. cap. 50, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.
|| Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 110.

* Reg. Can. cap. 15, apud Dacher Spicileg. Tom. I.
† Concil. Gradens.
‡ De Div. Psal. 491.
§ Lib. II. c. 12.
|| Cap. 9.
¶ De Orat. c. 23.
** Fragm.
†† C. 20.
‡‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Epist. ad Carolum Regem.
§§ Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars IV. c. 36.

the chalice: so languid was tho piety of that time.* No one instructed in the philosophy of the ages of faith, was disposed to consider snch injunctions as frivolous. "Harmony in the body," says Plato, "appears always to be adjnsted for the sake of sympathy in the soul."† "They who pray," says St. Augustin, "fashion their limbs in accordance with the act of supplication when they bend their knees, or extend their hands, or prostrate themselves on tho ground, althongh their invisihlo will and intention of heart be known to God, and ho does not want these signs that the human mind may be revealed to him, yet hy them, man excites himself more to pray and groan humbly and fervently, and I know not how, while these movements of tho body mnst havo been preceded hy a movement of the mind, nevertheless hy means of tho external and visihlo act, the internal and invisihle is increased, and thus what preceded, is augmented by what follows."‡ It was hut natural that before the invention of printing, the use of books hy the peoplo in the churches should not havo been general. In the fifteenth century, a prayer-book for the use of the peoplo in England, entitled the Festival, resemhling those at present in use, was printed hy Wynkyn de Worde. The Psalter, the Gospels, the Acts, as also all tho Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, for tho wholo year, were translated into English by Richard, a religious hermit in the reign of King Henry II. The archives of the churches of St. Severin, at Bordeaux, of Senlis, Laon, and Rheims, make mention of missals which wero enclosed in an iron cage attached to a pillar in the nave, so that the hand conld enter through the hars to turn over the pages. Many of the laity who repeated the office, knew most of it hy heart; others had mannscript leaves to assist their memory. When the Emperor of Germany took leave of King Charles V. of France, at Paris, Christino do Pison says, that he begged that he would give him one of his books of hours, saying, that he would pray to God for him. The king presented him with two, one little, tho other great.§ The prayer-book of Charles-le-Chauve, which with his Bible, is in the king's library, at Paris, is bound richly, covered with precious stones and with bas-reliefs in ivory of tho most curious workmanship. In tho chapel of the Castle of St. Ouen, belonging to the knights of the Order of the Star, founded hy King John, there was a book for their nse in French prose, which is noticed in tho catalogue of tho library of Charles V.* In the library of Plasantia, may be seen tho Psalter of the Empress Engelberge, wife of Lonis II. written with her own hand in the year 847. How early the nse of devotional manuscripts prevailed in secular life may he found attested even on the ancient sepulchres, as on that affecting tomb which faces the monnment of Dagobert, in tho Abbey of St. Denis, where a young princess is represented in tho attitude of death, with her poor little book of hours pressed against her bosom. The rosary, however, was the most ordinary devotion of the people in a devout and meditative age, when men had leisure for contemplation. This was not instituted hy tho Venerable Bede, as tho English word beads has led somo to suppose, for in the English councils the Latin word beltedus is nsed, which Ducange derives from the Saxon word, helt. There is something which remarkably evinces the spirit of the middle ages in the advice which we find given to assist men at their devotion and to nonrish the fervour of their piety. The Church herself prays that what we cannot celebrate with worthy minds we may, at least, attend with hnmhlo service.† "When cold in prayer," says one writer, "consider how many servants of God are then at their prayers, shedding tears of devotion, in forest cells and monasteries, and in the hasilica of the martyrs, and do you now in spirit join yourself to them."‡ To this refers also what St. Ignatius calls the prelndo of composition of place, as when men were told to imagine themselves actually present at the different scenes recorded in the Gospel. In the history of Leopold, Archduke of Austria, son of tho Emperor Ferdinand, II. there is given an account of his privato papers, in which he drew np certain rules for his devotions. In the manner of assisting at mass, he says, "At the Gospel, I will listen to the words as if they proceeded from the mouth of Jesus Christ and wero addressed to me alone." Thee, too, Leopold, of Tuscany, among tho worthies of antique days, let this hnmble page commemorato, whom in the church

* Mabillon, Præfat. in. V. Sæcul. Bened. § 6.
† De Repub. Lib. X.
‡ De Cura pro Mortuis.
§ Livre de Faiz, &c. Lib. III. c. 45.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III.
† Prayer of S.S. Perpetua and Felicitas.
‡ Thom. a Kemp. Epist.

of the Annunciata, at Florence, I beheld on the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin: for when at solemn mass the book of the Gospels was brought to thee after the deacon had read therefrom, lowly sinking on thy bended knees, thou didst kiss it devoutly, and then with palms inverted hide thy face, at which moment I remarked some cheeks down which stole a tear. That going up to the offering at mass, was a solemn and impressive thing which the people in many places have been unwilling to abandon. St. Emanuel, bishop of Cremona, in the year 1170, celebrating mass, and refusing to receive the oblations of those who came up to the offering wearing long hair like women, the men who were rejected, retired to the door, and cut off their hair with their knives or swords, rather than suffer such a privation for its sake.* Similarly it was the basilica of St. Peter, at Spoleto, which was made to attest the solemn act of the citizens, who on giving themselves to the pontiff, cut off their hair and beards, being the first of the Longobards to renounce that ancient distinction of their race.†

The distribution of blessed bread among all who assisted at high mass, which each house in the parish used to offer in turn, was another ancient rite, originating in the eulogia, which was the surplus of bread offered by the faithful for the altar, that was blessed by the priest, and distributed to all who did not communicate, and to children.‡ The names of the offerers were inserted in diptychs and recited from the altar.§ Thus Dagobert is related to have given many things to the churches, in order that on Sundays and festivals his name might be inscribed in the book of life.|| We find the names of Otho the Great, and of his wife Adelheid, of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, and of Otho's brother William, Archbishop of Mayence, of the sons of Otho, and of forty-four other persons, nobles and religious in the ancient diptych of the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves. In Italy where the young are so exquisitely formed and endowed with such a refined and spiritual look, having lines so beautifully pencilled that their countenances resemble those of angels in the paintings of Guido the Bolognese, one must be often struck with the tender piety evinced by poor children in the churches: and methinks it explains somewhat of the middle ages to behold these innocents, with garments so rough, and figures so soft and delicate, praying by themselves with the utmost fervour and recollection. It appears that great care was employed in excluding from the churches whatever might distract the minds of the people; for which purpose there was a multitude of minor clerks employed who had not strictly orders. In early days, the danger of interruption from the pagans, made the porters of great consequence. When Pope St. Cornelius was elected in 254, the Roman Church had forty-four priests and one hundred and eight ministers. The proportion of the latter increased since the time of Constantine, and for five hundred years the churches were magnificently served. By many decrees, as that of the Council of Salzburg, in the year 1386, the penalty of suspension was to be incurred by such of the clergy as failed in paying due attention to the condition of the vestments, ornaments, and sacred vessels of the altar.* To preserve the Cathedral of Pientina in its original beauty, Pius II. its founder published a decree in the year 1362, pronouncing the severest censures on any one who should violate the whiteness of the walls and columns.† Fleury and Chardon remark, that the saints of the early ages, in attending with such care to external things, were not occupied about trifles. They understood the importance of preserving the beauty of the place, the silence, decorum, order of the discipline, and the majesty of the ceremonies. Services of this nature were not then delegated to vulgar hirelings of ferocious manners, but to spiritual persons in whom meekness sweetened duty. Women were never to approach the altar to discharge any ministry.‡ By the Council of Châlons in 650, as by many others, no one wearing arms was to presume to enter the church. "We who are always surrounded with the arms of legitimate empire," says Theodosius the younger, "and who should be constantly attended by an armed company, nevertheless when about to enter the temple of God, leave our weapons outside." The Council of Slengastad, however, admitted of one exception in favour of the king. At the time when the Normans were in military pos-

* Italia Sacra, Tom. IV. 605. † Ib. I.
‡ Thomassinus de Vet. et Nov. Ecclesiæ Disciplin. Pars III. Lib. I. 14.
|| Saga de Diptychis Veterum, cap. 4.
§ Duchesne, Tom. I. Scripta Franc.

* German. Sacra, Tom. II. 462.
† Italia Sacra, I. 1179.
‡ Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars II. c. 135.

session of the country, Count Rodulf, one of their chieftains, came to the Abbey of Monte Casino with the intention of taking the abbot prisoner, yet on entering the church he left his arms as usual, says the chronicle, outside, of which the servants of the abbey proceeded to take an advantage that could only be excused by the danger of their position.* In like manner, when Desiderius, a young prince of Beneventum, came there with his company, we read that the servants were left outside the door, ostensibly for the sake of guarding the swords and horses, though in reality it was to provide for the escape of the prince, through a postern in the church, in order to accomplish his desire of embracing the monastic habit.† When in the year 1406, at Paris, some serjeants had seized during the divine office in the Church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, a criminal who had retired there, the divine service instantly ceased, and interdicts were fulminated which were not loosened until the sentence of reparation had been passed. In the book before the last, we had occasion to revert to the law and custom of asylums, for in the middle ages, we read of men taking sanctuary where now they take vengeance. Who is not moved at hearing that in times of the greatest disorder and misery, there was always one city of refuge, which never beheld the horrid images of war, where no gentle loving spirit was constrained to recoil in terror:

ταρβήσας χαλκόν τ', ἠδὲ λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην
δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας,‡

where no one, however daring, was ever seen even to enter *κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ*; for the act of Philippe-le-Bel, who entered the Church of Nôtre Dame on horseback, on returning to Paris after his victory in Flanders, was like a sinister omen of future impiety, and only in character with the tyrant, who had pushed his sails into the temple and spared not even Christ's vicar in his wrath. The reverence due to the sacred mysteries was accurately stated and strictly maintained. It was reserved for the faithful of later times to behold in their sanctuaries the boasting of those who hate God in the midst of his solemnity—"Et gloriati sunt qui oderunt te in medio solemnitatis tuæ."* "Consider, my beloved," says St. Ephrem of Edessa, "with what fear those stand before the throne, who wait on a mortal king. How much more does it behove us to appear before the heavenly King with fear and trembling, and with awful gravity."† "Here were," as St. Chrysostom says, "greater symbols than the holy of holies contained, for here was not the cherubim—here were not the urn and the manna, and the tables of stone, and the rod of Aaron, but the body and blood of our Lord."‡ "Truly tremendous," he cries, "are the mysteries of the church—truly tremendous are our altars."§ The custom of standing during the divine offices is indicated in the name given to the wooden recesses in the choir of collegiate churches, though at the lessons all were permitted to be seated, after the example of Christ among the doctors; and holy men speaking of this practice, remark the saying of Aristotle, that by sitting and resting, the mind becomes wise.‖ A very ancient inscription which was formerly on the steps of the pontifical chair in the Church of the Vatican, proves that it was the custom at Rome, in remote times, as it still continues to be in many countries, for the men to be placed on one side of the church and the women on the other.¶ Every emergency is provided for by canonists respecting the celebration of the Christian mysteries. If a priest in saying mass should drop dead or be taken ill, so as to be unable to proceed, and if this should happen before the consecration, the mass was not to be continued by another priest; but if it be after the consecration, the mass was to be finished by another priest, though he should not be fasting, in order that the mysteries might not be left imperfect; for the ecclesiastical precept which enjoins the fast was to give way to the necessity of completing the sacrifice. As the canon says, "Since we are all one in Christ, the diversity of persons forms no contrariety." If the church should be violated or polluted, before the canon, the mass was to be interrupted, if after it, to be completed. If the advance of an enemy, or the breaking in of a flood, or any ruin should occasion imminent danger, before the canon, the mass was to be suspended, if after the consecration, the priest was hastily to receive the body and blood. If an

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, Lib. II. c. 71.
† Id. Lib. III. c. 2.
‡ Il. VI. 469.

* Ps. xiii. † Paræn. XIX. ‡ In Ps. cxxxiii.
§ Hom. 46. ‖ Physic. 7.
¶ Pauli Aringhi Roma Subterranea, p. 117.

enemy of the Christian religion should threaten the priest with death, unless he brake off the mass, the canonists said, that the priest was bound to continue, though at the risk of his life, whether it be before or after the consecration. Pope Gregory VII. being wounded on the head by an assassin, who favoured King Henry, as he said mass on the night of Christmas, did not descend from the altar until he had finished the mass which he had begun. But there were some occasions when it was held necessary to break off the mass, even after the consecration, as when a dying child was to be baptised, or any one was to be confessed and administered being at the point of death, who otherwise might have died without the sacraments.*

On the festival of St. Michael, as the Christians were assembled in the Island of More, and St. Francis Xavier was at the altar saying mass, a violent earthquake came on in the middle of the sacrifice. The people in the utmost terror fled out of the church, but the saint remained at the altar and finished the sacred mysteries. The barbarians were lost in astonishment on beholding a man who remained immoveable, while the rocks and the mountains trembled, and they judged him to be divine.† The Archduke Leopold of Austria, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II. being at his devotions in a church at Salsfeld, and the artillery of the enemy beginning to rage, and the balls to fly on all sides, he was warned of his danger, but he replied, "that no one could injure him while he was so near his God." In the Franciscan convent, at Clonmel, in the midst of the choir was the stately monument of Edmund Butler, Baron of Cahir, all of marble, with very curious figures and has relievos. That baron being at high mass in the monastery, news was brought him that the Earls of Ormond and the Barons of Dunboine, his relations, were then ravaging his lands. He was no way discomposed, but staid till the mass was finished, and then marching against the invaders, defeated them.‡ Louis XII. on entering a church to hear mass, received a letter, which was known to contain news of great importance respecting the success of his arms. Nevertheless he would not open it until the sacrifice was finished. In these ages, men otherwise steeled against conscience were found impressed with such a reverence for the churches, that they shrunk from the thought of making them the scene of their crimes. When Verinna, one of the conspirators in league with Fiesquo, proposed to assassinate Andrew and Jannetin, Doria and Adam Centurione, while they were assisting at mass, the count instantly rejected the plan with horror, declaring that he would never consent, for the sake of any advantage, to commit such an outrage to the most holy mystery of religion. This fact is mentioned by the Cardinal de Retz. Who has not heard the surprising history relating how the Christian churches were respected even by the barbarous invaders of Rome, to which St. Augustin, with such eloquence alludes, in comparing them with the heathen temples, saying, Ibi amissa, hic servata libertas: ibi clausa, hic interdicta captivitas. The basilicas of Christ inspired ferocious barbarians with humility and pity, who then gave a new spectacle to the world?*

Having now taken a general view of the sacred offices in relation to history, in order to complete what we have begun, let us conceive ourselves present, and penetrating as it were into the crowd, let us cast a contemplative look upon the wondrous and the tender scene. Lo, what an assembly is here. This is the blessed vision of peace. It is here that the race of men seems amiable. It is here that we feel how near they are to God who thus showers down his mercy upon them in the midst of his temple. Yes, sweet is the air of temples to those who have endured the thirst of the Babylonian exile, to those who have wandered sufficiently long in the land of malediction as to discover how tasteless are its fruits, and how void of perfume its most gorgeous flowers. At the first step on entering this garden of God, it is as if one emerged from a withering atmosphere to feel the healthful and delicious breeze of mountains. What a glow of charity suddenly transports the heart and revives the fancy, though joy and hope had before seemed dead. No distrustful, or malignant, or inquisitive looks cause you to feel yourself a stranger, for it seems to be here as it is in Paradise, where the blessed hail each new arrival, crying,—

——— "Lo one arrived
To multiply our loves."†

* Bened. XIV. de Sacrif. Missæ. sect. 2. 105—118. † Bouhours, I. 203.
‡ Monast. Hiber. 277.

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. I. c. 4. 6.
† Dante, Par. V.

Unnumbered are the wretched men possessing lofty souls tortured by the feeling of isolation, and afflicted with unutterable anguish at the thought of remaining for ever unknown. They thirst after society, —after communion with congenial intelligences. What society then can be found so amiable, so inspiring, so full of all consolation, and of all remedies for human misery as that of the faithful in the house of God? They wish to be entreated, and that their presence may be sought for, but what more noble invitations or more worthy of all acceptation can they receive than those which are made to all the faithful in a Catholic city when they are entreated to come, rich men and beggars, in such composed and seemly fellowship, as would become the fair equality of the golden world, to honour the memory of some friend of God in the church which has invoked him? The feasts of secular luxury last but for a short season. In the divine temples there is an eternal festivity, for nothing there is celebrated that passes away, or that hath a shadow of change. Eternal is the festival in which, as St. Gregory says, we escape from our own mutability by beholding him who is immutable—"Mutabilitatem nostram transcendemus videndo immutabilem."* "From that festivity," says a great author, "there is heard I know not what certain sweet song in the ears of the heart, provided the world doth not disturb it. This unearthly sound soothes the ear of him who walks in the courts of God, who considers the wonders of God in the redemption of the faithful; and it leadeth the stag to the fountains of waters. Nevertheless since as long as we are in the body we are journeying at a distance from the Lord, and that the corruptible body weighs down the mind, and terrene cares oppress it, if by desires sometimes we come to that sound, yet after a while by the weight of our infirmity we fall back to our accustomed sorrows. But there we shall always find that in which we can rejoice, although here there is never wanting that which causes us to mourn. And now transporting ourselves to the neighbourhood of some church in the middle ages, behold what a multitude resorts thither. The bell sounding within the lofty tower like the Divine voice, calls many. Soon you see the humble crowd winding its way along the pious path. It is the poor orphan who spins as she walks; it is the blind man who feels his way with his stick; it is the timid beggar whose hand holds a rosary; it is the child who caresses each flower as he passes by; it is the old man who hastens with feeble steps;—youth and age are the friends of God."*

But ere we proceed further, let us listen to the solemn murmur of those bells which invite the faithful:—for though, in a former Book, we had occasion to speak of them, still one cannot refuse to return, and stand awhile, musing at their sound!

In the life of St. Loup, Bishop of Sens, we read, that when King Clothaire heard the bell of St. Stephen, he was so delighted with its tone, that he ordered it to be removed to Paris, where he might always hear it: and the bells of St. Saviour at Blois sent forth such harmony, that when every thing else seemed to fail, they were found to soothe that profound melancholy to which Henry III. was subject.† In the chronicles of Italy, we have another example of attention to the music of bells. The Countess Matilda Enrilla, while remaining at Ferrara, went to take the diversion of hunting, with spears and nets, in the woods near the Benedictine Abbey of St. Bartholomew. Imperceptibly the time passed, till the meridian hour found her exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The monks then came out, and with all benignity invited her to take refreshment, which she did not refuse. No sooner had she sat down to table than the bell from the tower emitted a dead and abrupt sound, upon which she asked how it came to be split, and why it had not been cast afresh, in order that it might give a clearer sound. The monks beginning to speak of the poverty of their house, she immediately took off her jewels and her gold spurs, which she presented to the abbot. The bells were afterwards called by the Italians the spur-bells, and a spur was engraven on the brass, with verses commemorating her pious liberality.‡ The office of the bell used to be described in these lines:—

"Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro."

Inscribed on the bell were generally various solemn lines. Thus on one bell of the Cathedral of Strasbourg, you read—

* Hom. II. Lib. I. super Ezech.

* De la Martine Harmonies Poetiques, II. 192.
† Bernier, Hist. de Blois, 35.
‡ Italia Sacra, I. 530.

"Nuncio festa, metum, nova quædam, flebile lethum,"

on another—"O Rex gloriæ Christe, veni cum pace," on another—

"Vox ego sum vitæ, voco vos; orate, venite."

Each tone had often a distinct object to indicate. Thus there was the great and solemn bell exclusively for the high festivals of the Church. Of less magnitude was the bell of the Angelus; the bell to announce the opening and termination of the fair; the bell for the retreat; the bell to announce the divine offices on ordinary occasions. That certain bells of the towers were sounded at the elevation, as well as other parts of the divine office, in order that the people without the church might be excited to prayer, can be collected from a letter of Ives of Chartres, to Matilda, Queen of England, thanking her for the present of bells to that church.* Never can I lose the memory of what I experienced under the dome of Florence, when one heard as if on all sides the indistinct moaning of that solemn bell. Dugdale relates that Athelwold, abbot of Abingdon, in the tenth century, made a wheel, which was filled with bells, which being sounded on the greater festivals, used to excite the devotion of the people. In many churches, as at Strasbourg, there was a different musical air executed by the bells three or four times each day, besides a peculiar harmony of joy for each of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Celebrated were the bells of Freyburg in Brisgau; of St. Stephen at Vienna, which tower was erected by Conrad Zaringgen in the twelfth century,—of Salzburg, Erfort, Hamburg, Holm, Rouen, Lyons, Tours, Paris, and of many other places. It required the force of sixteen men to sound the great bell of Strasbourg, which measured twenty-two feet in circumference. In Italy there were bells weighing twenty-two thousand pounds.

But we are at the portal; the space before which is entitled the Paradise, either from its intrinsic beauty or from its proximity to the courts of heaven,† or from the bodies of the faithful reposing there, as before the church of Amalphi.‡ The whole ground too, as before the cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily, by the piety of Count Roger,* and in front of the noble church of Salerno, built by Robert Guiscard, was often deeply covered with holy earth, which had been brought from Jerusalem: and in many places, as at Nola, the whole basilica was surrounded with sepulchres, urns, and inscriptions, redolent of venerable antiquity. At the gate of the latter you read these lines—

"Siste gradum, quamvis properes, en siste, viator;
Te cogat pietas, religioque loci.
Quemque Augustinus, Paulinus, Bedaque libris
Concelebrant, flexo tu venerare genu.
Ingredere, at mundo corde, et simul excute plantas,
Sanctorum quando corpora mille premas."

The inscription at the entrance of the cathedral of Bari in Apulia, admonished the stranger to imitate the humility of the holy men, Hælias and Eustachius, who had built and adorned that church, concluding thus:—

"His gradibus tumidis ascensus ad alta negatur,
His gradibus blandis quærere celsa datur.
Ergo ne tumeas, qui sursum scandere quæris,
Sis humilis, supplex, planus, et altus eris."†

See these smiling children on the steps, these playful innocents, who serve in the temple. See too these devout widows, these humble men, who hasten to ascend! Ah! here must be the entrance to joy; here we shall have renewed the peaceful beauteous dreams of youth, here we shall be reminded of the thoughts of our golden years. For we may remark that the Church, unlike all that belongs to the world, is never rendered by age different from what it was found to be at first. It is like a treasury, in which all the past joys of men are preserved. The innocence and delights of youth, the intellectual riches of maturity, are laid up in store here, safe and uninjured. No one as he grows old, becomes weary of it, but on the contrary, the human heart loves and venerates it, if possible, each day, more and more, for while it restores to the mind of man all the bloom and fragrance of his first years, all that gave joy to his youth, it presents to it in prospect the fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore. At the divine altar, the Catholic beholds and possesses whatever has rejoiced his soul in life: he sees the star by which he has

* Epist. CXLII.
† In Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. II. c. 9, notæ.
‡ Italia Sacra, VII. 226.

* Sicilia Sacra, II. 813.
† Italia Sacra, VII. 612.

steered through all the gusts and tides of the world's mutability.—But let us enter, passing with timid steps over the threshold; for underneath it often lies buried some humble pontiff, like Bartholomew Castelli, who caused his body to be placed before the greater door of his cathedral of Mazara, in order, as an inscription testified, that it might be trod upon by the feet of all,* an instance similar to which we find at the church of St. James of the Spaniards, in Rome, where, through the same humble choice and desire of mercy, the body of Bartholomew de la Guera, Duke of Albuquerque, and Archbishop of Siponto, lies buried under the threshold.† Lo, what a crowd fills the holy place! This is the house of the Lord, founded on the tops of the mountains, and exalted above all hills; and all nations come to it, and say, "Glory be to thee, O Lord."

We have many records attesting the fulfilment of these words from the history of the ages of faith. Apollinaris Sidonius describes the solemn vigil on the feast of St. Justus. "The procession was before light; a vast multitude was there of both sexes, which that capacious basilica could not contain." St. Hugo VI. abbot of Cluny, was obliged to enlarge the church of the monastery, as it was not able to contain the crowds that resorted to it.‡ Great was the multitude which the festivals of the martyrs, in the first ages, drew from all parts, to the churches which contained their relics, when, as Theodoret says, our Lord had brought his dead into the room and place of the heathen gods, and instead of the feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus, were celebrated the festivals of Peter and Paul. St. Paulinus enumerates more than twenty cities and provinces of Italy, of which the inhabitants came every year with their wives and children, in the depth of winter, to honour the memory of one confessor, St. Felix, in the city of Nola. We may judge what was the concourse at Rome on the festivals of St. Hippolytus, St. Lawrence, and the Apostles; or at Tours, on that of St. Martin. "At Nola," says St. Paulinus, "it is delightful to behold one city enclosing many cities, and such multitudes united by one vow. Thither came the people of Lucania and the Appulian youth, the Calabrians too, and they from joyful Campania, whom rich Capua and beauteous Naples encircle

* Sicilia Sacra, II. † Italia Sacra, VII. 860. ‡ Bibliothec. Clun. 457.

with ample walls,—they who cultivate the happy lands of Gales, whom powerful Atisia and mother Aricia send. Rome even rejoices to see her sacred precincts deserted for the honour of God, while far and wide the issuing multitude pursues the Appian way. Nor are the rough tops of the Latin mountains less thronged, as they whom lofty Præneste, whom festive Aquinum nourish, and whom ancient Ardea sends from its borders, repair to the festival. Thither hasten crowds also from Olive bearing Venafro; and the hard Samnites leave the mountain towers—

"Vicit iter durum pietas, amor omnia Christi
Vincit, et alma fides, animisque locisque rigentes
Suadet acerba pati, simul aspera ponere corda.
Una dies cunctos vocat, una et Nola receptat,
Votaque plena suis spatiosaque limina cunctis,
Credas innumeris ut mœnia dilatavit
Hospitibus, sic Nola assurgit imagine Romæ."*

St. Gregory of Tours relates, that on the festival of the blessed martyr of the church of Brest, a clerk of the abbey of Limoges, coming to the festivity, such was the multitude of people, that he could not approach to the holy tomb, nor even enter within the church.† In the year 1500, one of the articles of the Jubilee at Rouen, requiring assistance at a solemn mass in its cathedral, that immense church could not contain the multitude, so that crowds in deep devotion knelt outside, and filled the adjoining streets.‡ St. Odo says that the church of St. Martin at Tours, though of immense size, was too small for the crowds that sought to enter, insomuch that the rails of the choir and the gate posts used to give way before them; and he adds, "Quam devotam violentiam credo, gratam habet domnus ipse Martinus, ad exemplum videlicet Domini sui quem turbæ comprimebant."§

This judgment of the middle ages, according to which an importunate crowd was a sublime spectacle, as being a practical evidence, as well as a kind of repetition of the facts of the Christian history, has nothing to fear from a comparison with the general sentiment of the moderns on the same subject; at least where affectionate and philosophic minds are to determine the question. The haste of the shepherds and the air of the stable were

* Italia Sacra, Tom. VI. 248.
† Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. II. 28.
‡ Taillepied, Recueil des Antiquitez de Rouen, 230.
§ De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniac. 146.

not forgotten on these occasions in Catholic times; nor did any one disdain to find himself in contact with the devout multitude, which would assuredly, with the same importunity, have pressed upon Christ. Being at Loretto, on the festival of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, I could not penetrate within the Santa Casa until late in the evening of the second day, when being remarked by one of the guards, I was with charitable violence pulled through the more fervent throng. Some men come here to inquire and speculate about the origin of ancient traditions, but to me, who could not remain insensible to the intention of this vast multitude, so visibly impressed with the same tender and devout affections, marvellously foolish seem such pains. It was enough for mo to meditato on what I felt and saw.

"The air of Paradise did fan the house, and angels officed all."

Let us remark here what a charm must have been found in the variety of characters which composed this multitude. In modern times, after such a successive diminution of truths affecting both the spiritual and the material hierarchy of society, nothing can be more monotonous than an assembly of people. There are the rich, cuirassed in egotism, initiated in no other rites but those of Bacchus, bred up with the same feeling of disdain for every outward manifestation of piety and fervour: there are the poor, parked in from all observation or contact with the rich, thoroughly subdued and moulded into one form of servilely servile respect. But in ages of faith it was a very different picture. The boundless variety of graces was seen indicated in the members of the faithful fold. In fact, what do we still find in Catholic countries amidst the pious throng? We find the simple hermit come from his woods, the shepherd from the mountains, the young and thoughtful clerk, the solemn religious man, the labouring youth, with joy and triumph in their looks,—all persons dissimilar in habits, in disposition of mind, in the cultivation and direction of their intelligence, and yet who have one centre and bond of union, the Church; and one model, Jesus Christ.—"Non intrabit in eam aliquod, nisi qui scripti sunt in libro vitæ agni." These words seem accomplished here, for before this altar, all who are present may be supposed, from their exterior appearance, to be either saints who have preserv[ed] their white baptismal robe unsullied, [ac]cording to the solemn admonitions of the church, their mother, or else penitents who have atoned, or who are atoning for having stained its purity. At times, indeed, may be discovered some awful figure, who seems moved, and yet unable to call on Heaven for mercy—one like those we read about in legendary tales, from whose eye no tear can fall, and at whose heart there seems to lie an icy coldness, unrelieved, though five thousand voices join to raise the holy hymn, and hearts are thrilled and eyes are filled by that full harmony. But remark woll, no persons seem to have come here merely to be observed, or to comply with a mechanical habit. Thus there is a common office, but there are particular wants; and therefore, while the priest chants aloud at the altar, the internal desire of innumerable hearts are sent up to heaven. As Pope Benedict XIV. remarks, the object of the secret prayers is beautifully expressed by the Church in the secret of the mass on the fifth Sunday after Pentecost "Ut quod singuli obtulerunt ad honorem nominis tui, cunctis proficiat ad salutem." How deeply interesting is it in the assembly of a church in some vast metropolis, to detect the man of interior life, the devout contemplatist, the hermit, who on these occasions comes abroad to mix in the throng of men,—to see in the church the devout student, whom nothing but the office could tear from his books, the holy recluse, who may be looked for elsewhere in vain! there he kneels, with hands crossed upon his breast, and eyes raised to the altar, as the spirit of Nino appeared to Dante,—

——— "Both palms joined and raised,
Fixing its stedfast gaze toward the East,
As telling God, I care for naught beside."*

Where he comes from, no one knows; and when the office is at an end, he will be lost in the retiring crowd, and be seen no more!

What a solemn and moving spectacle is that of the devout female sex in the churches! Dante had in his mind's eye many a living image, familiar to those who visit them, when he drew that touching portrait in the vision of Paradise:—

"Lo! where Anna sits, so well content to look
On her lov'd daughter, that with moveless eye
She chants the loud hosanna."†———

* Purg. VIII.

† Id. XXXII.

It is like a demonstration of the divinity which presides over all the Catholic offices, to mark the universality of that intense affection with which they are loved by women—those fairest and best of creatures, to whom God hath given intelligence on earth, who turn their steps, or at least their hearts, to the Catholic altar, whether in joy or sorrow, in sickness or in health, like the innocent child, who always runs thither for succour where he trusteth most.

If to behold the divine beauty of the human countenance be at all times sweet to minds contemplative, where can this pleasure be enjoyed so fully as in the church! There raptures of love mixed with sorrow, at the solemn moment of communion, give a sublime expression to the countenance. That of joy, as has been acutely remarked by Gorbert, is seldom sublime; for joy is so fugitive and false a thing, that it seems to commnnicate to the human face somewhat of the air of insanity: grief, on the contrary, almost always ennobles the countenance. The instinct, however, of our primitive destiny, wounded by this contrast, seeks another dignity besides that of sorrow. The true condition of man is the reparation of his misery; and his form never appears clothed in its most beautiful terrestrial character excepting when it takes the expression of this mystery of sorrow and grace, when it receives the imprint of a divine joy, penetrating to the abyss of our sufferings.

Let no one esteem it puerile, if, when treating on the devont assemblies of the faithful, I speak of the pleasure and consolation inspired by the sight of these holy conntenances; for doubtless some assistance was rendered to virtue by the mere fact of men being generally accustomed to behold them. It was no small advantage that in the church one could always reckon upon meeting, from time to time, with persons who bore the mystic sign that Ezekiel saw npon the foreheads, living monuments of infinite almighty grace and power divine. Moreover, in these vast basilicas, thronged with innumerable people, upon a festal day, amidst the splendour of the saints, each one might avoid all notice, feel himself solitary and unobserved by any eye save that of his guardian angel who watched over him. There, before the sacramental presence, the poor stranger—forgotten and forsaken, in a foreign land, alone in the crowd—beholds his one, ancient, and only constant friend, the friend of his childhood, the friend of his youth, his friond for eternity. There too you will sometimes remark the timid maiden, or some child that recalls the image of a divine prototype, who stealing from observation, drops a small piece of money upon the plate after kissing the cross of Christ: for in the churches, even children enjoy the privilege of free and voluntary sacrifice. O how mysterious and solemn a thing is it thus to be alone in the saintly crowd! to pass as it were a disembodied spirit through such a host of ghostly combatants, thirsting after justice and the streams of a happier world! The land of malediction ends here. No more of its restrictions, of its conventional barriers, of its miscalled social forms. The ceremonies of the secular courts would be profanation in the church. No one marshals you; no one heeds you. There are pillars, behind which you may kneel and weep in secret; there are retired chapels, in which you may lie prostrate before the blessed sacrament. The poor walk here free and favoured, as in presence of nature: they can approach to the altars as near as kings, and can enjoy, equally with the pomp and glory of nobility, the splendour and loveliness of the house of God: for the Church, as St. Chrysostom saith, is the common house of all men, in which the priest offers peace in common to all immediately on their entering it; and if concord were perfectly preserved, he adds, we should have no other house but this. Being however, far removed from the virtue of those who had but one heart and one soul, and being separated from each other by houses at least, when we meet here, it is requisite to have this intention; for, although, in other things we may be poor and rich, yet at least when here assembled, it is necessary that all in common should receive the priests of God with charity, and not with the lips alone, but with the mind also, should answer when they give us the salutation of peace.*

Wherever the dignity or order of the sacred assembly required separation, it was not even kings who enjoyed the privilege. Since the first overthrow of order in the Gallic land, the mayor of every little town desires to have his seat apart within the sanctuary, which like the sacred ark, still from unbidden office awes mankind; but nntil that epoch, the discipline of the first ages prevailed as established by many councils;† and however displeased Milton

* Hom. XXXIII. in 9 Matt.

† Concil. Laod. c. 19; Concil. Trull. c. 69

may have been, we know that St. Ambrose, would not permit even the emperor to remain in the choir after making his offering. In the morning, how bright and splendid is this beauteous temple! Every altar beholds the ineffable mystery accomplished. At night-fall, how solemn is the voice of the preacher, echoing along the dusky aisles, while the deep groan of the hours resounds, murmuring through the stillness of the upper vaults!—Remark too what a bright yet melancholy gleam, the last of the expiring day, plays upon the upper shafts of the lofty columns! How silent and how awful seem those distant regions above! At one time all is hushed, and you fear almost to breathe. You behold like Dante in the other world,

"A crowd of spirits, silent and devout;"

speechless, like Œdipus in the Colonæan forest, allowing nothing to escape from their heart but the thought of prayer—

> ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως τὸ τᾶς
> εὐφήμου στόμα φροντίδος
> ἱέντες——————

At another, a little way before you, there are perhaps some who sing the Miserere in responsive strains. Lo, how many saints stretch their closed hands in furtherance of their suit! On this side comes the bright procession of taper-bearing white-veiled penitents. Now they make their solemn halt; and now the tears steal down your cheeks, at the thrilling sweetness of that voice which joins the inexpressive song. O Christ, how impressive, how blessed a moment is this! "Beati qui habitant in domo tua, in sæculum sæculi laudabunt te." "The Church," says St. Germain, "is the house of prayer, and a terrestrial heaven in which God dwells."

> "O templum! O templum! O felicia limina cœli!
> Solaque digna Deo cœlicolisque domus!
> Hic dulces resonant meliciis concentibus hymni,
> Hic colimus casta religione Deum.
> O vos felices, divinorumque capaces,
> Vos quibus astrorum splendida regna patent,
> Vos quibus arrisit cœlum, jussitque tueri,
> Angelicos vultus, angelicosque chorus."

"But why," continues Cardinal Bona, "do I propose the angels to excite reverence in those who enter the divine temples? The King of angels, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is himself corporeally present in the adorable sacrament of the altar. How terrible then is this place, and how worthy of all reverence!"

Would you hear the language of the middle ages in reference to these inaffable mysteries? Children of men, say they, you open the book of the divine Scriptures, and you read how Christ the Messiah walked in Judea—how he passed through the multitude—how they who sat by the way-side, cried out, "Jesus, Son of God, have mercy on us,"—how the people thronged round, heard, and adored—and you say, "How happy the eyes which saw him, and the ears which heard his divine words!" Deceive not yourselves; say rather, "Beati qui non viderunt, et firmiter crediderunt." Approach—enter the churches, the world of spirits, and exercise that faith which has the promise of life eternal; for when the mystic train moves through the prostrate multitude of those who strike their breasts, while the hymn which rises is sweet as from blest voices uttering joy, you have more encouragement—what do we say? you have greater evidence—to force you to adore him, in sacramental presence, than those men possessed who saw the infant of Bethlehem and Jesus of Nazareth in the sorrows and humiliation and passion of his humanity. Fall down, then, and adore the Messiah, the celestial King, the King of glory; and according to your faith, he will have mercy on you. Are you tempted with unholy thoughts? you will be freed from them. Are you a child of sorrow, wounded by the stern strokes of a calamitous life? you will be comforted. Are you discouraged at the difficulties of your position—do you hunger and thirst after justice? you will be strengthened and refreshed. Mark and obey the prophetic invitation—"Omnes sitientes, venite ad aquas: et qui non habetis argentum, properate, emite et comedite."* Trust the experience of men, who long, like you, have trod the common ways of life, and who assure you that it will be so, that you will be filled with benediction, filled with joy; that from the martyrdom of a sanguinary world, you will come to this peace. Yes, it is so; we may well say it who have received the mercy of the Lord in the midst of his temple. "Sicut audivimus, ita et vidimus in civitate Dei nostri, in moute sancto ejus. Alleluja."

"Whosoever desires to come happily after death to the joys of the celestial kingdom, ought," says an ascetic writer of the middle ages, "while in health and life, frequently to visit the house of God, willingly to hear preaching, often to repair to confession, and

* Isa. lv. 1.

seek to gain indulgences. Happy the people, and greatly laudable, who leaving vain exhibition, hasten to the house of prayer, and to the announcement of the divine word. Beautiful spectacle! to behold the temple of God every where filled with the faithful, and the market places quiet, undisturbed by the business of the world."* "No place on the earth," says Louis of Blois, "is more grateful to Christians than the house of prayer, where the sacrifice of the mass is daily celebrated in presence of assisting angels—so that from the holy temple these men can scarcely be torn away; and if they behold them at a distance, and are prevented from entering them, they at least salute them with a devout heart, and religiously adore the Lord of eternal Majesty."†

In the mere remembrance of the divine mysteries, men found an assistance in the great combat of life. "Alas! if I could go into a church," we hear one cry, "if I could be where our Lord is lifted up, and appears to the congregation in sacramental presence—then in that blessed moment, I should die of rapture!" In this mystic Jerusalem the prophecy is already in a great measure fulfilled—God wipes away all tears from the eyes of men, and there is no more death, nor any more grief, nor lamentation, nor sorrow, for the former things have passed away; and he who sitteth upon the throne has accomplished his word, and hath made all things new. The heart-rending regrets of humanity in its humblest state, and the mighty woes of genius, which the vulgar cannot conceive, are alike here forgotten. "Felix hora, quando Jesus vocat de lacrymis ad gaudium spiritus!" Can any thing be more affecting than this language of the middle ages in expressing the abundance of their joy? Hugo de St. Victor speaks of the mystic sweetness of the ecclesiastical mysteries.‡ "O what grace hath our Lord granted to me!" cries a poor recluse, to one who was compassionating her condition: "I might be sick, and I am well; I might be living far away in Pagan lands, and I am born here a Christian, in the neighbourhood of beautiful churches and of holy priests; I might be blind and deaf, but I hear the toll of bells, hear the chants of the choir, and every morning the image of my Saviour on the cross seems to speak to my heart in words of love. I am dead, and I live only for grace, for the chants of the church, and for the holy mass. Ah, my dear friend! when I enter the house of the Lord, and the cathedral high and majestic encompasses me with so much grace and magnificence, every doubt, every earthly disquietude vanishes immediately. The smoke of the incense, the voice of the priest, which rises from the altar when I prostrate myself, awakens in my heart an impassioned fervour. The burning tapers remind me, by their secret flame, of the secret of the world and of creation, and a thrilling emotion spreads over my whole body when I think of the mysteries of which these are the signs. I meditate and I pray. The Creator and Saviour move me with interior and ineffable words, which are heard at the bottom of my soul. I feel within me a love above all love—a beatitude—a felicity—a celestial breath—and then the bell tolls, and the mystery is accomplished: then a shuddering runs through my veins and through the marrow of my bones, and I feel that I am a Christian; that the incarnate Saviour is near me, and that he looks upon me with love."

Some will recognise here the master's hand, which is employed in moulding an ideal world: but there is nothing in this of fiction. Of the intensity of these feelings we have monuments still existing in the stupendous cathedrals of the middle ages. In the year 1276, on the festival of the Purification, when Bishop Conrad, after celebrating mass, had marked the spot on which the first stone was to be placed of the cathedral tower of Strasbourg, such was the earnestness of two of the labourers, contending who should be the first to put his hand to the holy work, that one of them in the struggle received a mortal wound from a shovel; and in consequence of this accident, it was not until nine days had elapsed, and the place had been again blessed, that the bishop would permit them to resume the work of laying the foundation. —When Desiderius, the abbot of Monte Casino, was about to rebuild the church of that monastery, having conveyed marbles thither from Rome, so great was the fervour of the faithful that the first column was borne from the base of the mountain to the summit upon the shoulders of the multitude.* In the eleventh century, Bertha, the mother of St. Eberhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, carried stones on her shoulders walking barefoot for the space of half a

* Thom. à Kempis, Sermonum III. Pars 9.
† Enchirid. Parvul. Lib. I. in fin.
‡ Speculum de Myst. Ecclesiæ, Prolog.

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, Lib. III. c. 28.

league, to serve in the construction of the church of St. Mary, which was then heing huilt in her own village of Allerstorff.* We read of churches, as that of Burgo St. Sepulcbro, being huilt hy men who, like the two noble pilgrims, Ascanus and Œgidius, returning from the boly sepulchre, had been visited with heavenly dreams, as they slept on the margin of limpid fountains:† we read of saints, like Maur, who succeeded Zeno in Verona's chair, retiring to mountains and building churches at a fountain:‡ and well might the presence of such sweet refreshment awaken the remembrance of those never failing waters which spring up unto eternal life. The churches of the middle ages are all standing memorials of the fervour with which men thirsted after justice, worshipping God day and night with sacred mysteries and holy song.

"Devout persons," says St. Bonaventura, "experience sometimes such a charm of sensible pleasures in the assemblies of the faithful, that they seem as if embalmed in the agreeable perfume which surrounds them, and dissolved in the sweetness of celestial harmony. Perchance this is the grace of God to encourage the imperfect in their commencement of a holy life, or it is the fulness of spiritual perfection, which hy reason of the union of the soul with the body, is communicated to the senses; or perhaps even it is a favour bestowed upon the body, that as it has heen partaker of sorrow, and mortification with the soul, it may now also participate in its joy, for as the body labours with the soul, and both have their sufferings, there may be justice in imparting even to the body some consolation in the present as well as in the future life."§ The Catholic discipline rested upon this conviction, expressed by Lombez, that "man must have pleasure. That if he find it not in the service of God, he will look for it in the false joys of the world; for he feels that he is made to possess happiness, and he endeavours to attain his destiny." If he had found barred against him the portals of the house of God, he would have sought admittance to the assemblies of vain pleasure, though shame and ruin were sure to be his end. Showing the henefit derived from frequenting the assemblies of the faithful, the seraphic doctor observes that Saul on joining a company of prophets became himself a prophet, and being separated from them, fell into reprobation. St. Thomas being absent from the assembly of the apostles was deprived of the sight of our Saviour lately risen, and on his return to them he received this honour; and it was when all the disciples were assembled together that they all received the Holy Ghost.* In fact, it was in the churches that the most signal conversions in the middle ages were known to have been made. Many who entered like that old man seen by Abbot Paul, black and cloudy, drawn contrariwise hy demons, while their good angel followed at a distance, returned from it like him, shining with a sudden whiteness, having their good angel close at their side, while the demons followed afar off.† "St. Mary of Egypt," say the old writers, "may proceed with the devout multitude of pilgrims to the holy city, to celebrate the festival of the exaltation of the cross, less to adore him who died on it, than to render it the witness of her disorders, and yet then perhaps will be the moment when the designs of the mercy of God may call her to rise from the dead. The Church prays that our vices may be cured hy the sacred mysteries, and that we may receive everlasting remedies;"‡ that her solemnities "may both confer upon us the remedies of the present life, and grant us the rewards of eternity."§ History is not without mention of memorable examples to exhibit the fulfilment of such prayers. Will you hear the great poet who sung the recovery of Jerusalem, recount to you his own experience? "A time there was," says Tasso, "when I, with clouds of sensuality darkening my mind, could only recognise thee, O Lord, as a certain reason of the universe; for I douhted whether thou hadst created the world, or endowed man with an immortal soul, and I douhted of many things which flowed from that source; for how could I firmly helieve in the sacraments, or in the authority of the pontiff, or in hell, or purgatory, or in tho Incarnation of thy Son, if I doubted of the immortality of the soul? Willingly I would have kept down my understanding, of itself curious and wandering, and believed whatever the holy Catholic Roman Church believes and teaches; hut this I desired, O Lord, not so much through love of thy infinite goodness, as through a certain servile fear which I had of the pains of hell; for often there

* Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 215.
† Italia Sacra, III. 195. ‡ Id. V. 692.
§ De Reformat. Hominis Exter. cap. 80.

* Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 23.
† Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars XVII. 58.
‡ Post Com. Exub. Sab. § Id.

used to sound horribly to my imagination the angelic trumpet of the great day of rewards and punishments; and I saw thee sitting upon the clouds, and I heard thee utter words full of terror, depart ye cursed into everlasting fire. And this thought was so strong in me, that sometimes I used to be obliged to impart it to some friend or acquaintance, and in consequence of this fear I used to go to confession and to communion in the times and manner prescribed by thy Roman Church; and if at any time I thought I had omitted mention of any sin through negligence or shame, though it was ever so little and vile, I repeated my confession, and often made a general confession of all my errors. Yet thou knowest that always I desired the exaltation of thy faith with an incredible affection, and that I always wished, though perhaps with a fervour more mundane than spiritual, that the seat of thy faith and pontificate in Rome might be preserved for ever. And thou knowest that the name of Lutheran or heretic, was abhorred and abominated by me as a pestiferous thing, and that my doubts were merely an interior affliction, until thou didst begin to warm and rejoice my heart with the flames of thy love: and then by degrees, by means of frequenting oftener the sacred offices and praying every day, my faith grew stronger from day to day, and I became sensible from experience that it is thy gift, and I learned to see my past folly in having presumed to imagine that I could discover by my intelligence the secret things of thy essence, and estimate by the measure of human reason, thy goodness, thy justice, thy omnipotence."*

* Torquato Tasso, Discorso sopra vari accidenti della sua vita, scritto a Scipion Gonzaga.

This affecting passage only verifies what the writers of the middle ages affirm with regard to the effect of assisting and communicating at the sacred mysteries. "Effectus Eucharistiæ," say they, "sunt, præservare à peccatis, augere gratiam, terrenorum odium infundere, ad æternorum amorem mentem elevare, illuminare intellectum, succendere affectum, conferre animæ et corpori puritatem, conscientiæ pacem et lætitiam, atque inseparabilem cum Deo unionem." To these adorable mysteries of the altar the faithful came, pressed by various wants. "Some," as St. Bonaventura says, "hastened thither, moved by the force of calamity to lay their sorrows at the feet of Jesus. Others came to desire some grace and especial mercy, knowing that the heavenly Father can refuse nothing to his Son. Others were constrained to fly thither to proclaim their gratitude, and to pour forth the love of a thankful heart, knowing that there is nothing so worthy of being presented to God as the sacred body and blood of the eternal victim. Others pressed forward to give glory to God and to honour his saints, for it is in the celebration of these mysteries of love that we can pay worthy homage to his adorable majesty, and testify reverence for those who served him. Lastly, others hastened on the wings of charity and compassion, for it was there that they could hope to obtain salvation for the living and rest for the dead."* Thus to the thirsty pilgrims through the rocks of the desert did the fountains of water appear. Thus did the generation of those who sought justice receive benediction from the Lord, and mercy from God their Saviour.

* De Reformat. Hominis Exter cap. 82.

CHAPTER VI.

THE monuments as well as the history of the middle ages in almost every page furnish some proof or indication of the love which men of all classes entertained for the sacred offices of the Catholic Church. Although high mass used to be celebrated every day in many monasteries,* and the canonical office regularly sung in every cathedral and even parish church, still the affection of the laity prompted them to make many foundations for the multiplication of offices which are monnments not a little curious of the spirit which then animated society. The seventy-one parish churches in Venice, were equal to cathedrals in structure, and in respect to the riches of the sacred vestments, and other ecclesiastical ornaments not inferior.† With such fervour did the inhabitants of that city attend to the celebration of the Catholic ceremonies, that more than 200,000 pieces of gold were annually given for pious works, both men and women contributing. It was a custom for pions laymen to agree together to fonnd prebends in different churches, as in those at Paris mentioned by Lebeuf, of St. Thomas du Louvre, and of St. Honoré. In the church of the Magdalen, the canonical hours with high mass were celebrated every day according to the foundation made by the will of Stephen Nyvert, a merchant of the street of St. Denis;‡ and Nicolas Fillon, a citizen of Paris, fonnded a chapel in the church of Antenil, on condition that the chaplain priest should keep a school for the boys of that place and of Pacy, and shonld conduct them every evening to the chnrch for the benediction; and he founded also a school for girls, whom the mistress was to conduct in the same manner.§ In the seigneural chapel of the church of Mery-sur-Oise there was a foundation made by Anthony de Saint Chamand, Seigneur de Mery, for a priest to say four masses each week, and to instruct the children, who were to be conducted every evening to the church to sing there the anthems in honour of the blessed Virgin and of St. Anthony, and to pray for the king and the Archbishop of Paris.* In the church of Essone, in the same diocese, there is an inscription in Gothic characters to record the fonndation of a benediction to be given between six and seven in the evening of Easter day: the founders are Nicole Bossart, Avocat in Parliament, Seigneur of Champeneil, and Jane Ferron, his wife. Another inscription records that their daughter, widow of Guibert, Avocat, has founded in 1601, "An O filii et filiæ."† Claude le Pelletier, Controller General and Minister of State, after quitting the court and retiring to reside in his Castle of Villeneuve-le-Roy, founded a benediction and complin every evening in the parish church, at which he used himself constantly to assist.‡ There was a foundation also in the church of Neufmoutier, of a sermon on All-Saints' day, after the vespers of all saints, to be a commemoration of All Souls, to prepare the people for the devotion of the following day.§ Guillaume Foncault, founded in the Cathedral of Evreux, the solemn office of St. Agatha, with a general procession every year to commemorate the deliverance of that city from the army of the Huguenots which took place on that day.‖ In the ancient monastic charters also we find many foundations by pious nobles, who desired that certain psalms shonld be recited publicly at particular hours, as in that which was at the monastery of St. Martin, at Tours, which prescribes that after prime should be sung the psalm, "Ad te levavi oculos meos."¶ Bnt without multiplying these instances unnecessarily,

* Bibliothec. Cluniac. in 1707.
† Italia Sacra, Tom. V. 1176.
‡ Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, I. 11.
§ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. 10.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 197.
† Id. Tom. XI. 148.
‡ Id. XII. 138.
§ Id. XIV. 238.
‖ Hist. d'Evreux, p. 324.
¶ Bernier Hist. de Blois, Preuves II.

let us now take a few particular examples from the history of the ages of faith of the love which the laity evinced for the divine offices; and who will not be struck with admiration at the majestic portraits which they furnish of the great and good men of Catholic times? Truly in their love for the sacred offices we behold the power of that religion, which in days of early persecution could constrain the wife of a Roman Emperor secretly to quit the imperial bed like an adulterous woman, in order to hasten to the assembly of the poor, to seek Jesus Christ at the altar of an obscure martyr, among the tombs, and among men who were proscribed and despised; for so we read of the Empress Prisca and her daughter Valeria, who used to repair secretly by night to pray in the catacombs, not daring to incur the fury of Galerius. It was a maxim of the Pythagoreans never to turn from the road in order to visit a temple, because the worship of God should not be conducted by the way as a matter of secondary importance;* and this dictate of natural reason was obeyed in the middle ages with a consistency that admitted of no obstacle from the conventional forms of civil life, and with a fervour that indicated the presence of those rites which according to the voice of ancient prophecy were to afford delight to kings. Alfred, that model of heroes and of wise kings, used to observe hours of devotion both night and day, like a monk, reciting prayers and psalms. He never let a day pass without assisting at the divine offices. He used to visit churches at the first crowing of the cock, and to prostrate himself at the foot of the altar, beseeching God to grant him purity, and deliverance from temptation. It is recorded of Clodoald, son of King Clodomir, that "he preferred being present in the choir singing the divine praise to hearing the vain words of men."† King Robert of France, besieging Melun, on the festival of St. Hippolytus, contrived to enter the town in disguise to assist at the office. This is the king who is said to have composed a prose and some responses which were adopted by the Church.‡ The high tower of the Castle of Amboise was built by the governor, in order that he might see from the top of it the tower of St. Martin, of Tours, for whom he had a singular devotion.* The love for the divine offices induced many kings and nobles to convert their palaces and castles into churches. Thus Pepin changed his palace at Angely into a church and abbey under the invocation of St. John, which gave rise to the town of St. Jean d'Angely. Clovis, in like manner, gave up his palace to form the church of St. Geneviève, and Hughes Capet converted his house into the church of St. Bartholomew; Robert gave up his to form the church of St. Nicholas, and Henry I. abandoned his to erect the priory of St. Martin des Champs.† King St. Louis assisted every night at the nocturns in the holy chapel. The bells used to toll every where to summon all the faithful to church at that hour, which custom prevailed till the time of King Charles V. Philippe-le-Long made an ordinance concerning the discipline of his palace, in which he declares that he will attend to no business until he has assisted every day at the holy sacrifice of the mass. This was the custom in England in the time of Lydgate, as we learn from his advice. "And than every daye whan ye shall go to do ony thynge aske this question of yourself, wheder art thou goyne, whyder ye be in the way of virtue or wyckedness, folowynge Cryst or the Devyll, in the way to heven or to hell. If it may be, here masse every day, for by that ye be made the more able to do al good workes in the day folowynge, and prosper the better in every thing."‡ Charlemagne, unless prevented by indisposition, used to rise regularly in the night for matins,§ and assisted at the office, wearing a long pallium.‖ His chapel, with its relics, ornaments, and numerous clergy, served with as much splendour as any cathedral, followed him on all his journeys, an example which was imitated by his successors and even by petty seigneurs. By means of a diptyche which contained paintings or carved imagery in a folding tablet, every one could arrange his little oratory on a journey, and have it always with him; for the number was comparatively small of those barons, who as was said, "were more delighted with the barking of hounds than with the melody of celestial hymns."¶

* Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita, cap. 18.
† Mabillon, I. I. Act. O. S. Bened. 136.
‡ Chronic. S. Bertini, c. 33, apud Martini Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

* Duchesne, Antiquitez des Villes de France, I. 499. † Id. II. 182.
‡ Lydgate, the dyctasy of goostly helthe.
§ Eginhard. in Kar. M. c. 26.
‖ Mon. Sangall. I. 33.
¶ Ionæ Episcop. de Institut. Laicali, Liv. II. c. 23. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.

King Louis VII. on the coast of Asia Minor, every day fighting against the Turks in person, used on his return each evening to desire that vespers and complin should be sung before him. The kings of France used solemnly to preserve in their oratory, and even to bear with them to war the cap of St. Martin, thinking that it would be a protection to show honour to the relic of such a friend of God; from which cap Ducange, following the monk of St. Gall, derives the word "capella." That no class of men might be exempt from the consolation of the divine mysteries, mass used always to be said in prisons on Sundays and festivals, and generally by monks of an adjacent monastery. In our age, indeed, Silvio Pellico mentions that it was not till after a long time had elapsed, that by the remonstrance of Father Stephen Paulowich, the unhappy prisoners in the Spillberg had permission to hear mass. "We used," says he, "to be conducted strongly guarded, and placed so that we should not draw the attention. A Capuchin friar used to say mass. This good man used always to finish with an oremus, and to implore our deliverance from bonds. When he came to the altar he used to cast a piteous look on each of the three groups, and then remain a long time with his head stooped in prayer. Most sweet and pleasant it was to us to hear the chant and the organ which accompanied it."* Cardinal Pacca, however, says, that while he was confined in the fortress of Fenestrelle, there used to be more masses said in its chapel than in any cathedral of Italy, in consequence of the number of captive priests. But to return to the churches. Time would fail me were I to tell of all the emperors, kings, high nobles, and magistrates of free cities, who used to place their chief delight in hearing the sacred office. Maximilian I., Charles V., Ferdinand III., Philip IV., Louis XIII., and many illustrious counts of the empire, are remarkable examples. From reading the diplomas and observing the deeds of the Norman princes in Sicily, it would appear that their chief joy on having expelled the Saracens was derived from being able to restore and perpetuate the solemn celebration of the sacred mysteries. Roger, duke of Calabria, in his grants to the church of Agrigentum, appeals to his having ordained episcopal churches througout Sicily.† This illustrious prince built and endowed innumerable churches. Gaufridus relates that to that of Troinensis he gave vessels of the altar, and more vestments than sufficed to the clergy, besides candelabras, crosses, texts, and bells of melodious sound. "To whom," cries he, "unless to this great prince, are we indebted for the sweet melody of chants, for the words of the sacred law, and for the celebration of divine worship?" In general, the ancient diplomas to churches are all characterized by the spirit expressed in that granted to the church of Palermo, in the eleventh century, which begins by observing that all men whom God hath made partakers of earthly government should attend to the ecclesiastical and divine mysteries much more than to the pleasures of the world.* In fact, the celebration of the divine worship seems to have been ever uppermost in the mind of these Norman deliverers of Sicily. Count Roger, in the first year of his kingdom, having sailed from Naples with three ships for Sicily, was assailed by a furious tempest off Salerno, which during two days exposed him to the most imminent danger of perishing. In this situation he made a vow to God, that on the first shore at which he should arrive safely, he would erect a church in honour of the Saviour, where the divine mysteries might be offered up for ever. Shortly after, on the feast of the transfiguration, the wind becoming favourable, he reached in safety the port of Cefalu, which was then an obscure town, the name having been derived from its former position on the summit of a steep rock which projected into the sea. At the foot of this rock, which is washed with the sea waves, he built a church to St. George, and at the corner of the rock he erected the votive temple to the holy Saviour; adorned it with antique columns, and curious mosaics, and conferred upon it the dignity of an episcopal see.†

The admiration of king Conrad, on arriving at Salzbourg, when returning from the Holy Land, was elicited by the extraordinary splendour of the sacred vestments, and the venerable aspect of the devout wearers in that cathedral: and on his departure, wishing to testify the satisfaction which he had derived from his visit, he esteemed it the most honourable testimony to declare that he had never seen a city in which the worship of God, day and night, was celebrated with such solemnity

* Le mie Prigioni, cap. 80.
† Sicilia Sacra. I. 695.

* Sicilia Sacra, I. 74.
† Ibid. II. 798.

and magnificence.* Henry the Liberal, count of Troyes, who was born in 1127, had been called so on account of his munificence to the churches. In 1157 he founded and built the canonical church of St. Stephen at Troyes, adjoining his castle, for seventy-two canons, who were to perform the divine offices in plain chant and good music, to glorify God for ever. Besides this, he founded and built the canonical churches of Sezane and of St. Quiriace at Provins, and also ten other churches of canons, besides a number of hospitals. He so loved the clergy, that he used to call the canons, filios meos, capellanos meos, prebendas meos. This magnificent church of St. Stephen served as the chapel of the counts of Troyes. Count Henry loved it as much as he did his own flesh. There was a tribune which looked upon the high altar, to which there was an ascent by steps from the interior of his palace, and he used to come there sometimes, with his family, to hear the divine office, but generally he used to descend and sit below with the canons, chanting along with them, and wearing his habit of red velvet, and a collegiate cap of the same material, covered with precious stones, which was preserved in the treasury of that church till the revolution.† So, also, adjoining the church of the abbey of St. Martin, at Séez, there was a building in which the dukes of Alençon used to be lodged when they came to seek edification with the monks. Beneath this building there was a particular chapel into which these lords used to descend in order to assist at the office of the night. There was to be seen the tomb of Duke John I., slain in the battle of Agincourt. These dukes had given the monks a house at Alençon.‡

In the chapel of the Duke of Burgundy there used to be high mass sung every day and also vespers. Within the castle of Blois the divine offices used to be celebrated in two chapels of ancient foundation. Even within the walls of castles, which were rather places of defence than of courtly life, the divine offices used to be daily celebrated. Thus within Dover Castle, the ruins of a very ancient church are still seen, in which it was expressly ordained that a long peal was to announce the singing of matins, and that three masses should be said daily, for the governor, the marshalmen, and the soldiers; and the presence of the three chaplains was required at the celebration of high mass, before which no priest was permitted to leave the castle. Falco II. count of Anjou, under Louis IV. used to sing in St. Martin's church with the clergy, sitting in the choir as honorary canon. The same is related of Richard II. of England, and of Ferdinand of Spain. St. Helwige, duchess of Poland, and St. Elizabeth, daughter of the king of Hungary, are also recorded as having taken delight in hearing the divine offices solemnly sung. Witichend relates of Mathilda, the mother of Otho the Great, that "every night she filled her chamber with melody and with all kinds of divine song, for she had a cell next to the church in which she used to repose a little, and from which, rising up every night, she used to enter the church, although she had singers and chanters within her cell and before the door, who praised the divine clemency. King Dagobert's fondness for assisting at vespers is learned from the romantic circumstance connected with the sweet voice of Nantilda; and the general disposition of the laity in this respect may be learned from a reference to their liberality to the choirs of churches, as in the instance recorded of Ulric Engelbrecht, to whom the cathedral of Strasbourg was indebted for the first organ placed in it, in the year 1260.

Nor are later ages without examples of the same disposition. Louis XIII. composed motets which were performed in his chapel. During the siege of La Rochelle, in the absence of chanters and musicians, he worked night and day to note the first and second vespers of Pentecost, that all might be ready for the festival; and in his last illness, he composed a De Profundis which was sung in his chamber at the moment of his death.*

Christine de Pisan, whose language is always so picturesque, speaks at great length on the love which the French princes of her time evinced for the sacred offices. Of Louis, duke of Orleans, son of Charles V. she says, "Il a trés bien continué en dévocions, oroisons, à l'esglise estre longuement, et à oyr et dire grant service; bonnes gens et dévotz aime et voulentiers ot leur enseignemens, comme il appert par la fréquentacion qu'il fait chascun jour par long espace en l'glise des Célestins, où a couvent

* Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 252.
† Desguerrois Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 293.
‡ Recherches Historiques sur la Ville et le Diocèse de Séez, par D'Orville, 52.

* Castil-Blaze, Chapelle-Musiques des Rois de France.

de sains preudeshomes servant Dieu, et là ot le service; de laquelle fréquentacion est impossible que son ame et ses meurs n'en vaillent mieulx, et que Dieu en ses fais ne lui soit plus propice." Every day, with his own hand, he gave large alms, especially during the time of the passion of our Lord, when he used to visit the Hostel Dieu and the poor sick people.* Of the emperor Henry also she relates an anecdote that shows what attention he paid to having the office celebrated with all possible grandeur. "The emperor," she says, "who greatly loved the offices of the church, and had pleasure in hearing them celebrated with solemnity, desired on one occasion, that a certain deacon who had a remarkably melodious voice, should sing the gospel. The deacon excused himself from complying, and when the emperor then commanded him to obey, he refused point blanc. The emperor, to whom it was intimated that the deacon had possibly rendered himself unworthy, by some secret act, desiring to try his constancy, ordered him to be threatened with imprisonment unless he complied, but in vain. It was then announced to him that he should be sent into banishment. The clerk immediately arranged his few necessary objects and departed. The emperor having sent after him, received him on his return with these words, "You who have feared more to offend God than to incur my anger, are worthy of being reputed according to your merit. I wish that you may have the first bishopric vacant, but from henceforth beware how you involve yourself in such a dilemma."†

The wise and heroic grand master of the Teutonic order, Luther of Brunswick, in the fourteenth century, had such a love and regard for church music that he used to be often found singing in the choir in the midst of the monks; and in founding the school of Kœnigsberg he required that on all festivals, and when it should be necessary, twenty-six of the scholars should be sent to the church of the old city to assist at the sacred song, and at the procession,‡ and a similar regulation was established in the school of Elbing under the same order.§

The minstrel of the ages of chivalry has often occasion to allude to this love of holy offices. Thus, in the Lord of the Isles, even light Edward says to Bruce, that while pondering in anxious mind to find a proper messenger to bear his written mandate to Cuthbert on the Carrick shore:

"I chanced, at early dawn, to pass
The chapel gate, to snatch a mass."

And how beautiful is that sudden memory of sacred rites which comes upon the passenger in the hasty bark:

"They paused not at Columbia's isle,
Though peal'd the bells from the holy pile
With long and measured toll;
No time for matin or for mass,
And the sounds of the holy summons pass
Away in the billows' roll."

Whoever has lived in a Catholic country, will readily understand these feelings, and be able to supply other unnumbered instances. At Freyburg, passing after sunset by the churches when the doors were closed, I used to find several persons kneeling without in silent prayer, with their faces turned towards the sanctuary. St. Cassemir, the royal youth of Poland, used privately to lie prostrate on the earth before the doors of churches during the most inclement nights, imploring the divine mercy. Venantius Fortunatus exhorts his reader to press with his lips the threshold of the blessed Apollinaris, alluding to the basilica of Classe:* and in fact, I have frequently in Italy seen persons approach softly and kiss the portal of churches—affecting act of a natural piety! Ulysses on finding himself in Ithaca, kissed the ground; and these poor thirsty exiles recognised in the gates of the sanctuary the entrance to their celestial country.

After what we have seen, one can understand how, during the middle ages, the most dreadful calamity that could befal a people was an interdict, which deprived them for a time of the consolations of public worship, and caused a cessation of all the ceremonies and pomps of devotion. It would be difficult perhaps at present to conceive adequately the grief of men on such an occasion; for in such spiritual ages, no material interests were deemed comparable to those of the intellectual nature. When an event of this kind occurred in France, in the reign of Philip Augustus, numbers of devout persons left their country, and passed into Normandy and Brittany, where, as fiefs of England,

* Livre des Fais, &c. Liv. II. chap. 16.
† Id. Liv. I. chap. 35.
‡ Voigt Geschichte Preussens IV. 519.
§ V. 384.

* Italia Sacra, I. 327.

the ceremonies of the church were not interrupted. The most destructive visitations of Providence caused no interruption to the divine course of the ecclesiastical year. On Friday, the 9th of January, the first concussions of the dreadful earthquake of the year 1693 were felt at Catana. On the 11th, the whole city was suddenly overthrown: temples, monasteries, palaces, and other edifices, buried under a mighty ruin eighteen thousand citizens. The few canons of the cathedral who survived, immediately erected a wooden church, and there recited the ecclesiastical offices; Peter Moncada, one of the senators who had escaped, having, with his new associates, spared no pains to assist them, in order that nothing might be wanting to the solemnity of the sacred functions.* One hundred and fifty years before, when the Syracusans believed that their whole Peninsula was about to be overwhelmed, while the citizens were fled to the rocks and caverns, on the sacred night of the nativity, the bishop and the clergy celebrated mass, and discharged all the holy offices, in a ship which was stationed near the shore.†

The establishment by law of the modern heresies, operating like a perpetual interdict, caused numbers of devout persons, of every condition, to go into voluntary exile, leaving England and Germany for countries where they could enjoy the solemnities of religion, in the same manner as many of the inhabitants of the south of France, in an earlier age, had fled into Spain to avoid the Albigenses. St. Joseph and the Blessed Mary used to go every year up to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover; and if they made this long and painful journey to obey the law of Moses, it was no marvel that devout Christians should engage in distant journeys to find a Catholic sanctuary. Those O'Neils, those Douglases, and others, whose tombs we find in the abbeys on the continent—exiles from their country, through love of the divine temples, and for their faith—might have said with the heroic defender of the Heraclidæ, πόλις μὲν οἴχεται, ψυχὴ δ' ἐσώθη.‡ In all ages, there have been unnumbered instances of that love and constancy so beautifully described by the French poet, when he represents one whose pleasure consisted in presenting the incense or the lights at the altar, in hearing them chant the infinite grandeur of God, and in beholding the pompous order of his ceremonies; and who preferred being an exile, rather than to remove to the palace of kings, where he would behold those who followed other rites, and invoked another God. If the hill from which Boabdil took his last view of Granada be known among the Spaniards by the name of the Last Sigh of the Moor, that from which a Catholic beholds, for the last time, the land were, like the magi of the East, he is leaving Jesus and Mary, and returning to his own country, which has rejected the light of faith, may well receive a mournful appellation. No trial was greater, than when sickness prevented persons from joining the assembly of the faithful. Madame Elizabeth du Chevreul, in her last illness, being unable, through weakness, to leave her chamber on Palm Sunday, though she ardently desired to assist in the church, said with great humility, "It is true, I am not worthy to bear the palm: this honour belongs only to those who are conquerors over sin."*

It is curious to remark how some modern poets stumble with regard to the consolation which attached devout Catholics to the divine offices, as where Sir Walter Scott describes the dejected Clare on having access to the holy altars to assist at mass; and adds, that it was nevertheless dearest to her wounded heart to spend her hours alone.† From reading which few words we only infer with certainty, that he did not know in what manner the religion of the middle ages acted upon the heart of man.

But if even ordinary kings and warriors cherished this affection, in common with the lowest of the people, for the divine offices of religion, how do we suppose they were loved by men of the highest intellectual cultivation and of peaceful habits—by poets, philosophers, and those endowed with the noblest conceptions of art?

Do we not remark how the bare mention of the offices of the Catholic Church instantly raises up, in every mind enriched with antique lore, the images of a Dante, a Tasso, a Thomas More, a Guercini, a Michael Angelo? and revives the memory of the great scholars and philosophers of Italy, such as Marsilius Ficinus and Angelus Politian, whose dispositions in this respect are attested by history; on all of whose tombs might have been inscribed,

* Sicilia Sacra, I. 566. † Id. I. 640.
‡ Eurip. Herac. 14.

* Vie d'Elizabeth Ranquet, Dame du Chevreul d'Esturville. Paris, 1660. † Marm. VI.
‡ Italia Sacra, V. 1342.

four times, the letter D, which is so placed upon the sepulchre of John Theopolus, in the basilica of St. Mark at Venice, to express the sentence ever on his tongue—"Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ."* At the time when Urbino, resorted to by such a multitude of learned and noble men, possessed such attractions that no one was considered sufficiently learned, or to have attended sufficiently to his intellectual cultivation, who had not spent some time there, it was not forgotten that in that church the divine worship was celebrated with more splendour and perfection of sacred music than almost in any other.†

Would you learn how these illustrious men lived and divided time? Observe that admirable painter Guercini. He used to rise early, and pray and meditate for an hour. Then he would go to mass; after which he used to work till dinner. At sun-set he went again to some church, and then returned home to sketch till supper. Such was his life.—Petrarch, in reply to the Cardinal de Cabassole, says, "Your letter found me in a languishing state, so weakened by fever, that I am obliged to be carried to the church, though it joins my house."

Methinks I need not multiply these instances, to show in what light the divine offices of the Roman rite were regarded by men of every class and country, during the ages of faith. Here is abundant proof, that the common voice of mankind would have applied to the Catholic Church, the words of the prophet, "Hæccine est urbs perfecti decoris, gaudium universæ terræ."

On a former occasion it was remarked, that familiarity with the sacred offices of the church, tended to diffuse a poetic influence through society; and after what we have seen in the progress of our inquiry, methinks no one can be inclined to doubt the justice of that position. Reserving, however, further remarks on this head till we have seen the whole grandeur and beauty of the ecclesiastical course, let us pause at present to observe the many beautiful points of view—vistas as it were—through the obscure wood of antique history, which opens upon us from the spot on which we now stand. For in the first place, from the single fact of the church offices being thus loved and cultivated, remark what an important conclusion must be drawn with respect to the intellectual character of the middle ages, and with what an answer it supplies us to one of the most insidious objections of the modern sophists. They tell us, that in the Catholic Churches there was too much ceremony for an intellectual people. We are now enabled to see at first sight how prodigiously and profoundly false is this famous objection. Certainly, if "Wisdom," as the ancient text affirms, hath ever literally "built for herself a house," here, in the Catholic temple, that mystic edifice is found. These men either understand not or care not what they say. For an intellectual people! Let them say rather for a sensual people,—

> "In understanding, harden'd into stone,
> And to that hardness, spotted too and stain'd."*

What! is it an injury to the understanding when the sight is employed as a medium of instruction? the sight, so essentially an organ of the intelligence, that in every language of the world the expression for understanding is derived from the term which signifies its degrees? No, certainly; but where habits of sensuality exist, all ceremony in religion will seem not only hateful, but in a philosophic sense, ridiculous. To enjoy the ceremonies of faith, and fully to feel their tender mystery, the heart must be inflamed with desires of invisible good, the reason, for the time at least, unclouded, the imagination struggling to be free from every thing that defiles and debases—the whole man thirsting after justice, either in the purity of innocence or in the sincerity of penitential sorrow. The world, therefore, rejects the symbol as it rejected Him whom it represents. It cannot receive them; for the love of the world hath not invisible eyes, by which spiritual things can be discerned. It neither sees them nor knows them. Hence the Church, feeling this necessity, constantly prays, that "what her children celebrate with a solemn office, they may attain by the intelligence of a pure mind;"† and that "ever fixing their thoughts on reasonable things, they may perform the things that are pleasing to him."‡

Dear to all, excepting to the worshippers of matter, who must indeed esteem them frivolous and empty things, the sacred rites of the Catholic Church are, in an especial degree, calculated to charm an

* Italia Sacra, V. 1342. † Id. II.

* Dante, Purg. XXXIII.
† Post Com. 1st Sund. after Epiph.
‡ Collect, 6th Sund. after Epiph.

eminently intellectual and learned people; because, to mention only one of many reasons, "the more thoughtful and genuinely poetic a mind is, so much the more formed and historical will be its religion," as Novalis, with profound justice, remarks.* Are men historians, philosophers, musicians? What a mine of treasure do they possess in the Catholic ritual? In relation to the former, how many curious things are observable in the liturgy, which recall interesting circumstances and events of ancient times? Why are the titles and names of the authors omitted in the lessons read by the church on holy Saturday? An historian will tell you that it was so ordered lest the catechumens, coming from among the Gentiles, might scorn when they heard the names of Hebrew authors, such enmity existed between the Gentiles and Jews.† Thus to the learned, not only was there an original sanctity and grandeur, and an inherent charm in the liturgy, but many things that were at first only common and accidental, were hallowed by time, and rendered doubly attractive by the power of historical and philosophic associations. Besides, did not the smallest thing acquire a dignity from the mere fact of its catholicity and universal usage by the church? These vestments are not only holy from religious motives; assuredly they are majestic and venerable from the historical and poetic idea connected with them: but when Lord Chatham called upon certain members entitled spiritual of the House of Lords, to interpose "the unsullied sanctity of their lawn," the allusion might assuredly have been heard either with a stare or a smile. Nor let any one imagine that the learned would regard these things with different eyes when they found themselves in places of rustic simplicity, as if there were a possibility of their finding the Catholic Church disarmed, and disglorified under any circumstances of humiliation. Not to speak of the divinity which ever guards it, the majesty with which it is surrounded at all times—even that majesty, in respect to the present world, which it has acquired by the tribute of so many sublime and kingly minds, so many saintly and heroic defenders—serves it instead of the tongue of an Augustin or the sceptre of a Charlemagne. The spirits of Austin, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede, and Fenelon, are within these humble walls. If you enter them, you will imagine that you behold there an Ignatius or an Alfred, the palms of martyrs, and the offering of kings. Fear not the contagion of vulgar minds from being associated with the vulgar in these Catholic rites. Although the vulgar, as Silvio Pellico remarks, can and ought to love them, it is not true, that in consequence they become a vulgarity.* The immense benefits of the Divine goodness, have, in fact, to use the words of St. Thomas, conferred upon the Christian people an inestimable dignity. Think not that the person of that rude illiterate priest can in any manner diminish the force of such impressions. Not to observe how false may be your estimate in supposing him such, observe that the Catholic ritual is not depending for its effects upon men. It is not at the mercy of any person, or capable of being counteracted by the folly or demerit of its ministers. In all essential parts, the qualities of the priest as an individual passed for nothing. The chasuble literally, like the charity of which it is the symbol, covers all. Persons of highly cultivated minds, and interiorly philosophic, were not in the position in which Apollodorus stood, who besides one man (Socrates), considered all teachers as wretched and despicable persons, against whom he felt inclined to rail as often as he heard them.† They never felt as if they suffered indignity by repairing to the Catholic Church on the wildest and farthest shore of Christendom; for they knew that in the meanest chapel in the most desolate region of the earth, they would meet with the same mystery as if they were to enter the basilica of the Vatican. Before the altar and the vested priest, they recognise not the man, but the prophet; while in regard to things subordinate, the wisdom and the exquisite fitness of the divine offices were every where the same. To obviate, however, the possibility of error, the ecclesiastical canons required that "scholastics should be carefully admonished, as Christians clothed with humility, not to despise those who they know avoid vice of manners rather than of words; that they should not presume to compare an exercised tongue with a chaste heart, or to laugh at any priest or minister of the Church who should be guilty of a solecism or barbarism in offering up prayer to

* Schriften. II. 305.
† Hugo de St. Victor, de Ecclesiasticis Officiis, Lib. III. c. 24.

* Dei Doveri degli Uomini.
† Plato, Conviv. I.

God."* Here then one may remark what an unfounded assertion is that of the moderns who suppose that in the Catholic Church men of learning and genius constituted a small initiated class like the philosophers of heathen times, who in secret nourished a profound contempt for the public discipline, and that the clergy did not permit all men to be instructed in the same mysteries, but followed the example of Pythagoras, who suited his lessons to his hearers, calling some Pythagoreans and other Pythagorists, in the same manner as men used to say attics and atticists, to express the genuine disciples and those less perfect who should imitate them.† Whether or not they conceived this idea from feeling conscious of what takes place in their own communities, in which rationalism from the very first really constituted a similar class, is a question that may be left to their own consideration; but to suppose that a learned Catholic is in relation to the crowd of the faithful what the philosopher was to the heathen multitude, is an error that nothing can excuse. A mere knowledge of history is sufficient to convince any one accessible to conviction, that the Catholic religion was not a sect of philosophy. The sages of the middle age inverted the definition of the Stagyrite, believing with the multitude, while in point of grace and eloquence of development they spoke as the few. A Roger Bacon, an Anselm, a Richard of St. Victor, a Thomas Aquinas, saw in the sacred rites precisely the same thing as was seen in them by any simple peasant or page of a baronial castle, who recited his chaplet, without being able to follow the prayers of the priest. But more than this is true; for sages and men of deep philosophic minds, there is a peculiar want unknown to the common race of men, which the ritual of the Church was eminently calculated to supply. The human soul, in proportion as it attaches itself to God, and acquires a thirst for justice, becomes more averse to every thing like change or uncertainty. If not supported by its immortal hopes, intolerable would be its anguish on account of the alterations which are continually taking place in visible objects and in every thing with which it is in immediate contact. The Catholic religion in an admirable manner administered consolation to it in this state, through the medium of material and in themselves mutable things; for it taught the curious and inestimable art of symbolizing nature, and it furnished it with an altar which was one spot in the visible world, exempted like the faith of which it was the emblem, from this necessity of change. View these old hermits in their caves, having nothing but an image of our Lady and an altar with a book. What a peaceful symbol is here of an immutable and supremely blissful state? Well not only would many a king, like Richard, have given their gorgeous palace for such a hermitage, their figured goblets for this dish of wood, their subjects for this pair of carved saints, and their large kingdom for this little grave, but in imagination all the master minds of the middle ages, all the great intellectual guides, within the domain of art, aspired to this condition attained to it internally even amidst the vicissitudes and disorders of a troubled life. They gave this direction to their intelligence, not through a reckless disdain of the Creator's bounty, or an unworthy softness of soul, but from a reasonable and just conviction, that by so doing they confined, concentrated their desires for the present within the sphere of symbols, and so escaped the shocks and fluctuations of the world's destiny. With eyes fixed upon the cross their view seemed to open into eternity. Possessing this one point of rest they no longer sought to look abroad over the wide and universal theatre; for they would have only felt oppressed by the spectacle of that immense nature: but viewed as symbols of the immutable and invisible good, neither upon the beautiful prospects of an extended horizon, nor upon any flower which embalmed their path, did they fear to indulge too fixed a gaze. Art, literature, science, dismissed them to traverse not to rest in the material world. But to renew these blossoms which decked the altar,—to see revived these symbolic lights which sparkle over it,—to perfume it with the odour of incense—to behold it gilded with the gladsome beams of morning, or shaded with the sombre livery of the departing day,—these were the things which kept their souls as it were in presence of the ineffable and immutable felicity of the Eternal Existence. It is true the revolving seasons caused even here a show of change; for the hue of holy vestments varied with the object of each day's commemoration; but these were only tones which belonged to one universal harmony, and varied symbols of a constant joy..

* Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars VI. 383.
† Jamblich. cap. 18.

Against the terrors of death too, that greatest of changes to which our flesh is heir, this love for the ceremonies of faith provided men; for though all the pomp of worldly magnificence must fail, the affections associated with the holy solemnities of the militant Church, with her processions, her stoles, and palms, would endure for ever in the heavenly Jerusalem. Let no one imagine that I am explaining the history of the middle ages by referring to principles which were not in reality then received and understood. Subtle and abstract as they may appear, they are nevertheless professed in those very documents of ancient times which one might have supposed would have been exclusively occupied with considerations of a practical nature. Witness the words of the diploma granted to the church of St. Saviour, at Messina, by Count Roger, the pious and brave king, the protector of Christians, as he is styled in the title. "Because," saith he, "the things of the present life are corruptible and mortal, and like titles are changed from one to another, the lovers of religion meditated a certain wondrous mutation of these things by the right hand of the Most High according to the psalm; and employing all their study in order that they might remain firm and eternal, they found no other method excepting by erecting divine temples, and by dedicating to them and so returning to God their possessions. For thus it comes to pass that by the unceasing hymns and lauds which are offered up in them, God is worshipped and glorified without intermission, and they gain for themselves a memory of eternal beatitude and constant prayer. Therefore, our tranquillity, following this example as a certain primitive rule, hath made this divine and sacred foundation, and hath built this temple on the promontory of the port of Messina to the glory and praise of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ."* We find the same sentiments expressed along with the donations to the church of Anglona, in the year 1231. "Although things of men prove frail and decay with length of years, there are nevertheless some things to which men can impart a perpetual stability, namely, those which are dedicated to the divine worship, and attached to the heritage of God with men."†

The love for the sacred offices not only indicated a thoughtful and an intellectual people, but also men of pure and virtuous or penitential lives. Thus the historian says of Otilo, Duke of Bavaris, in the eighth century, "that being moved to compunction by divine love, he began to build and enlarge churches, and to love the servants of God who served them."* It may be observed, that it was the general character of all the chants and anthems of the Church to be a repetition of those high lessons and awful menaces which we read on the very stones, and marble, and windows of her temples, which reminded the unjust in language still more awful than that of Æschylus, that there was a spirit which followed him to whatever land he journeyed,—that even by dying he could not be liberal, that he would not be too free in death,

———θανὼν δ'
οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος,†

and which in every form of majestic symbol seemed to proclaim that great truth, "venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos." Truly I can see great advantage resulting to the citizens from those terrible sounds of the choir as well as from the majestic countenances of angels and prophets, and even from the horribly gay demoniacal imagery which surrounded it; for the solemn exclamation,

"Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus,"

is not less impressive than that perilous passage represented on the tomb of Dagobert in the Abbey of St. Denis, where the poor king, naked amidst an infernal crew, stands with supplicating arms raised, while a demon seems alternately to lift and return the crown upon his head, as if by that scornful play to make him feel more acutely the vanity of his former ambition. Pius the Second says, that the sculpture in the Cathedral of Orvieto, by artists of Sienna, representing the resurrection of the dead, the judgment of the damned, the punishment of the damned, and the rewards of the elect, was worthy of Phidias or Praxiteles.‡ The chants and lessons of the Church must not be separated from this visible development of the same truths which they announced,

* Sicilia Sacra, II. 972.
† Italia Sacra. Tom. VII. 81.

* Germania Sacra, Tom. II.
† Æschyl. Eumenid. ‡ Lib. IV. Comment.

and assuredly the men who courted the influence of such objects and sounds could not be abandoned to impenitence or indifference. Moreover, independent of high intellectual causes, there is on mere moral grounds a close connection between affection for the ceremonies of faith and purity of heart, not to add even austerity of life: for the conscience of men of sensual or luxurious habits would be oppressed with so intolerable a sense of the inconsistency of their interior, with all that was submitted to their senses, that they would instinctively turn away from them. Whatever contributes to lower men in their ideas of the dignity of human nature, has a necessary tendency to cut off ceremonial from religious worship. When in the minds of men generally the type of animal is substituted for that of spiritual beauty, the foundation of the whole ritual is undermined, and the superstructure must inevitably fall. Then, indeed, are cowls, hoods, and chasubles, reliques, beads, indulgences, but trumpery, only fitting embryos and idiots, and proper objects to be the sport of Milton's scornful winds. Vice, as the arch leveller, is the true cause of the liturgy being despised. Who will invoke the saints, when he scorns their example? Who will pray for the dead, when he feels himself in mortal sin and incapable of performing any meritorious work to benefit himself? Who will believe in the real presence in the eucharist on earth, when he wishes that there should not be a God reigning in heaven? Who will venerate relics, when he has no faith in the virtue of the martyrs? and when he believes that the spirit with the body dies? Who will join the procession, when he seeks only the spectacle of vanity? The mass of mankind, indeed, are but little aware of the secret motive whether good or evil which actuates them; but unless the hunger and thirst for justice had been at least in the commencement experienced in some degree or other, we may be sure that the divine offices would never have been perpetuated or frequented. The reason why they seemed insipid to so many persons must be sought for in the abundance of external consolations which prevents them from feeling the want of interior. It is in the church that the words of the evening song are continually verified, that while the hungry are filled with good things the rich are sent empty away. Accordingly, without any premeditated intention of verifying such remarks, but merely from an accurate observation of facts, we find the writers of the middle ages ascribing generally in a continuous sentence, a desire of justice to those who evinced affection for the divine offices. Witness the words of Gaufridus, when speaking of Roger, Duke of Calabria, son of Robert Guiscard, who says, that he began to love just judgments, and to follow justice, and to frequent the church, assisting with devotion at the sacred hymns.* "You lovers of justice," says Gregory the Ninth to the citizens of Padua, "magnanimously defend the churches, and nourish them in the sweetness of liberty."† Many parts of the solemn ritual had also a close connection with the spirit and peculiar manners required by the Catholic religion, as innumerable instances might show. Where the love of comfort and corporal indulgence had superseded the love of sacrifice, men would not be inclined to stand during the long interval occupied by the chanting of the passion; we should see them on that occasion following the Jews, "Et sedentes servabant eum." Where men were taught to forget the sacred humanity of our Lord, and the graces of his blessed mother, and not to feel that at each yearly commemoration of the passion, the scene was in a manner actually passing, in vain might the church demand "quis est homo qui non fleret?" No tear would stand in any eye, but every one would be seen turning over mechanically the pages of his book in search of some new food for the insatiate craving of an empty mind. Certainly to a loaded conscience the rites would give no pleasure; for every beauty in the Catholic Church is only beautiful from an analogy with the beauty of the soul: and without the remembrance of having traded with the talent entrusted to him, man would not be willingly reminded, though in strains of ever such sweet harmony, of righteousness and of judgment to come. "Our Lord," says Father Avila, "is accustomed to reward at his altars what has been done at a distance from them. Therefore, without a holy life in the world, you must not expect graces in the church."‡ "Te decet hymnus, Deus," says the Psalm. "But where?" asks Cardinal Bona. In Sion: in Babylone: "non decet." Our hope is founded in that city of Jerusalem. He who sings with this hope, though his body

* Sicilia Sacra, notit. I. 55.
† Italia Sacra, V. 445.
‡ Epist. XL.

may be in Babylon, in heart he may sing in Sion, saying, with the Apostle, "our conversation is in heaven," but he who is devoted to earthly desires, being an alien to sacred harmony, cannot sing hymns from the songs of Sion.* But what skills it to seek proof where the adversary bears testimony against himself? The members of the earthly republic acknowledge that they find no pleasure in the offices of the Church. What is the unanimous complaint of the moderns, but that of the condemned spirits in Milton :—

———" This must be our task
In heav'n, this our delight; how wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid!"

The Catholic Church had not the Herculean festival of the Syracusans, the celebration of which was to be rendered compatible with their plans of sanguinary vengeance against the Athenians, when they proposed sending a perfidious false intelligence, to the unhappy Nicias, who was to be advised to postpone his departure till the next day by certain companions of Hermocrates, who were to visit his camp as friends, and give their counsel, that on the day following they might all be cut off. It would be idle to object an unpremeditated and accidental coincidence celebrated in the annals of retribution: all history attests that the Catholic festival was the harbinger of peace and charity, of forgiveness and amendment of life. "The oil of mercy," says St. Ambrose, "shines in the solemnities of the Church."† In fact, he who was in mortal sin, and who should appear at the celebration of mass, without having the earnest desire to escape from that state was deemed guilty of a sacrilege and of adding sin to sin.

That part which is entitled the secret, is so called, not because said secretly, but because it used not to be said until those had retired who had no right to assist at the sacrifice. Secreta a secerno. Nay, even in the fifteenth century, persons whose manners were at open variance with the sanctity of the Christian law, used to provide for their being absent from home on Sundays, for they dared not appear at mass.‡

"Let no Judas assist," says St. John Chrysostom, no Simon, no avaricious man. If any one be a disciple let him come, for he saith, cum discipulis meis facio Pascha." Let no inhuman person approach, no cruel man, no unforgiving man, no impure person: this is the mystery of peace." In the ages of faith, men knew nothing of a religion which merely consisted in being corporally present in the church during half an hour on festivals of obligation. "I beseech you," says St. Chrysostom, "do not pay attention only to this, in what manner you come to the church, but see rather in what manner returning thence to your houses, you carry away the medicine which is proper for your infirmities; if not all at the same time, at least let it be part to-day and part to-morrow, so that at length, you may secure it all."*

Of the Catholic nations in ages of faith we might assuredly say, in a high philosophic sense, and with far greater justice than was affirmed of the Athenians, that they "knew no other feast besides that of doing what was right." Καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι, ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι.†

Clemens Alexandrinus remarks that the ancient sages required men to pray aloud, not from supposing that the Deity could not hear a silent prayer, but lest men should address prayers to heaven which they would be ashamed that other men should hear.‡ When men went out of Egypt they accordingly heard a language which they knew not. They came to the Catholic Church to beg temporal blessings. Pestilence is spreading terror into the ranks of the impious and brutish crew. For once they would cry for mercy to heaven. Lo the priest invites them: they begin to repeat the words of supplication, Deus qui non mortem—but why do they suddenly cease, why turn pale? Alas in what a dilemma do they find themselves! They had forgotten that the church in demanding temporal blessings, always implies that those who offer it are of the number either of the just or of the penitent, or of those who wish to have the grace of penitence, and now they feel themselves already rejected. Ah, well may their tongues faulter and refuse to pronounce the words "sed pœnitentiam desideras peccatorum." They have no part in what follows, "populum tuum ad te revertentem propitius respice," but the deprecation of that scourge of God's wrath must sound in their ears like the direful hymn of the avenging ministers, which enchains the soul and dries up the life in the veins:

* De divina Psalmod. 361. † In Ps. 119.
‡ Monteil Hist. des François, Tom. IV. 375.

* Hom. 29. in Act.
† Thucyd. Lib. I. 71. ‡ Stromat. III. 26.

δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρ—
μικτος, αὔων βροτοῖς.*

Again, the number of men who loved the sacred offices of the choir, is an index to determine the number of those who loved peace; for who could love the assemblies of the faithful, and at the same time be glad that they should with each other war—

"And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love
Unanimous?"

That love argued too, that they cultivated habits of meditation, and that they gave themselves leisure,—that they knew well, though they had not heard Bacon, that although men should refrain themselves from injury and evil acts, yet the incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune, leaveth not that tribute which we owe to God of our time.† They suffered not mercantile industry to impoverish their souls, for they had learned to believe of their Creator, that not to irksome toil but to delight he made us, and delight to reason joined. The immoderate application of the moderns to material objects, is incompatible with the love of these offices; for, as the ascetic justly says, "insipida fiunt omnia devota Christi mysteria convertenti se ad exteriora et inania;"‡ and, as he observes, "too much occupation in external things is a great impediment to internal, and cools men for things of heaven." "What avails it," says St. Bonaventura, "to observe a sabbath of one day, if we do not make our life a sabbath by reposing in God, and by seeking our peace in the love of his perfections? If our hearts are at the mercy of every worldly interest, we may suspend our manual labours on the seventh day, but we violate no less the great eternal covenant which binds our soul to God."§ The very idea of prayer supposes leisure, for "the parts of prayer," says a writer of the middle ages, "are preparation, reading, meditation, thanksgiving, oblation, petition. Preparation is twofold, remote and proximate. Remote, is the avoiding the occasion of distraction and the entrance of cares, or rather, it is the avoiding sins and a worldly habit of thought without the sanctuary. The proximate consists in the consideration of the divine majesty, inspiring reverence and love."*

Lastly, the love for the divine offices was an evidence of the simple and noble manners which belong to a course of life in harmony with nature's laws; and, in fact, during the middle ages, the number was immense of those men of desire who seemed to experience, at the bottom of their hearts, a fainting and a mortal disgust, which nothing could relieve but the mysteries and ceremonies of faith associated with the spectacle and meditation of nature. In the primitive church, mass used to be said before day, in order to avoid the violence of the Pagans; and even when there was no danger of interruption, we find the holy fathers inviting men to hasten to the church at the first light.† Similarly, in the foundations of masses made by devout lay persons during the middle ages, it is common to find the charters specifying that they are to be said at break of day.‡ Philippe Augustus, in founding a daily mass for the soul of his father, Louis VII. specifies that it shall be said early in the morning, "singulis diebus mane:" adding, "in order that no occupations of the harvest time may interfere with the assistants." Vincent de Feore, of a noble and ancient family at Linas, founded a mass every Sunday, to be said in the church there after the second toll of the bell for matins, for the convenience of travellers.§ At four o'clock mass used to be said in the churches of London. We read that Madame de Chantal, in the regulation of her lord's castle of Bourbilly, provided that the mass of foundation in their chapel should be said at such an early hour every morning that the labourers, as well as the servants of the household, might assist at it before going to their work.|| It was at six o'clock, at mass, on St. Ignatius's day, that, for the first time, I saw the illustrious author of the Martyrs and the Genius of Christianity. Pasquier mentions in praise of the first president De Thon, that whereas his predecessors used to postpone prayers till the mass at ten o'clock, he, on the contrary, used always to hear mass the first thing on arriving at the palace of justice, where he was the first to arrive and the last to leave.¶ The very title of the altare pigrorum, such as that in the cathedral of Paris, where mass used to be said on Sun-

* Æschyl. Eumenid. 345.
† Advancement of Learning.
‡ Thom. à Kemp. Epist.
§ De Reformat. Hominis exter. Cap. 64.

* Instructio Novitiorum, Pars III. c. 2.
† Rheinwald Die Kirchliche Archæologie, 187.
‡ Lebeuf Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, VII. 36.
§ Id. X. 191. || Marsollier, I. 47.
¶ Lettres de Pasquier, Lib. VII. 10.

days at so late an honr as eleven,* is a sufficient indication of what was the general practice of the middle ages: and when to provide against unavoidable delays, there was granted a privilege to have mass said after the meriden, the complaints of abuse were all grounded on the same just views respecting the division of time. "It is impossible," says Sotns, "that such a regulation should not merit blame, which serves the pnrpose of those who convert the night into day, spending it over cnps and dice, and similarly, the day into night, consuming it in sleep."†

Christianity had renewed the face of the earth and had reconciled men to nature. The Sabarites of old, would not allow a cock to be in their city, lest it should disturb their matutinal slumbers; but when Sybaris became an episcopal see, the symbol of vigilance rose over their highest towers, and there was no retreat within its walls so thickly screened as not to be accessible to the solemn echoes of the matin bell.

The laity, in the middle ages, would have wondered to hear of him described in Athenæus, who for twenty years had never seen the sun rise or set; not because, like Hestineas, he had been leaning over his books, but through his luxury. We have no such portraits in chivalrous history or fable.

The twilight hour, and that beauteous vision of the setting sun, when its golden radiance illnminates the embrowned foliage, and fires the mountain's western side, were necessarily familiar to men who so loved the evening melody of the choir: and if the poet of the middle ages does not show his hero like Virgil's Æneas, when night and sleep leave him, rising up, and under the rosy light of the Eastern sky, repairing to the margin of rivers to invoke the nymphs, and pour water from his inverted palms, in honour of the naids, he conducts him at the first dawn through laurel groves, and rocks fragrant with flowers, to the hermit's chapel, where sleeps the symbolic wave of spiritual purification.—Gyron le Courtois and his companion riding through a forest, stop for the night at a hermitage. Next morning, at the hour of joyous prime, Gyron was asleep as if he had not slept all the night, so his companion awoke him; and when Gyron opened his eyes, and saw that the sun was already risen, he felt shame and said, "Sire, nons avons trop dormy." Then they mounted and rode away.* The rule in Du Guesclin's time was to rise and sup at six, to dine and retire to rest at ten; and the old verse added a promise of life being extended to ten times ten, as the consequence of its observance. Thus the Thucydidæan expression, περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον—the hour of first sleep—might have been then used in its original sense.

What lovely inspirations do the poets and painters of the middle ages derive from their familiarity with the morning! Enter this pavilion on the terrace, which limits the garden of the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome. The fragrant air is cooled by a fountain which plays amidst the orange trees. Behold the ceiling, on which is painted that glorious Aurora of Guido! What golden mornings this great master must have enjoyed before he could have formed such a conception of that joyons and resplendent rising of the chariot of the sun over the craggy mountains and the deep blue sea! The moderns are in general of Addison's opinion, in preferring men of the middle hours of the day, whom he calls the worthier part of mankind—men in whose countenances you see that they are at home, and in quiet possession of the present instant as it passes; bnt in the scholastic romantic ages, men of desires, men of early hours, were rather deemed estimable. Learning and religion both claimed them as more especially their own. Those who were studious either of piety or of learning, yielded prompt obedience to the invitation of Divine Wisdom, "Mane surgamus ad vineas! Videamus, si floruit vinea, si flores fructus parturiunt; si floruerunt mala Pnnica!"† and verified the fidelity of its promise, "Qui manè vigilant ad me, invenient me."‡ Men who did not rise with the morning to stndy Wisdom, could not have hoped to hear a judgment in their favour when philosophy and religion had a voice. Even the poet of old would have reproved them—

———— "Et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
Invidia vel amore vigil torquebere."§

Dear to men of desires, to men who thirsted after justice, was that hour when they sing, "Jam lucis orto sidere:" the joyous prime—as poets of the middle ages

* Antiquitiés de Paris par Du Breul, Liv. I.
† Cited by Benedict XIV. De Sacrificio Missæ, Sect. II. 54.

* F. XXVI.
† Cantic. VII. 12.
‡ Prov. viii. 17.
§ Hor. Epist. I. 2.

call it—that pure matutinal hour which succeeds the darkness, and which is followed by the day—sweet to the eye from both regards, from the splendour of its lightsome beams, and from the still lingering mysterious air of night. The former are only as yet seen upon the highest points; the scene below is still obscure. There sound the hasty feet of the pious supplicants, who repair to the churches. They seem to have known by instinct that it is their hour: at whose approach, as Shakspeare says,

"Ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to church-yards: damned spirits all,
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone;
For fear lest day should look their shames upon."

Full of religion is the delight which comes upon the soul with the balmy breath of hopeful morning! so beauteous from the solemn grey in which all things are still clad, and from the curious and orient colour wherewith the rising sun embellishes the eastern part of the sky. If we would not degenerate below our species, and even unbirdly prove, we should rise to salute the dawn. Yes, there is a sweet delight in feeling oneself alone with nature, screened yet from day's garish eye. Who does not love the early morning walk, before that tribe of saunterers appear, men incapable of doing aught, yet ill at ease, with naught to do? The hour is all too soon for fashion's train."—

"Artists are her's, who scorn to trace
Their rules from nature's boundless grace."

Little joy to them

"To hear the lark begin his flight,
And singing, startle the dull night
From his watch-tower in the skies,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise."

But the tender sentiments of Catholic piety love the morning's prime, when, on his way aloft, the sun ascendeth with those stars that with him rose, when love divine first moved those its fair works; for then, with joyous hope, all things conspire to fill the soul.* When the sun is in the heaven, and the proud day, attended with the pleasures of the world, is all too wanton, and too full of gauds, to give it audience, there is something that checks and repels devotional feeling. But when we have watched through the darksome canopy of forest paths the "fairest of stars, last in the train of night, if better it belong not to the dawn;" when we have observed the earth giving signs of gratulation, and each hill, and heard the joyous birds singing in their leafy homes, and felt the fresh gales and gentle airs, which waft odours through the woods,—then it is that the choral song sounds so truly ravishing, that we forget the reign of the body-world, of the prosaic world, which is, in fact, during these golden moments, at an end: all is spirit and intelligence—all is peace—the divine poesy of a sanctified and blissful existence. Thus begins each day; and at noon one looks back to these first hours as if one had walked through Eden, and breathed the air of Paradise. One laments that it should not be always the dawn, and that Babylon should ever awake to recommence its wonted revels. It was so sweet to feel one's self existing without the presence of anything to distract or interrupt the peaceful transports, the bright visions, of the solitary soul. Then was removed the contagious spectacle of human vanity; the only glitter was from the golden crosses on the domes of temples, and from the lustrous beams which played upon the laughing wave. Then were hushed all the murmurs and discords of self-tormenting wretched men: one heard as it were the grateful song of youth, the hymn of nature, in primal innocence. How frequently has there been a divorce between nature and me; a momentary divorce! for I never felt that a reconciliation would be difficult. A little morning wind, a solitary wandering, a meadow or a wood, by sunrise, and between us all would be forgotten. It is these manners, belonging to the spirit of the Catholic religion, which enable men to repeat, with the conviction of experience, those encouraging words—"Repleti sumus mane misericordia tua: et exaltavimus, et delectati sumus omnibus diebus nostris."*

So far we have considered the church offices in general. It remains for us, after the manner of the schools, to examine them in detail as connected with the seasons and festivals of the ecclesiastical year; which is an investigation from which no writer can be dispensed, who undertakes to supply a history of Catholic manners during ages of faith, or to philosophize respecting the men of desires, who endured the long, but not unpleasant thirst.

* Dante, Infer. I.

* Psalm lxxxix.

CHAPTER VII.

THE origin of the Christian festivals can be traced to the very cradle of the Church, although the exact and minute arrangement of the ecclesiastical year, as we now find it, was the gradual work of successive ages, which can never be said to be complete, inasmuch as the number of the eminent saints of God, who are the objects of commemoration, will not be complete until the end of this state militant on earth. "The devout Christian indeed," as St. Clemens Alexandrinus says of the Gnostic, "confines his adoration of God to no determined place, or festival, or day; but through all his life, in every place, whether alone or with others, he worships him."* Yet the Church has always believed that the Apostles instituted the festivals, of which the mysteries had passed before their eyes; in which number St. Augustin places the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. "We do not incur the crime of those who observed days and months," says St. Jerome, "by observing the festivals of our Lord and of the different martyrs, according to the traditions of particular countries; but, lest a congregation of people without order should cause a diminution of faith in Christ, certain days are constituted for our assembling in common. Not that one day is more worthy, but that, by the spectacle of a multitude on an appointed day, a greater joy may arise."† For a long time before the actual establishment of the festival which commemorates the mysterious fiat, the holy fathers had taught, and the piety of the people had suggested, that the happy moment of the incarnation of the Word was the source of all the graces of our Redeemer, and the beginning of all the mysteries of our redemption. The annunciation was celebrated in the fifth century, on the same day as at present. The sacramentary of Pope Gelasius II. proves its establishment at Rome before the year 496. In England, from the introduction of Christianity till the Pontificate of Pius VIII. it was devoutly observed as a holyday of obligation. The first trace of advent discovered in history is the ordinance of St. Perpet, Bishop of Tours, at the end of the fifth century, in which he enjoins in his church a fast of three days each week from the feast of St. Martin to that of Christmas, which rule became general in France in the seventh century after it had been prescribed by the Council of Mâcon, for the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, adding that the offices should be celebrated as in Lent. In the ninth century, advent was of forty days in France, as appears from the capitularies of the kings, though it was not of absolute precept, since the canonical law only sanctioned what was observed by the piety of the people, who had made it a law to themselves. This continued to be observed by pious persons in the thirteenth century; for it is expressly related of St. Louis, that he passed the forty days before Christmas in prayer and fasting: but the time of advent had then been limited to four weeks. In the time of St. Bernard, the order of Cluny was content with requiring a more rigid abstinence during advent, but without a fast.* St. Chrysostom, towards the end of the fourth century, says that the nativity of our Lord had been celebrated on the twenty-fifth of December in the West for a long time, by an ancient tradition;† and the Greeks and Easterns were the more anxious to conform to the custom of Rome, because that church must have known the day, since the acts of the famous capitation of Augustus were carefully preserved there.

The festival of the circumcision became solemn in the sixth century. The Council of Tours, in 566, ordains, that the chant of litanies should, on the first of January,

* Stromat. Lib. VII. 7.
† Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. c. 4.

* Hist. des Fetes de l'Eglise, 8.
† Hom. XXXIII.

be opposed to the superstition of the Pagans, and that the mass of the circumcision should be celebrated.

The festival of the purification is generally supposed to date from the time of Justinian; but Pope Gelasius had certainly celebrated it in Rome thirty years before the accession of that Emperor. The procession of this day with lighted tapers, is one of the most ancient of those observed by the Church. The taper, thus solemnly blessed, as an emblem of the light of faith, was afterwards carried to the house of the person who bore it in the procession, that in the event of his being taken out of the world in the course of the year, it might serve him for that purpose at his death.

"Domus dei pœnitendo præparatur." The institution of Lent has always been considered by the holy Fathers* as derived from apostolical tradition, though it was not till the middle of the third century that it was required by a law. On the first Sunday of Lent, as of advent, the ancient monks of the desert, and the fathers of the Carmelite order in later times, used to assemble and hear an exhortation from the superior, after which they would retire into the separated hermitages, in the depths of the wilderness. "For," say the Fathers, "while the solicitude of this life is exercised in various actions, and severity of discipline relaxed, the hearts even of the religious must become defiled with the dust of the world; and therefore this institution of mystic days is divinely provided to repair the purity of souls, and to open to them the gates of Paradise. Hence, so early as in the sixth century, it was a general custom during Lent to make a spiritual retreat."† Thus the author of the Life of the Abbot of St. Mary Bodanensis, says, "But when, according to the custom of monks, the man of God, during Lent, used to live in his cell more secluded and more sparingly than usual, Lucretius used to visit him." So in the Life of St. Œmilian we read, "It was the custom, during Lent, to be content with a solitary cell, and not to see any one, unless some person familiar, who used to bring the necessary food." We read of St. Francis spending Lent in an Island in the Lake of Trasimene. St. Senoch used to be secluded from the festival of St. Martin to the birth of Christ, and during the whole of Lent. St. Marculf, abbot of Nantes, used every year to retire into a certain island, where he remained secluded during Lent. Bishops used to make these retreats. Samson and Palladius are examples. The latter used, during the holy season of Lent, to retire into an island of the sea for the sake of prayer, and to return to his people, who were expecting him in the church, on Maunday Thursday; and St. Gregory of Tours relates of the prelate Bercundus, that he used to spend Lent in divine contemplation in a secret remote place. Bede says of Eadbert, Bishop of Lindisfarn, that he used often to remain solitary, in a place remote from the church, where, on all sides, the roaring waves of the sea encompassed him; for he used to pass Lent in great penitence and prayer and weeping. The rules of Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, prescribed to the canons, that during Lent they should never leave the cloister, except by necessity. St. John of Beverly, when a bishop, used during Lent to retire with some few religious men to devote himself to prayer and reading, in a secret spot in a grove, which was separated from his church by the river Tyne.

* S. Hieronymi Epist. XXVII.
† Mabillon, Præfat. in I Sæcul. Benedict. § 9.

These solemn practices were no less in use with the laity, during the early and middle ages. It was to the people at large that St. Ambrose addressed these words at the beginning of Lent:—"Living in cities, let our minds be in the desert, that we may be refreshed with the celestial manna."* "Of what avail is your fast of Lent," asks St. Ambrose, "if at the same time you indulge in the luxury of hunting? It is a vain fast which debilitates the limbs, and does not free the soul from perdition. Do you suppose that he fasts, who at the first dawn does not watch in the church, and visit the holy places of the blessed martyrs, but rising up, gathers his little servants, who were perhaps hastening to the church, arranges his nets, and speeds to the woods and mountains, spends the entire day in hunting, and pursues the game with such ardour, as if the fast was ordained in order that he might hunt? We prescribe abstinence to the body, in order that the soul may refrain from vices; but what room is left to such a man for devotion and prayer? Is he not angry or elated according as he succeeds in the chase? Is he not severe and cruel to his servants, forgetting that they are Christians and his brethren —men who have put on Christ, and participated in the same sacraments?"†

* Serm. XXIII. de Quad.
† S. Ambrosii Serm. XXXIII.

During the middle ages, the laity of all ranks devoted this seasou of the year to retirement and prayer. Thus did Alfred and Robert, and many other kings of England and France. "These are days which we ought to observe," says St. Bernard, "days full of piety and grace, on which the minds even of wicked men are moved to penitence: for such is the power of the sacraments administered on these days, that they can rend even hearts of stone, and soften iron breasts."* By the statutes of the holy Abbot Adalard, in the year 822, among the days on which all persons belonging to the service of the monastery of Corby were to be exempted from labour, was the first day of Lent, in order that they might have time for renewing their confessions:† and the very title of Shrovetide in England indicates that this practice was general among the people. "During Lent, we must meditate day and night," says St. Cæsarius of Arles, "and fill our hearts with the sweetness of the divine law. If any one should be so much occupied as to be unable to attend to the divine Scriptures before his repast, let it not shame him to hear something read from them while he is at table."‡

St. Basil, in the fourth century, speaks of Lent as follows:—"There is no church, no continent, no city, no nation, no corner of the earth ever so remote, in which this fast is not proclaimed. Armies, travellers, sailors, merchants, though far from home, every where hear the solemn promulgation and receive it with joy. Let no one exclude himself from the number of those who fast, in which all men of every age, of whatever rank and dignity, are comprised. Angels draw up the list of them that fast. Take care then that your angel put down your name: desert not the standard of your religion." We read in the Saxon chronicle that in 640, Erkenbert, King of Kent, who overturned all the idols in the kingdom, the first of English kings, appointed a fast before Easter.§ In the time of Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, there were three Lents regularly observed by the faithful people, namely, before the Paschal feast, before the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and before Christmas, at which times the laity went to confession and communion and as the bishop adds, "qui plus fecerit, melius facit."* In fact, during the middle ages there was more danger of giving scandal by requiring too little than by imposing too burdensome an obligation. Petrarch, whose ordinary diet was fruit and herbs after the fortieth year of his age, used to fast every Friday on bread and water. St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, used to eat nothing on Friday but dry bread and water; and in the chronicles of chivalry, the same practice is ascribed to several renowned knights. In the twelfth century, the laity of all ranks led as abstemious a life as many religious congregations. Peter the venerable Abbot of Cluny, proposes their example in this respect even to the monks of his order. "These men," saith he, "abstain from flesh for the sake of God every Saturday. The majority of the laity abstain similarly every Wednesday, and some of them even every Monday; whereas the monks of Cluny, in many places, observed only the abstinence of Friday."† So strictly was Lent observed in early times, that we find St. Ambrose saying, that if we should omit abstinence for a single day, we should violate the entire Lent.‡ During the middle ages, we learn how rigidly it was observed, from what St. Bernard says, "I beseech you, dearly beloved, receive with all devotion this Lenten fast, which not only the abstinence commends, but much more the sacrament. How can that be burdensome to us which the universal Church bears along with us? Hitherto we used to fast only till nones; now, like ourselves all kings and princes, clergy and people, nobles and plebeians, rich and poor, all together fast until vespers. I do not ask what monk, but what Christian will not observe this fast devoutly?"§ Till the twelfth century, the fast of Lent was never broken before the evening, though at other times it was usual to take the meal after nones. Not even water could be drunk excepting at the time of the repast. What was saved by fasting was to be given to the poor. Abstinence from all usual pleasures was also required, but on the Sunday Laetare there was a certain intermission of this austerity. In the baronial, as well as in the episcopal hall, there was always a Calendar suspended, in which was marked in great letters, the fasts of Lent, and Advent, and the vigils and

* S. Bernardi in Cœna Domini Serm.
† Statuta Antiqua Abbatiæ S. Petri Corbeiensis apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.
‡ August. Append. S. 140.
§ 37.

* Mabillon, Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Bened. 6.
† S. Petri Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. VI. 15.
‡ De Quadrag. Serm. XXIII.
§ Id. Serm. III.

ember days, with the abstinences of other times. In the Limousin it was usual on Ash Wednesday, to place over the chimney a tablet, composed of as many letters as there are days in Lent, and every evening one letter used to be effaced. The inscription was "Mors imperat regibus, maximis, minimis, denique omnibus." Thus at Easter, the whole was effaced. Monteil gives a curious document which proves that meagre dinners in the middle ages were really such. The account-book of Master James Bernard, of the expenses of the hotel of the king, in the year 1536, mentions having paid William du Moussay, the king's cutler, for two knife cases, each holding six knives, all pointed, to serve at table on meagre days. King Charles V. and Charles VIII. had leave to take milk and cheese in Lent, on the ground of their bad health, but to make amends they were to perform some pious works. The Xerophagie, or foods consisting of dry fruits uncooked, which is now reserved for the last week, was of common usage, and is the most ancient of all modes of fasting; but it was never prescribed to the Western Church, excepting on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. The custom of marking bread with a cross on certain days is of great antiquity. St. Gregory the Great says, that it was the custom to sign the penitential bread with a cross, so that it might be divided into four equal parts;* and in the time of St. Benedict, the bread of four pounds being thus signed, was divided among four monks.† Machiavel does not esteem it beneath the dignity of his great history to relate, that when the Duke of Milan came to Florence with all his court, they gave an example of scandal that had never before been seen, for it being the season of Lent, without any respect for God or for the Church, none of the court observed maigre, and all fearlessly amused themselves at public spectacles.‡ By decrees of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, criminal trials were suspended during the whole of Lent.§ The celebration of Palm Sunday is very ancient, and traced from Palestine, whence it spread through the East, till in the sixth century it was established in the West. In the fifth, the monks and solitaries who had retired into the depths of the desert, after the Epiphany, for whose sake the deacon used to announce after the Gospel on that day at what precise time the Church of God would celebrate Easter, which custom still prevails, used always to return to their monastery to celebrate Palm Sunday, a festival which the Church hastily concludes to return to the passion. The Saturday preceding was called, "Sabbatum vacans," because the Pope was then occupied in giving alms to the poor of Christ, and in celebrating the "Mandatum," and, therefore, the day had no proper office.* Why the moderns should speak of former ages in terms of such disdainful pity on account of the importance which was attached to the universal celebration of Easter at a determined period, it would be hard to guess, if we were not accustomed to see proofs of their hatred for unanimity and order under every circumstance and in all conceivable relations. St. Ambrose, writing upon the right time of Easter, says, "Let us not fear to incur the reproach of the apostle, as if we were observers of lunar times. For it is one thing to observe, like Gentiles, at what age of the moon any work ought to be begun, that the fifth should be shunned, and that various days, particularly the latter, ought to be noted as unfavourable;† and it is another thing to have regard with a devout mind to that day of which we read, 'Hic est dies quem fecit dominus.' This time we ought especially to know, in which throughout the whole world, the prayer of that sacred night is offered up to God."‡ Hippolytus, a bishop in the time of the Emperor Alexander, is said to have been the first to write a paschal cycle, which was afterwards improved by Prosper of Aquitaine and St. Cyrill, of Alexandria.§ Philosophers still gaze with astonishment at the complicated machinery of the vast clocks of the middle ages which are found in cathedrals and abbey churches, as that of Strasbourg, in which are described astronomical laws connected with the ecclesiastical course by the movement of a wheel which makes its revolution in a year, and the golden number, the dominical letter, the moveable feasts and the bissextile year, by means of another, which only revolves once in a century. The Ascension, one of the four most ancient festivals of the Church, has always been regarded as of apostolic institution. St. Augustin says, that it was celebrated throughout the whole world. Though with extraordinary pomp observed on the Mount of Olives, its solemn celebra-

* Dial. Lib. I. c. 2.
† Hist. Casinensis, Sæc. III.
‡ Hist. Lib. VII.
§ In L. Quadrag. L. VI. de feriis.

* Durandus Rationale, Lib. VI. 66.
† See Aristoph. Nubes, 1131.
‡ S. Ambros. Epist. Lib. X. 83.
§ Isidori Etymol. Lib. VI.

tion was universal in the middle ages. We find St. Gregory VII. taking off the interdict which the monastery of Monte Casino had incurred, and stating his motive to be lest such a religious place should be deprived of the sacred offices on the approaching solemnity of the Ascension, which is venerable, adds the pontiff, throughout the whole world.* The festival of Pentecost was the fourth of these great solemnities which completed the commemoration of the chief events connected with the mysteries of human redemption; for the festival of the Trinity, which was not established at Rome nor in France till the fourteenth or fifteenth century, was not precisely included under that head.†

In the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi, the Church explains her own views in the lesson which is read during the octave from the sermon of St. Thomas of Aquin, which says, "It is agreeable to the devotion of the faithful, solemnly to celebrate the institution of so salutary and admirable a sacrament, that we may venerate in the visible sacrament the ineffable mode of the divine presence, and that the power of God may be praised, which operates so many wondrous works in the same sacrament; as also that for so salutary and so sweet a benefit thanks as most due may be offered to God." Next in solemnity followed those anniversaries of our blessed Lady, which had not been of necessity comprised in the former. The festival of the Assumption is clearly distinguished in the sixth century, and that of the Nativity was from early times one of the three birthdays which the Church celebrated, for to the precursor had been extended that honour which he shared with her and our divine Lord. St. Augustin says, that the faithful had received by tradition from the ancients the observance of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and, indeed, the Council of Agde, in 506, reckons it the first festival after those of the chief mysteries of our redemption: but that of St. Peter and St. Paul may be considered as of the highest antiquity and solemnity. Until a late epoch the birth of St. John the Baptist and the festivals of the Apostles, were holidays of obligation throughout Christendom. The invocation of the saints, as a means by which the names of all those who have been recommended to their prayers may be recorded in the book of blessed predestination, is a devotion coeval with Christianity, and that the anniversaries of their martyrdoms were observed in the first ages is an incontrovertible fact of history. To primitive times may be traced the cause and form of canonization. There were two opposite heresies respecting martyrdom: that of the Gnostics and Valentinians, who pronounced it to be useless and injurious to God, and that of the Marcionites who exposed themselves to it, through hatred of the flesh, the creation of which they ascribed to the bad principle. Therefore, when any one suffered death for being a Christian, an examination was instituted to ascertain whether he had entertained such errors, or were truly a martyr, and this is the origin of canonization.* St. Clement had established seven notaries in different quarters of Rome, who were to write down the acts of the martyrs on their trials before the tribunals. We see that from the fourth century, the acts of martyrs in distant regions, used to be transmitted to the Roman Pontiff. "Ut moris erat," is the expression when a transmission of this kind is recorded to have been made from Trent, under the consulship of Stilico.

The Fathers of the Council of Cloveshoe, in 747, decreed, that through the course of the whole year, the nativities of the saints should be celebrated with appropriate psalmody on the same day as is prescribed in the martyrology of the Roman Church. Certainly in rejecting the authority of the Gregorian Calendar, it was hard to believe that the nations which embraced the new opinion, were actuated by a sincere desire of exercising greater caution in matters of religion, when we find them resolved to accept men as saints and martyrs on the strength of quaint emblems and devices, begged, as Milton said, from the old pageantry of some twelfth-night's entertainment at Whitehall. Mabillon shows the great caution which was always exercised by the Roman Pontiffs with respect to the canonizing of saints, and even the zeal of councils in repressing the devotion of the people where there were not sufficient grounds to justify it.† The celebration of their anniversaries over their shrines is repeatedly mentioned in the oldest authors. Speaking of the relics of St. Stephen, St. Augustin says, "A little ashes collects such a multitude. Consider, beloved, what God reserves for us in the land of the living, when he attaches such benefits to the dust

* Historia Cassinens. Sæc. VI. 2.
† Baillet, Traité des Fêtes Mobiles, Tom II.

* Benedict. XIV. De Canonizatione Servorum Dei, Lib. I. c. 2, 3.
† Præfat. in V. Sæcul Bened. § 6.

of the dead."* It is an historical fact, that the maxim universal with the fervent Christians of ages when men prayed for the dead, invoked the saints and celebrated their anniversaries, was this, "nihil nisi quod traditum est." This one fact is sufficient to show the impossibility of such doctrines having first sprang up in the second century, as the modern innovators affirmed. In the second act of the Council of Chalcedon, the Fathers cried out, "Flavian lives after death, 'martyr pro nobis oret.'" Therefore, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, the custom of invoking the saints prevailed; and what then becomes of the Protestant resolution to subscribe to the first four Councils, those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon? "At that table of the Lord," says St. Augustin, "we do not commemorate the martyrs in the same manner as others who rest in peace, that we should pray for them, but rather that they should pray for us that we may follow their footsteps."† St. Augustin refutes the calumnies of the Manichæans, who accused the Catholics of adoring dead men.‡ The feast of All Saints instituted partly to make amends for the unavoidable omission of many in the course of the year, it being impossible to celebrate a festival specially to each of such a multitude,§ was established in the reign of Louis-le-Debonnaire, Pope Gregory IV. being in France in the year 835, and exhorting him to order its celebration throughout his states. All-hallow-tide comprises three successive days, devoted to great mysteries, the vigil of All-Saints which is a solemnity of affliction, the festival itself, which is a day of joy, and the day of All Souls, which is a day of prayer.|| There were other seasons of devotion which seemed belonging more especially to a sphere of tender mysticism, such as those in honour of the holy cross, or commemorating local instances of mercy which the Church had thought proper to adopt for the general edification of her children, such as the rogations, instituted in the fifth century by Mamercus, Bishop of Vienne, at a time of general alarm, in consequence, as Sidonius Apollinarus, Bishop of Clermont, relates, of flames bursting out from the crests of mountains, while the walls were shaking by trembling

* Serm. CCCXVII.
† Tractat. in Joan. LXXXIV.
‡ Cont. Faust. Manich. Lib. XX. c. 21.
§ Durandus Rationale, Lib. VII. 34.
|| Durandus, VII. 35.

of the earth, in which passage, as also in a sermon of St. Avitus, some natural philosophers have seen evidence of the existence at that time of volcanic eruptions in Auvergne, of which the traces are so evident.* The Church appointed the parts of the holy Scriptures which ought to be read at the different seasons of the year, and these divine lessons were presented to the faithful as of the greatest importance. Pope Gelasius arranged the order for the whole circle of the year. The Book of Kings, and those of Solomon and Job, were read after Pentecost till September; and then followed lessons from Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdras, and the Books of Maccabees? thence till the nativity of our Lord the Books of Prophets were read, in order that men might be prepared for the coming of Christ. From the Nativity till Septuagesima, the New Testament was read, and the Epistle of St. Paul. From Septuagesima till Easter, days of penance and lamentation, the histories of ancient misery were related, from which we are redeemed by the blood of Christ. During the Paschal time, the apocalypse of the blessed John, and the canonical Epistles were proposed, that the contemplation of the last times might prepare us for our end. The Council of Carthage sanctioned the reading of the passion of the martyrs in the church on the days of their anniversary. Pope Adrian decreed, that such lives of the Fathers as were composed by uncertain authors were not to be read. The first who ordained in Italy this distinction of books from the Old and New Testament, was St. Elucadius, Archbishop of Ravenna, who died in the year of our Lord 112. Charlemagne, as Sigebert relates in his chronicle, caused to be compiled by Paul, the deacon, certain lessons from the writings of the Catholic fathers, suited to each festivity, which were to be read in the churches during the year. St. Benedict prescribed that nothing should be read but the lessons of the Old and New Testament, with expositions from the most celebrated doctors and fathers of the church.

Such then was the course of the ecclesiastical year; such were its various stages and divisions; and methinks, before proceeding farther, here is enough to make one exclaim, with the philosopher of ancient Rome, "Verum admirabilis compositio disciplinæ incredibilisque rerum traxit ordo, quem nonne miraris?"† We may even

* Sidon. Apoll. Ep. V. 14; VII. I. S. Aviti Homil. de Rogationibus. † Cicero de Finibus, III. 22.

remark, that not without a clear insight into the profoundest depths of the philosophy of life was it so arranged; for in this circle of the Church's seasons was comprised the circle of spiritual progress—the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive life, from the expiations of Advent, when the ecclesiastical year commenced, to the joys of the festival of All Saints, when it ended. The genius which presided over the whole arrangement of the ecclesiastical order, like that which constituted the noblest artists, a Titian and a Haydn, chiefly attended to the harmony of the whole together, and had more regard to the general effect than to the details.

Who has not remarked what a sweet poetic charm this divine course imparted to the different seasons of the few years allotted to mortals? who has not been struck with the afflicting contrast which is presented, if we turn from it to consider how they have been characterized in heathen or modern times? The Eleans used always to send feciales, heralds of the season, to the different states of the Peloponnesians. With the ancients in general, heralds were always styled a race hated of men; and assuredly, as far as relates to this particular office, those who supply their place in modern society, discharge a service which is in no way indicative of tender affection for humanity.

In a country where the Newmarket or judicial calendars have superseded the Gregorian, it may be truly said that wretched men only measure time like the ancients, by the sad calends;* for as far as real gladness of heart is concerned, there is not much difference between the spectacle of vanity and the punishment of the unjust. Significantly used the Prætors of Sicily to date the spring from the first flowering of the rose, for the emblem of luxury had no slight accordance with a cruel and oppressive administration. In the middle ages, the spring and autumn were associated in the minds of the people with the glorious festivals of the annunciation and of St. Michael. The memory of these days, indeed, is still preserved among the nations from which the Catholic faith has been removed; but what different feelings do they revive! and of what an opposite nature from those of faith are the exercises which they require! Whatever may have been the customs associated with them, in the estimation of our Catholic ancestors, they were days not of payment but of deliverance—not of trembling before an earthly judge, but of triumphing in the belief of a celestial Protector, bringing with them not insolvency and consignment to gaols, but works of union and the offerings of a grateful and overflowing heart; and O what a difference between beholding or enduring man's oppression, and commemorating, with hymns of transport, heaven's mercy! Between the inhuman severity of rich men to the poor, and the tender mysteries which redeem a world!

True, nature has her calendar, to con which with curious sense is no unpleasant task to those who love her. There is a quiet and an exquisite delight in watching for the swallow and the nightingale, to announce the return of beautiful days and serene nights—"for the turtle, and the swallow, and the stork, know the time of their coming, though Israel knoweth not the judgments of the Lord;" but must it not have been more impressive, more grateful to all the sentiments of humanity, nay more poetical, to have their approach announced by the sweet and solemn hymns of the holy church? The storms of equinox seem grander and more terrible things when associated with the festival of the archangel and the vigil of the dead. That winter itself may be loved, has been shown by poets who sung the delights of the beautiful season;* but methinks the snows of December and the beauteous flowers of the genial summer, can impart to the imagination a higher as well as a more exquisite tone when they are considered in connexion with the crib of Bethlehem and the eve of St. John.

When St. Theresa arrived at Salamanca, it was on the vigil of All Saints, of the year 1570. Here she was lodged in the house which had been procured for the new convent which she was about to found. It was now deserted and in disorder: during the night between the festival of All Saints and the day of the dead, finding herself alone with only one sister, in the vast apartments of this house, but half furnished and imperfectly secured, lying upon some straw, which was always her first furniture, it is said that she suffered much from the fears of her companion. The incessant and mournful sound of the bells, and the remembrance of the lugubrious festival which was to follow, gave to that night a

* Hor. Sat. I. 3.

* Erycius Puteanus de Laudibus Hiemis. Virg. Georg. I.

certain wild and poetical charm, which the interval itself, however favourable to romantic impressions, could scarcely have imparted.

Charlemagne, in giving German titles to the months of the year, named December Heiligenmond, in reference to the festival of Christmas; and we find, during the middle ages, that the same spirit of reverence with all its associations, connected with the mysteries of faith, characterized the whole development of the popular mind in its minutest detail. Sailors used to speak of the Cyprian star, alluding to the feast of St. Cyprian, about which time the seas were generally tempestuous, and for the same reason mariners, in Catholic nations, still speak of the star of St. Simon and St. Jude, of St. Catherine and of St. Andrew, for these days are in a stormy season.* The poorest rustics were as familiar with the course of the ecclesiastical year as the most learned monk. In little country churches of France, I have observed tablets which used to be removed every Sunday, stating the saint who was to be commemorated each day of that week, and this was conformable to an express prescription; for in the council of Sens, in 1460, it is enacted that there should be a tablet suspended in the church, stating what was to be read or sung each day during the week, that every one might be duly prepared,† for nearly every day was "distinguished in the beautiful order of things." In Spain and Portugal, and Italy, the poor beggars in soliciting alms, are always heard to beseech the saint of the day to obtain a blessing on the passenger, especially if it be in the vicinity of a church placed under his invocation.

The arrival, indeed, of the great anniversaries, was an event of such solemnity that it was made to determine the whole course of human affairs, which from the eighth century, in the diplomas of Pontiffs and other acts, were dated according to the number of years which had elapsed from the incarnation of our Lord.‡ It was on these occasions alone that kings wore their crowns. Even William the Conqueror conformed to this usage, wearing his crown but thrice in the year: on the Easter festivals at Winchester, on Whit Sunday at Westminster, and on Christmas Day at Gloucester. What a thrilling sense does the mind experience at the announcement of any of the great seasons of the ecclesiastical year, made on the eve preceding! How many smite their breast, how many feel their eyes dissolved at the recollections which it awakens! At that moment, too, who is not reminded forcibly, that another wave of time's stream has wafted him nearer to the great ocean of eternity on which his frail bark will inevitably so soon be driven. But faith brings hope when nature would only find infinite mourning. Personal recollections are therefore dismissed, and, at that moment, all nations and the people of every clime, all the men on earth who compose the mystical body of Christ, are occupied with the same thoughts, and providing, as the church says, "that appropriate honours should precede the coming solemnities of their redemption." At Cluny, on the announcement of the festival of the Nativity, it was the custom to fall prostrate on the ground, to adore God for this mystery of grace.

How, let us proceed to ask, were these festivals celebrated? In the first place, they were always preceded by a vigil, which was observed as a fast, and that on two accounts; the one symbolical, the other practical, with a view to positive advantage. The former is explained in few words by Father Diego de Stella. "In the feasts of the saints," he says, "the vigil cometh ever before the feast day, because they did always in this world fast and take pains, and, therefore, afterwards they must feast and be merry for ever. The worldly manner is quite contrary—they do first eat and make merry, and then after they do pay their scot, death cometh and maketh the reckoning for them."* "Multi tristantur post delicias, convivia, dies festos." After the world's festivals come sorrow and melancholy, and the blessed Dionysius, the Carthusian, says, "There is this difference between the good and the evil, that the latter wish to make a feast before the vigil, rejoicing temporally in this world, and therefore in the future world, they make the vigil for the feast which they made here weeping eternally.† The practical reason for the vigil consisted in the effects which it produced in preparing the mind for the due celebration of the succeeding festival. "The

* Macri Hierolexicon a Cypriana.
† Concil. Senonens. cap. i. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. II.
‡ Cantelius Hist. Eccles. Metropolit. Pars ii. Dissert. i. c. 8.

* On the Contempt of the World, I. 108.
† B. Dionysii Carthus. Amat. Mundi Specul.

feasts of the saints were preceded by votive fasts, because, (as St. Bernard says,) in many things we offend all; and it was not deemed safe by our fathers to undertake the celebration of any holy festival without endeavouring, by previous purification and abstinence, to be made more worthy and capable of spiritual joys."*

The abstinence of Saturday to which, as well as to Lent, St. Jerome ascribes an apostolic origin, and the cause of the non-observance of which, by the monks of the east, is explained by Cassian,† was not only deemed decorous on the day when the church celebrates the sad repose of Jesus Christ in the sepulchre, and the sorrows of his blessed mother—that time, as Ives de Chartres says, "which seems to be an interval between sadness and joy," but it was also regarded as a useful provision to secure the early rising and the serene unclouded mind, which were required for the due sanctification of the Lord's day. Even the ancients could discern the advantage of this discipline, as when Horace says,

———"Quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una,
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ,"‡

and Milton furnishes an example of its effects when he represents Adam early waked, adding,

——— "So custom'd for his sleep
Was airy light, from pure digestion bred,
And temperate vapours bland."

Abbot Cosmas used to stand singing psalms and praying all night in the church and in his cell, from Saturday night till after sunrise and the end of the canon on Sunday morning.§

"Be not ungrateful to our Lord Jesus; lament not that you fast, but weep rather that you fast so seldom. He who does not compassionate Jesus, hath not known Jesus; he who rejects fasting, knows not the cross."—These are the words of St. Chrysostom: and Drexelius says that abstinence is the most noble of disciplines among Christians.‖ These two points, therefore, fasting and abstinence, as closely connected with the spirit and manners of the middle age—as they are widely at variance with those which prevail at present—are entitled to a distinct place in the moral history of that period which we are attempting to supply.

The ecclesiastical discipline of the primitive ages, seemed a less formidable thing to the Gentiles than it appears to the moderns, with the greater part of whom it would be of far more importance to establish, if possible, the immortality of the organs that minister to corporeal life, than to prove the eternal existence of the soul. The ancient Greeks and Romans were content, on ordinary occasions, with one meal in the day, which they called cœnam. Isidore says that they were not accustomed to take the prandium.* Cicero, in the Tusculana, and Clemens Alexandrinus, in his Pedagogue, relate the saying of Plato, that men ought to be ashamed to saturate themselves twice a day. In the time of Hippocrates there seems to have been no certain rule, though generally but one meal used to be taken in the day. Eustathius says that they ate thrice. The first was jentaculum, ἀκράτισμα, which was merely bread dipped in wine. Then followed the prandium, the merenda, and the cœna. No certain hour is assigned for the merenda. The prandium was taken at mid-day; the cœna in the evening. Yet with the heathens, living and eating were synonymous,

"Sufficit insextam labor horam, deinde sequentur
Ut vivas numeri: littera ζῆθι monet."

For the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth hours in the Greek were denoted by the letters Z. H. Θ. I. which form the word ζῆθι, signifying live: a conceit which may almost remind one of the language of the moderns, who reverse the canon, "beneficium propter officium."

In instituting the different fasts and days of abstinence throughout the year, the Church, besides the particular motive of preparation for her solemn festivals, had in view the general object of forming men to holy manners, and also to a condition conformable to the mysteries which she had received. "There are men," says St. Chrysostom, "who seem to have come into the world only for pleasure, and that they might fatten this perishable body; as if their sole business in life were to prepare for the worms of the tomb a more abundant and succulent pasture. At the sight of their luxurious table the angels retire—God is offended—the demons rejoice—vir-

* In Vigilia S. Andreæ, Serm.
† Lib. II. c. 10. ‡ Sat. Lib. II. 2.
§ Sophronius Pratum Spirit. cap. 37.
‖ De Jejunio, Lib. I. c. 3.

* Isidor. I. 20, Orig. cap. 2.

tuous men are shocked—and even the very domestics scorn and laugh; but on beholding a simple and modest table, the Deity, angels, and men applaud—good men sit down to it—Christ himself, during his mortal life, took his place at a similar table. Snch wss that of the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and of the just men who are gone before. They left sumptnous feasts to tyrsnts, and to men enriched by crime, who were the scourges of the world."* Thus, in her penitential season, the Church prays that "the dignity of hnman nature, wounded by excess, may be reformed by attention to medicinal temperance," and that "purified by a holy fast, men may arrive, by the grace of God, with sincere minds, at the festivals to come." In fact, while the setting apart two days every week for abstinence, gave the involuntary slaves of the earthly republic a chance of escape from sn nninterrupted ronnd of Syracusan tables, destructive of health, as well as of intellectual and innocent enjoyments, the obligation of devoting forty succesive days to a course of privation, tended to secure their total and permanent deliverance; for by obedience to this law, men were imperceptibly emancipated from the chains of custom, and even of necessities which had been thought to have become a part of their constitution; habits of effeminacy were broken through, and the general character was rendered msnly, by means of the salntary endurance of privation. The objection, grounded on the severity of fasts, and the supposed injury caused to the hnman frame by abstinence, proves nothing bnt that the persons who produce it are accustomed to a life of constant repletion—which by Pagans would have been deemed disgraceful—and that they are, in point of sensnality, if not of heroism, of the mind of Ulysses, who says to Alcinous,

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν δορπῆσαι ἐάσατε, κηδόμενόν περ,
οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο
ἔπλετο, ἥτ' ἐκέλευσεν ἕο μνήσασθαι ἀνάγκῃ.†

But if fasting be considered in relation to medicinal discipline, its effects will be found favourable to the enjoyment of good spirits and of the free play of the mind, which necessarily conduces to the body's health, and that habit even renders it agreeable to the animal nature, is a fact that the sacred Scripture itself condescends to attest, saying, "Etiam ipsis jejunium conviviis dat gratiam dulciores post famem epulæ fient."* Cicero remarks the power of custom in this very point. "Aniculæ (says he) sæpe inedium biduum ant tridnum ferunt. Snbduc cibum unum diem athletæ: Jovem Olympinm eum ipsum, cui se exercebit, implorabit: ferre non posse clamabit."†

It was, however, no doubt, chiefly in consideration of moral conseqnences, that the Church regarded this law of fasting and abstinence as so important. The penitential season or the vigil, succeeding within moderate intervals, by rednciug men's minds to a placid and serene state, disposed them for the principles of the Catholic religion during the rest of the year; whereas men who never experienced snch privations, were morally, and even physically speaking, ripe for apostasy, because the passions are by corruption protestors against the law of God in every relation, and as it were, the natural enemies of the symbols and life of faith. Onr Saviour chose not only to fast, but also to suffer the pain consequent upon fasting; which theologians remarked, to show the vanity of many of the pretexts for dispensations adduced by tepid disciples, to whom they applied the words of the Psalm, "In labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur. Ideo operti sunt iniquitate." The modern complaints respecting the injury snstained by the body in consequence of the discipline of the church, may suggest a painful comparison in reference to the heroism of the heathen sage, who, on being warned by Crito that he onght not to heat himself by continuing his discourse in proof of the soul's immortality, for that the executioner who was to administer the poison, had said that he ought to speak as little as possible, since the act of speaking would render his body in a state to resist the action of the poison for a long time, which would involve him in great additional suffering, for it might become necessary to drink it twice, or even thrice, replied only, "Do not trouble me with that man's advice: let him attend to his dnty, and prepare to give me the poison twice, or if necessary, thrice. Change the subject."‡

Bnt if the advantage of fasting be admitted, surely, says the modern Hercules, you must admit that the obligation of ab-

* Hom. VI. † Od. VII. 215.

* Judith, cap. 1, 2. † Tuscul. II.
‡ Plato, Phædo. 63.

stinence was eminently superstitious and absurd! Δειπνεῖν με δίδασκε, would generally be a suitable answer to such an appeal.* Manzoni, however, shows more condescension, and says in reply, "The Church intends to give no precept which does not prescribe an action in itself virtuous, which does not conduce to purify, elevate, sanctify the soul, and in short, to dispose men for the accomplishment of the divine law."†

In prescribing occasional abstinence from flesh, as being an incentive to concupiscence, the Church did not sanction luxury in other kinds of food. "There are some observers of Lent," says St. Augustin, "more luxurious than religious, seeking rather new delights than chastising ancient lusts. They fast, not to temper their customary excess, but rather that by delay they may feel more immoderate greediness."‡ This was not to revere, but to mock the Church. She warned men from deceiving themselves by seeking more precious food under pretence of abstaining from the flesh of animals. "Restringendæ sunt deliciæ, non mutandæ," was her admonition.§ During these intervals, when it could be done with justice, she desired that the rich might live like the poor; might for once suffer the labours of men; that having sinned with men, as St. Bernard says, they might for once be scourged with them, that there might be less ground to fear that they would be scourged with demons:‖ for that is the real secret of innumerable parts of her holy discipline. Indulgences, however, within the limits of permitted food, did not constitute a violation of the ecclesiastical law, though, by the consent of all theologians, it deprived men of the merit.¶ To witness the astonishment of the moderns whenever the wisdom of that law is defended, one might suppose that all men resembled the people of Beauvaisis and of Olonne, who would exchange, it used to be said, with greediness, an ox for a fish; and that the Shakspearian definition of an honest man was verified by universal experience. But without any want of due reverence, or any extravagant inclination to infer more than would be true from the observation, methinks a disciple in the school of Christ may very naturally and judiciously appeal to the facts of evangelic history, which records of his Divine Master, that he ate fish with his disciples, but no where that he ate meat, excepting the Paschal lamb. Abstinence is ridiculed, because, as Manzoni remarks, "the world abhors all penance, and pretends to be superior to what it would avoid. It is, however, only in the man diligent in the research of worldly contents of every kind, enemy of all humiliation and of all suffering, that this external expression of penance, observed pharisaically, is an isolated operation, so differnt from the rest of his life, that it forms a discord, which is laid hold of by the world to cast ridicule upon the things of religion; but if considered in connexion with the motives of the Church in requiring it, not only must this ridicule cease, but we must confess the beauty, the wisdom, and the importance of this law. It is a truth, as well known as it is humiliating, that the abuse of flesh influences the mind and degrades it. A series of grave, regulated, magnanimous, benevolent sentiments, can be interrupted by a dish, and in their place will be formed a kind of carnal enthusiasm, a sensual exaltation, which renders the heart indifferent to the greatest things, which destroys or weakens the sense of what is noble, and impels to sensuality and egotism."* By dainty platters, as Shakspeare remarks, the ribs are made rich, but the wits bankrupt.

Some men pretend that the ecclesiastical obligation tended to make men forgetful of the duties of the moral law; as if compliance with the laws of the Church were felt as affording them a dispensation for obeying those of morality. But Manzoni shows the weakness of this objection. "Take away the commandments of the Church! Will you (he asks) have fewer crimes? No, but you will have fewer religious sentiments, fewer works independent of impulse, and of a temporal end; fewer works directed to the order of perfecting souls, for which man is created."† If the Church invites her children to abstain, she at the same time calls upon them to pray, that "the observance which they exhibit corporeally, they may be able to exercise with sincere minds."‡ Besides, in what page of history do we find ground for this opinion, which supposes a phenomenon in such contradiction to the univer-

* Aristoph. Ranæ. 107.
† Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica.
‡ S. 210, de Quadr. 6. § Chr. S. 209.
‖ Serm. ad Pastores in Synodo.
¶ Sardagna Theologia, Tom. IV. 308.

* Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica.
† Id. 220.
‡ Collect VI. feria after Ash Wednesday.

sal voice of the intimate conscience of mankind? We read on the contrary of noble and impressive lessons delivered to men under the influence of violent passions, reminding them that it would be in vain to observe the ecclesiastical discipline during penitential seasons, unless the manners were made in all respects conformable to the spirit and intention of that ordinance. Albertus Grantzius relates, that the emperor Conrad, having found a rebellious and refractory brother in Henry, duke of Suabia, and being obliged to meet him in battle, Duke Henry was defeated, and obliged to fly into Pannonia to his relation, King Stephen. The King was displeased at such open and malignant contumacy. He resolved, therefore, to reprove his relative efficaciously but modestly: so on Good Friday he ordered his table to be served with flesh meats. Duke Henry expressed horror at such a banquet on that day, to whom King Stephen replied with a sweet and friendly tone, "I deem it a less evil to eat flesh on this day than contumaciously to rebel against a brother." This kind of admonition found a favourable hearer: Duke Henry was moved to compunction, and forthwith became reconciled with his brother. You ascribe this to the generosity of an individual? Nay, it was an act of strict obedience to the positive doctrine of the Church. "Bene jejunat, qui fraternas injurias pacifici pectoris lenitate dimittit."*

Having now seen what was the spirit of the vigil, let us proceed to inquire respecting the solemnity which followed.

The Church begins the day, in relation to fasting, like the ancient Romans, from midnight; but respecting indulgences and festivities, from the first vespers to the setting of the sun, on the day following.† With the Pagans, only certain particular days were said to be festal, or "dies feriæ, —sed Christianis et maxime clericis," says Walafried Strabo; "omnes dies in ferias deputentur."‡ The word obligation, in the ecclesiastical sense, was not of familiar use during the ages of faith; for where devotion always accompanied a sense of duty, it was rare to find persons desirous of communion with the faithful, and at the same time of assisting in the public assemblies in the churches as seldom as possible. In countries like the Tyrol, where those ages may be considered as still in their course, the people generally assist at mass every morning, and at benediction every evening; and where such is the disposition of men's hearts, it cannot be expected that they should be universally acquainted with the precise minimum required by the church in regard to assistance in the public worship. Under such circumstances, the churches will be as full on festivals of devotion as on those of obligation; for as men are generally more consistent in regard to their feelings and affections than in their capacity of logicians, there can never be many who would voluntarily absent themselves on the purification, after having been present, through a sense of obligation, at the celebration of the nativity. However, as the circumstances of men's relations with society, and the innumerable perturbations of life, must have always operated in preventing many of the most fervent disciples from assisting daily at the divine mysteries, the term obligation was used to designate those greater festivals, at the celebration of which the Church required absolutely that every Christian should be present, unless prevented by sickness, or other unavoidable hindrance.

Sismondi, and other modern writers, have declaimed on what they call the absurdity of maintaining that by disobedience to this law, men incurred the penalty of mortal sin; but they do not consider the banner under which this is ordained: "If," says Louis of Blois, "you disdain any one of the observances of our holy religion, however slightly important they may be, and if you transgress them voluntarily, you are not a servant of Jesus Christ."* "And is it possible," asks Manzoni, "that the Christian who would voluntarily abstain from assisting at the sacred mysteries on a festival, could be one of the just, who live by faith? Is not such an act the most certain proof of his utter indifference for Christianity? and therefore, is not the justice of that sentence of the Church evident, which pronounces it to be a mortal sin?"† The groundlessness of the displeasure evinced by the moderns, with respect to ecclesiastical obligations in general, would be evident if they would consider, that with our ancestors things were ordained and instituted for persons who had faith, and not for the indifferent. To retain men in obedience to the Church, it

* Maxim. Taurin. § 43.
† Card. Bona, de Divin. Psal. xcviii.
‡ Walafried Strabo, de Rebus Ecclesiast. cap. 20.

* Guide Spirituelle, chap. 1.
† Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica.

was not a necessary condition that she should command nothing: nor was it received as a maxim, that the faithful were to be conformable to that multitude of persons who had practically ceased to believe in the mysteries of human redemption. The middle ages would have treated with contempt the doctrine of some of our philosophers, who affirm that, "in proportion as manners become corrupt, laws should be made weaker." "The Divine legislator of Christians," as Bonald well observes, "did not accommodate his laws to the inclinations of men, hut repaired their inclinations hy his laws. If he had not made his laws, 'more perfect than men then could bear,' what laws would he then have given to the men and women who are described hy Juvenal, Tacitus, Petronius, Suetonius, or Josephus, the last historian of the Jews? But it was not according to this modern principle that he considered man and society. Far from proposing to man weak laws, accomplices to his passions, or powerless witnesses of his disorders, he imposed them on him as a bridle, and opposed them as a barrier; 'perfecti estote.' 'Be ye perfect, as God himself is perfect.'"*

The observation of the first, instead of the seventh day, or Jewish Sabbath, originated in apostolic prescription, as we infer from its having heen universal in the first ages of the Church. It is true the early Fathers are found remarking with Clemens Alexandrinus, that the seventh was a sacred number, not only with the Hebrews, hut also with the Greeks; that Hesiod and Homer both speak repeatedly of the seventh sacred day, *ἕβδομον ἱερὸν ἦμαρ*. Callimachus also, in many verses, alluding to it—

ἑβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη,

and the Elegies of Solon also ascribing divinity to the seventh day.† St. Augustin,‡ and Martianus Capella,§ speak of the perfection of the seventh number, which is taken for universality in Scripture—"seven times falls the just man, seven times will I praise thee." Yet it is no less certain, that the substitution had been expressly and authoritatively made. Thus St. Justin Martyr, describing the assemhlies of the Christians, says, "We have chosen the Sunday as being the first day of the creation of the world, and that of the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord."* Accordingly, in ancient writers, the expression "Day of the Resurrection," is often used to signify the Sunday;† and in the Roman order, that of Pasch is applied to all Sundays in the year. Constantine made a law, ordaining that the Sunday should be celehrated throughout the Roman empire; and he extended it to the army, discharging soldiers from all military functions on that day. The Council of Laodicea renewed the order, prescrihing its observance to all who had it in their power, which allowed exceptions in case of necessity. An hundred years later, the Emperor Leo, hy an ordinance, forbade all judicial proceedings on that day, as also the amusements of the theatre, circus, and spectacles of wild beasts. All this was commanded to every subject on pain of incurring degradation and confiscation of property.‡ On Sundays and festivals, in order that the minds of the faithful should be occupied with the worship of God, it was expressly forhidden, both hy the civil and ecclesiastical power, through all the cities of the empire, to admit the people to any theatrical exhibitions.§

This discipline continued to prevail during the middle ages. "On the Lord's day," say the decrees collected hy Ives of Chartres, "nihil aliud agendum est, nisi Deo vacandum."‖ All the faithful were then required to assist at high mass at the hour of tierce.¶ St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, is related to have cured the infirmity of a man named Gildomer, at Essone, which had been visited upon him for having worked upon a Sunday.** In the time of St. Gregory of Tours, a servant in the diocese of Tours was thought to have been judicially punished by Divine Povidence for having worked at forming a hedge on a Sunday;†† and a rustic named Leodulphus, was also regarded as visited from heaven for having yoked his oxen on a Sunday during the time of harvest.‡‡ It is related also of St. Patrick, that he prevented certain heathens, in the north of Ireland, from working at a wall on a Sunday. In Bavaria, at the end of the seventh century, when Paganism still

* Du Divorce, 164. † Stromat. Lib. V. c. 14.
‡ De Civ. Dei, XI. 31. § Lib. VII.

* Apolog. 2.
† Mabillon in Vita S. Ruperti.
‡ Hist. des Fêtes de l'Eglise.
§ Cod. Theodos. L. XV. tit. 5. Just. III. 12. 7. Concil. Carthag. 401, c. 5.
‖ Decret. Pars IV. c. 13.
¶ Id. Pars II. de Missâ.
** Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XI. 143.
†† Miracula de B. Martini, cap. 29. ‡‡ Id. 44.

struggled against the influence of the Church, we find Duke Theodo, on being converted by the blessed Bishop Rupert, to whom he gave permission to choose any place for his Episcopal See, giving to the Church the tenth part of the salt, and the tenths of the tax levied upon the salt that was collected in the mines on the Lord's day.* Petrarch mentions having beheld at Naples, with astonishment and indignation, a detestable abuse, which had long resisted both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Rich men and nobles, as well as the plebeian inhabitants of that city, used to assemble on a certain plain called the Campo Carbonario, where sanguinary gladiatorial games were held on Sundays and festivals. All persons having been prohibited from attending under pain of excommunication, and the king, Charles III. having given the ground, the spot was solemnly blessed in his presence by Bartholomew, Vicar of the Neapolitan Church, and a temple erected, to which was added a new hospital for the poor.† "The Greeks and Romans," says a capitulary of St. Theodore of Canterbury, "do not on Sundays sail, or ride, or make bread, or mount in a chariot, unless to go to church. The Greeks," it adds, "do not write publicly, but for necessity they write privately at home."‡ It appears from Bede, that it was not allowed to use a carriage on Sundays; for Cuthbert, on entering the presence of Queen Ermantrude, said secretly to her (for it was Saturday), "Early on the second feria, mount your chariot (quia die Dominico curru ire non licet,) and hasten to the royal city."§ At Thoulouse, Rodès, and many other places, the gates of cities were closed on Sundays and festivals, to prevent the chariots of travellers from passing;‖ and the Fathers of the Council of Salzbourg, in the year 1456, seem to have desired a return to this discipline,¶ of which Mabillon finds traces in many synods of an earlier age.** Jean Molinet, recording an instance of the impiety of the people of Bruges, says that when the King of the Romans was confined in the Hostel of Ravestein, the workmen, losing all fear of God, continued to fortify the house during Sunday and the festival of St. Peter.* At Marienburg, the Teutonic knights were forbidden to profane Sundays and festivals by any work, or game for money; which latter, indeed, on no occasion, was permitted in the order.† Constantine had prescribed that markets should be held on Sunday; but against this practice Charlemagne issued a special law;‡ and Matthew Paris relates, that in the year 1200, the Pope sent preachers to various parts of the world, to enforce a stricter observance of the Sunday.—Amongst others, Eustace, Abbot of Flay, came into England, wrought divine miracles, and went from place to place, persuading the people to piety; and he so effectually prohibited markets on the Lord's day, that in all parts of England they were transferred to the Monday. In an ancient document in the archives of the Church of Ferrara, of the date of the seventh century, it is required that all work should be suspended on Sundays, from Saturday evening till Monday morning.§

On the other hand, the Church was so far from authorizing or approving of the Pharisaical strictness which induced the rabbinical writers to forbid any one to save another from fire on the Sabbath, or to kill an insect, that we find her, by the canons of the Council of Orleans, in the year 538, making it a subject of complaint, that some had persuaded the people that on Sundays it was not lawful to travel with horses or oxen in carriages, or to dress meat, or clean the house, or one's person. This council declares, that these observances are more Judaic than Christian, and confirms all the ancient prescriptions giving liberty, but it excepts the cultivation of the soil, which would prevent men from assisting in the church: and decrees, in nearly the same words, were enacted by the Council of Vienne in the year 755. It is a curious verification of a common maxim, when we find the French Parliament suppressing, as irreverent to the Divinity, a medal which had been struck by the city of Dijon, to commemorate the charity of Jacques de Frasans, its mayor, during the plague of 1639, on which was inscribed "Etiam in Septimo non licuit quiescere." The Church applauded what this assembly of Gallican magistrates condemned.

* Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 19.
† Italia Sacra. Tom. VI. 138.
‡ Theodori Cantuar. Archiep. Capit. apud. Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX.
§ In Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 27.
‖ Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. V. 231.
¶ Germania Sacra, II.
** Concil. III. Aurelian. can. 28.

* Chronic. III. 230.
† Voigt. Geschichte Marienburg, s. 198.
‡ Capit. CXL. § Italia Sacra, I. 525.

In common with Sundays, all the greater festivals were holidays of obligation, or days consecrated to God, in which, as the Council of Sens says, the faithful must abstain from all servile work: "nec vanitatibus aut voluptatibus occupentur;" but must apply themselves to the divine offices in the churches, and the people must be often thus admonished.* "True men, and fearing God, were to be stationed in the streets of cities and villages, and on the public ways, to exhort the negligent to repair to the church."† All servile work and judicial proceedings were to cease on the festivals, by decrees of the Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius.‡ On the Rogation days, we read in the Roman order, "that no one then must presume to ride on horseback, but that all must walk barefooted." The whole legislation, both civil and ecclesiastical, during the ages of faith, was directed to securing rest for the people on these great days of devotion, to enable them to conform to the spirit, and accomplish the object of the Church, in these institutions. If the holy councils declare that all days between Christmas and the Epiphany are festivals,§ the constitutions of emperors ordained that, in honour of the great solemnity, from the 20th of December till the 6th of January, all pleadings were to cease before the tribunals. It even appears that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, servile work and traffic were suspended during the whole of this interval;|| and by tho canons of the Council of Erfurt, in 932, it is forbidden to summon any one to plead in courts of justice seven days before Christmas, fifteen days before the Paschal time, and seven days before St. John; in order that every one may have means of going to the church, and of praying there. The same prohibition is extended to all who would constrain any Christian going to or returning from church, and require him to plead in the courts. If judicial acts were exercised upon a festival of obligation, they were void by the canon law.¶

In very laborious trades, the ancient law of France required the workmen to rest during twelve days after Christmas, twelve days after Easter, and twelve days after Whitsuntide.* The time for opening the parliament of Paris used to be after St. Martin and after Easter; and Duchesne gives this reason, that the first kings of France used to devote the spring of the year to fasting, hearing sermons, visiting prisoners, and other works proper for Lent: thus providing for the health of their souls: whereas the autumn was the season fit for hunting, and other exercises which ministered to the health of the body.† The old parliaments of Normandy used to break up on the Friday before Palm Sunday, and not meet again till the Monday after Quasimodo. In like manner, from the Friday before Pentecost till the Monday after Trinity, and from two days before Christmas till the day after the Epiphany, there was a cessation of all business.‡

It was especially enjoined by councils, that men and women servants, as well as all who are engaged in any labour, should have remission of their tasks, in order that the whole people might have equal opportunity of serving God.§ That the faith and devotion of the laity corresponded with the ecclesiastical and civil legislation in this respect, we have still, in England, an interesting proof in the custom of giving Christmas gifts; which presents to dependents were formerly repeated at all the great festivals, for they originated in the charity of masters, who desired that their servants and labourers might indulge their devotions, and fulfil their obligations, by devoting these seasons to the care of their souls, frequenting the sacraments, and assisting at the offices in the church, and at the same time involve their families in no injury by causing an interruption to their wages.

In the year 1245, was buried in Seelbieres, a monastery of Cisteaux, a pious seignior, de Romilly, who dwelt at Romilly-sur-Seine, of whom it is related in the charters of that abbey, that, during a time of great famine, assisting on Easter day at the divine office of this great solemnity, and seeing that the greatest part of the inhabitants were neither present at mass nor vespers, he inquired the reason of such conduct; when he was told that, urged by the extreme necessity of the famine, they had been constrained to go

* Concil. Senonens. act. iv. cap. I, 1460.
† Ivonis Carnot. Decret. Pars VI. 310.
‡ In L. Omnes, L. VII. de Feriis, Lib. III. c. tit. 12.
§ Concil. Turon. XII. c. 16.
|| Hist. des Fêtes de l'Eglise.
¶ Joan. Devoti Institut. Canonic. II. V. I.

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, III.
† Antiquitéz des Villes de France, I. 227.
‡ Coutumes du Pays et Duché de Normandie.
§ Concil. Aurelian, I. c. 27.

into the neighbouring places to beg alms. He was greatly affected at this, on two accounts: first, that this day should be profaned; and secondly, that the poor should suffer such distress. Therefore, that they might never again be obliged to leave the church on Easter day to beg bread, he gave the tenths of Romilly, which were in his possession, to the Abbey of Seelbiers, on condition that every Easter Sunday the monks should distribute bread to each of the inhabitants of Romilly, so that no one should receive less than four or five pounds of the best white bread, but the poorest were to have seven or eight pounds; which distribution continued to be made till the general overthrow of the ancient institutions in France. In like manner, in the Church of St. Magdalen, at Troyes, every Sunday in the year, the poor, who were called by rote one after the other, used to receive a similar allowance after high mass, in pursuance of the foundation of Nicolas Faï and Isabella his wife, in 1534.*

With regard to the ecclesiastical observance, let us pause here to remark the wisdom and admirable fitness of the institution of octaves, or the setting apart eight days during which the mystery of the festival continued to be commemorated. "We shall rejoice during seven days," says Hugo de St. Victor, "and on the eighth we shall terminate the solemnity."†

Mary Magdalen remained at the sepulchre even after the disciples had departed; still she stood there weeping. Then we read she stooped, and looked into the sepulchre. "Certainly," says St. Gregory, "she had before seen that it was empty; she had before announced that the body of the Lord had been taken away. What is this, then, that she should again stoop down and look in? 'Sed amanti semel aspexisse non sufficit.‡'"

So was it with the faithful people on the yearly commemorations of the Church during the middle ages. For them it was not enough to have looked but once: they remained at the sepulchre. Again, our Lord, after his passion, continued with his disciples during forty days, speaking concerning the kingdom of God. Accordingly, it was most natural that, in subsequent ages, when his resurrection was commemorated, men should desire to delay for some time in the contemplation of such a solemnity: they continued, therefore, in assembly, apart from the world, consoling and confirming each other in the supernatural life of faith, joining in melodious songs, bidding the Queen of Heaven rejoice, and inviting the sons and daughters of men to contemplate every minute circumstance which attended the triumph of the celestial King, the King of Glory. During these six most holy days which followed the Paschal solemnities, let no man, says one council, dare to perform any servile work, but let all together united, indulging in hymns, demonstrate the ardour of their perseverance in daily sacrifices.* Let the whole week, from the day of the resurrection till the next Sunday, says another council, be spent in the churches in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, offered up in gratitude to Christ, and in attention to the holy Scriptures and to the celebration of the divine mysteries; and let no one, during those days, seek any other spectacle.† "We prescribe," say the Fathers of the Council of Mayence, in the year 813, "that, during the Paschal week, all works should cease, although, after the fifth feria, it shall be lawful to plow or sow, or dress vines."‡ During the entire octave, the Paschal offices were celebrated with the same splendour as on the day of the resurrection. "Paschalis dies," says Amalarius, bishop of Metz, who flourished in the beginning of the ninth century, "qui per septem dies quasi unus dies celebratur."§

In places of decline and desolation, when a mutilation of these solemnities had become indispensable, there are affecting proofs of the regret with which they were abandoned. Rising out of the ruins of Paestum and of Capaccio, which latter city had been built from the ruins of the former, and destroyed by Frederic II. in the year 1244, when the Count of Capaccio sided with Innocent IV., stands an ancient and noble Basilica, whose walls are formed with the antique marbles of Paestum. The sacred vessels and vestments of this church are preserved in the Church of St. Peter of Capaccio, the bishop and canons having been dispensed from residence on the destruction of the city, the see being virtually transferred to Diana, and the canons dispersed through various towns

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 354.
† Instit. Monast. Serm. XXXI.
‡ Hom. XXV. in. Evang.

* Concil. Matisc. II. c. 2.
† Concil. Trullan. c. 66.
‡ C. 36.
§ Lib. de Ord. Antiphonarii.

of the diocese, by command of Sixtus V., who assigns for reason that the city and all the buildings, both public and private, had fallen to decay; that the atmosphere was pernicious; that the roads leading to it were infested by robbers and other wicked meu, who concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods in order to attack strangers; and that the whole place had become depopulated and uninhabitable. There remained in the cathedral only one priest and a sacristan. Nevertheless the bishop and canons were bound to repair thither on Easter Monday, in order to celebrate with solemnity there, as also in the ancient cathedral of Paestum, mass and vespers.* In the last century, also, we find Francis Xavier Foutana, bishop of Campagna, instituting in his cathedral a solemn celebration of the divine mysteries and offices on tho same second festival of the resurrection.

This protraction of festivals seems to the moderns to have been only a reckless waste of time, and an unreasonable suspension of the ordinary course of domestic and social occupations; but to the men of the middle ages, who cultivated logical heads and affectionate hearts, a festival of twelve hours to commemorate any of the great mysteries of the Christian faith would havo been deemed either too much or too little. Preserving with admirable tact consistency in every thing relative to the intellectual order, they would not have asked permission to commemorate the foundation of their faith, unless they could have celebrated it in a manner suitable to the affections and necessities of human nature. Philosophers, who set no value upon Christian traditions and the primitive ceremonies of faith, may disapprove of all commemorative festivals; but, if they feel the advantage or necessity of retaining those of the Catholic Church, they cannot with justice censure those who would have retained the spirit as well as the form of these institutions. It cannot be injudicious, or even useless, to ponder upon a theme so noble, so inspiring, as the proofs of the mysteries of our faith. That cannot be an abuse which serves as a permission or an invitation to devote a considerable interval of time to such an exercise. Certainly it is not superstition to love such indulgence, or to linger with a Virgilian earnestness around the scenes and symbols which exalt the soul with the hopes of an immortal existence:—

"Nec vidisse semel satis est; juvat usque morari."

In fact, as the Church unquestionably intended these anniversaries to excite emotions corresponding, if not equal, to those which would have been caused by witnessing the real event, thore was no other course to adopt, but to order the protraction of the solemnity during a certain number of successive days; for the men whom the Church had to conduct in the middle ages, whether you consider them of an heroic or of a selfish type, were at all events, in an intense degree, idealists: they valued a conviction infinitely more than any other possession that tho glory or industry of the world could procure them; consequently, they were not to be invited one day to commemorate the resurrection of their Lord—tho pledge of their own resurrection, and to be told on the next that they might resume their usual occupations, as if no such appeal had been made either to their generous fidelity or to their interested egotism.

The moderns, who regard Christianity as a mere opinion of philosophy, may argue against the observance of any commemoration or external development of faith; but they cannot with justice condemn the pastors of the Church, who kuew it to consist in a series of facts, for having been consistent in permitting their own principles to produce their natural results; nor can any Christians call upon them for a mutilation or curtailment of these great anniversaries, without betraying something worse than a profound ignorance of human nature, as well as a very erroneous conception of the original idea which presided over the arrangement of the ecclesiastical year.

These observations, however, could only apply to the greater festivals; for with respect to ethers, there was no octave attached to the festival of any martyr but St. Lawrence, nor to that of any confessor excepting to that of St. Martin.*

It was not merely assistance at the divine mysteries that sufficed upon the great festivals. It was necessary to repair to the public assemblies of the faithful in churches. In the time of St. Augustin, priests were prohibited from admitting any one to private masses on festivals; and this prohibition was repeated in the year 781 by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans. By a council held in the same city in 511, it was ordered that no one

* Italia Sacra, VII. 465.

* Durand. Rationale, Lib. VII. 37.

should celebrate Easter in the country; and the Council of Paris, in 824, enjoins npon kings and nobles that they should not, on days of festival, assist at the office in the chapels of palaces. Indeed it was always forbidden to celebrate mass in domestic chapels on any of the great festivals, unless in time of war, when it wonld be dangerous to leave the walls.* They who were present at the sacred mysteries on festivals, were always fasting from food and drink. An ancient author, in the time of St. Walaric, says, "There were two brethreu, who came to him on the festival of the blessed Martin, to whom he said in reproach, 'I wonder that you should have presumed to drink before the solemnity of mass.' They, confessing their fault, demanded pardon, and promised to amend for the future:" and a council even forbids priests and deacons, and subdeacons, after food and drink, "in ecclesia dum missæ dicuntur stare."†

Here I would invite the reader to consider for a moment how a thousand popular customs connected with the festivals of religion conduced to give a tone of sanctity and to impart a kind of poetic charm to domestic life. The doctrines of faith, during the middle ages, are all presented under the light of facts, than which no human events were more real. Thus, during the time of All Sonls, it was the custom, as in Italy at present, for every one to appear in mourning. When that ghostly era arrives, a devont mnltitude leaves every city, and repairs to the holy field of the dead, bearing lighted torches, to assist at the benediction there given solemnly. The poor, the lame, and the blind, meekly and in silence, line the ways, and alms are largely given to them. After the office, each family visits its ancestral tomb, and prays for the souls of its members departed. Ah me! what tears then stream forth at the awakened memory of the pious son, the affectionate sister, the faithful brother, the revered parent, and of the angelic spouse! All that night the bells of the churches and monasteries send forth a solemn peal. In some places, as at Bayeux, in consequence of the affluence of the people, there was the fair of the dead.‡ During the whole of Lent, spectacles of amnsement ceased, and all splendid attire was laid aside, to be resumed only at the Paschal festival.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, XIII. 169.
† Concil. Antissiod. can. 19. § 5.
‡ Pluquet Essais Hist. sur Bayeux, ch 28.

Signs of joyful affection were mutually given on the great anniversaries. On Easter day, the holy father at Rome, before celebrating mass, kisses the cardinals, prelates, and others of his household, saying, as he salutes them, "Surrexit Dominus vere;" to which they reply, "Et apparuit Simoni," and this custom became general among the faithful.* Pope Pius V. indeed found it necessary to signify among abuses a custom of jocularity at Easter in the very church, which gave rise to the expression, "Risus, or fabula Paschalis."

The term Pasch indeed came to signify every joyful feast; so that, even in the Roman order, we read of the Pasch of the Epiphany, the Pasch of Pentecost.

At Paris it was the custom for the silversmiths to provide the most costly service of plate for the banquet given to the sick poor in the Hostel Dieu on Easter day.† In holy week, princes ordained that prisons should be opened, and pardon granted to criminals, and insolvent debtors discharged. St. Chrysostom says, that the Emperor Theodosius sent letters of remission to the cities for the days preceding Easter,‡ a custom which was observed by his successors, who, as St. Leo the Great says, made the altitude of their power stoop in honour of the passion and resurrection of Christ, and tempered the severity of their laws during the days on which the world was redeemed, in order to imitate the divine mercy.§ In France, in the seventh century, this custom was also in force. Snbseqnently, the same indulgence was granted on the days preceding Christmas and Whitsuntide. "Le Roy de l'Aumône" was a popular festivity instituted in the ninth century, in commemoration of the liberalities of Boson, king of Burgundy. Every year, after high mass on Easter Monday, the magistrates used to declare the name of the citizen that best deserved to be proclaimed "King of Alms." The king elect (and what earthly king onght not to have envied him?) was then crowned, and condncted to the prison, where he had the privilege of delivering two prisoners. Then he made a solemn distribution of the royal alms; after which, a public dinner closed the festivities.

Who can describe the grandeur of that triumphant march on Palm Sunday, when

* Durandus Rationale, Lib. VI. c. 86.
† Du Chesne, Antiquitéz des Villes de France, I. 82. ‡ Homil. in Magn. Hebdom. § Ser. 39.

the aisles of churches, and even the streets of cities, seem a moving wood?

In Spain it is a custom in schools for the scholars to gather the palms, and form them into a variety of beautiful shapes, representing churches and castles, on each of which is a cross and an image of our Saviour. The boy who has gained the prize at examination, is then appointed to precede the rest, and the students in a body form a part of the public solemn procession. On the same day, the clergy of Nôtre Dame, in Paris, used to make a station before the prison of the Petit Chatelet, while the ecclesiastic who was first in dignity entered the prison and delivered a prisoner, who then followed them into the choir of the metropolitan church.*

We find Honorius II. granting, in the year 1217, to Fulco, bishop of Paris, and to his successors, the right of proceeding in the procession on Palm Sunday and on Easter Monday, mounted on a white horse.†

At Florence, the family of the Pazzi had the privilege of appointing one of its members to kindle the new fire on Holy Saturday in the church, in commemoration of the heroic piety of a knight of that family who followed Godfrey of Bouillon to Jerusalem, from which he brought back sacred fire.‡

The answer recorded of the blessed Benedict may have been the origin of using the word "Pasch," to signify any happy event,§ as in France the word "noël," or "requies dei," which denoted Christmas, was become, as every one knows, the common cry of popular rejoicing. At Rheims, the children of the choir used to be dressed to represent angels appearing to the shepherds. Birds were let to fly loose in the church, to represent the liberty which men were to enjoy when delivered from the slavery of the demon by the birth of our Saviour.‖

The nativity of our Lord was associated with a multitude of incidents which rendered it peculiarly dear to the imagination of the people:—

"And well our Christian sires of old,
Loved, when the year its course had roll'd,
And brought blithe Christmas back again,
With all his hospitable train:
Domestic and religious rite
Gave honour to the holy night.
On Christmas nights the bells were rung;
On Christmas night the mass was sung;
That only night in all the year
Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear.
Then open'd wide the baron's hall
To vassal, tenant, serf and all:
All hail'd with uncontroll'd delight,
And general voice, the happy night,
That to the cottage or the crown
Brought tidings of salvation down."

Stephen Pasquier mentions that it was the custom in his youth, every evening all through Advent, to sing carols in honour of our Saviour.* During that season, in England, the waits, while all other men took their rest, wandered singing hymns in the streets; and on the blessed night, every one kept watch like the shepherds, while minstrels chanted Christmas carols, the simplicity and tenderness of which were sometimes admirable, as in the verse,—

"He neither shall be born
In housen nor in hall,
Nor in the place of Paradise,
But in an ox's stall;
He neither shall be rock'd
In silver nor in gold,
But in a wooden cradle,
That rocks on the mould."

In these ancient carols the people of each town or village used to be represented making the offering of whatever best object they possessed to the infant Saviour and the blessed Mary. Thus, in the "Noël," published by Lebeuf, beginning with "Les Bourgeoises de Chartres," the author represents the inhabitants of Chartres, Montlhéry, and other villages, coming to the stable of Bethlehem and making their offerings:—

"Vous eussiez vu venir tous ceux de saint Yon,
Et ceux de Bretigny apportant du poisson:
Les barbeaux et gardons, anguilles et carpettes,
Etoient à bon marché, et aussi les perchettes."†

The history of the Magi and of the Shepherds had charmed the winter evenings of every family. The Pilgrim and the Red Cross Knight had given their moving commentary, and described what traces they had beheld in Palestine of that pious journey. Then, when these romantic recitals had enchanted many a young head, the night would bring with it blessed dreams of bright angels balancing above the cradle, with their blue wings and golden hair, and robe white as the snow. The long desired hour at last arrived, and the church opened

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. IV. † Italia Sacra, I. 1098.
‡ Id. III. 87.
§ Mabilonii, vet. Analet. 407.
‖ Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. IV. 1 C5

* Recherche de la France, Lib. III. 16.
† Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XI. 289.

her indulgences for those who assisted at the mass of midnight. What an impressive thing then to behold cities awakened and rising up, like one man, to hasten thither! What an impressive thing to behold, assembled in the church, the wild throng of those eternal wanderers, half astronomers, half sorcerers, (for the terror they inspired was not confined to Briè)* the shepherds of the plains of Languedoc, of the Cevennes, of the Pyrenees, those who in Estramadura, Navarre, and Arragon, with no other companions but the stars in their solitude, perpetuate the Asiatic life, the life of Lot and Abraham, those whom we find in Italy also, clad in the skins of beasts, carrying nothing with them but their rustic instruments of music, on the Apennines, the plains of Apulia, and over the Campagna of Rome, walking in all the liberty of the antique world! These now were objects of edification in the churches, and of wonder as they strayed along the streets of Rome, Madrid, Toulouse, and Barcelona. Every where, over the obscure plains, along the ocean shores, amidst forests and mountains, glared the torch of the nocturnal pilgrim, who made his way murmuring the names of Jesus and Mary. On that blessed night, all the churches in Christendom, from the Basilica of St. Mary Major, to the Chapel of the Poor Hermit in the Wilderness, united their voices to repeat the joyful "Alleluja Christus natus est nobis," and the song that so moves the soul—"Venite adoremus." A thousand local and incidental charms were often added, according to the tender piety of the people. St. Francis, on one occasion, being near the town of Grecio celebrated the festival of the Nativity within an ancient portico, in a stable, in which were an ox and an ass, and figures representing our Lord and his blessed mother and Joseph. The friars were more numerous than the inhabitants of the place; but the peasants of the neighbourhood came thither with pipes and rustic instruments, on which they played before the stable, so that all night long the surrounding mountains resounded with their harmony. It was on this night that St. Francis, after the gospel, preaching to the people, was unable through tenderness to pronounce the adorable name, and spoke of the Infant of Bethlehem. An effect of this night was the conversion of John de Grecio, who renounced chivalry and the pomps of the world, to take up his cross with Francis.* It is worthy of remark that even the infidels in Pagan lands, and the wild race of outcasts who wander over Europe, are moved by a certain vague traditionary or instinctive reverence for that night. It is said that multitudes of the tribe entitled Bohemians, or gipsies, assemble every year, on Christmas eve, on Salisbury Plain. St. Augustin had remarked this phenomenon, and had observed that "the celebrity of the Paschal vigil throughout the whole world compelled those to watch in flesh, who in heart, I do not say," he cries, "sleep, but are buried in Tartarean impiety. Therefore," he continues, "we are admonished even by our enemies unintentionally, how we should watch for ourselves, when, on account of us, they who envy us watch. For of those who have never been consigned under the name of Christ, there are many who, on that night, cannot sleep—some through grief, others through shame; others again who begin to approach towards faith, and who are prevented from sleeping by the fear of God."† But while this continues true, intolerance or cowardice, in modern times, have availed themselves of the scoffs of heresy to deprive a Christian people of a happiness which the Turks do not refuse to the Catholics of Constantinople.

The moderns seem to regard Christmas night as the most perilous of all those in the year, and the most distempered. In the middle ages it was thought that the nights were at that season wholesome, and that nothing had power to harm, so holy and so blessed was the time. Then were associated in the imagination of youth the sacred solemnities of the Church, her bright altars, and her saintly crowd of faithful adorers, with rides through forests resounding to the roar of famished wolves, and the crossing of midnight torrents. It was the contrast of communion and desolation—of heaven and earth. Thus we read in the Spiritual Voyage of Dom John de Palafox, bishop of Osma, which is the fruit of a curate's meditation on the night of Christmas, previous to singing matins:—"Then we walked over mountains covered with snow, and through fearful rocks; and the darkness of the night often prevented me from seeing my guide. And I said, 'Alas! my good angel, what roads are

* Le P. le Brun, Hist. de Superstition, Tom. I. 308.

* Les Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, Lib. I. c. 95.

† § 219, in Vigil. Pasch.

these? The night which was so delightful to me in the stable where our Lord reposed, is now become very terrible,' "—a symbolic expression of a general truth; for when one turns from the church and the altar to the naked world over which the blight of incredulity has passed, one feels like Adam when about to leave Paradise,—

———— "All places else
Inhospitable appear, and desolate,
Not knowing us, nor known."

Well, indeed, might the church appear a delightful place on that blessed night, when the altar, illuminated with a sudden splendour, proclaimed in symbol the happy day which had risen upon the world. Nothing was even wanting that could add majesty to the solemn scene in the estimation of men of secular minds. Emperors and kings claimed as their privilege the honour of reading the Seventh Lesson, which records the decree of Cæsar Augustus.

Nor did poetry and art, and the domestic muse, derive less advantage from the other festivals of the year. That of Corpus Christi was an occasion of adorning the exterior walls of houses with beautiful paintings and imagery. The streets of populous cities were made fragrant with odoriferous shrubs, while the eye was refreshed with leaves and garlands, and mingled rain of herbs and flowers; and every domestic heirloom of rare and costly device was brought forth to hail the passage of the King of Heaven. The margins of rivers, the sloping lawns, and the plains of waving corn that undulated like a mighty sea under the western breeze, now wondered at the unaccustomed brightness of the cross and banners, and at the melodious chants of men who, instead of wandering over the earth like a race cursed of heaven to pursue its innocent creatures, now, like angels mild, walked in peace with nature.

Thus every where in this nether world, as formerly in Paradise, the descendants of Adam could frequent with worship, place by place, where God vouchsafed presence divine, and among their earthly dwellings seek his bright appearances.

With respect to the popular festivals associated with those of the Church, and perpetuated by the general attachment of the people, if on the page of history they should seem absurd and indecorous, men should consider how many things they are themselves in habits of witnessing without surprise or offence, which if coldly described in future ages, will most certainly appear in a supreme degree ridiculous.

In the middle ages, as Michelet beautifully observes, the Church and people were the same thing as mother and child. Both were void of distrust: the mother wished to suffice to her child. She accepted him without reserve. The Church did not grow angry at the popular dramas attached to some of her high festivals. She allowed even the beast as well as the man to be re-established. The humble witness of our Saviour's birth, the faithful animal whose breath warmed him an infant in the manger, who bore him with his mother into Egypt, who led him triumphant into Jerusalem, had also part in the joy. Why should one blush for him? The Saviour was not ashamed of him. In later days, indeed, the Church was obliged to impose silence on the people; but in the first centuries of the middle ages, what harm was there in all that? Who does not love that trait in the character of the blessed Francis, when he so ingeniously seeks some reason in the history of the sacred event commemorated, for imparting to all the creatures a share in the joy of the Christian festival? "Omnis creaturæ aliquid habet homo," was the remark of Gregory the Great; and, independent of that consideration, to judge by the love and tenderness, and even the kind of respect, evinced for all animals during the middle ages, one might suppose that men had concluded, from the words of the apostle, that the benefits of the Christian mysteries were not confined to the creatures who participated in the intelligence of angels.

The puerile solemnities on the festival of St. Nicholas, of the boy bishop, though prohibited so early as in the year 1274, by the synod and bishop of Salzbourg,* were, after all, an innocent, and even perhaps frequently an edifying usage. On the eve of the Holy Innocents, the child bishop and his youthful clergy, in little copes, and with burning tapers in their hands, went in procession, chanting versicles, made some prayers before the altar, and sung complin. By the statute of Sarum, no one was to interrupt or press upon the children during their procession or service in the cathedral, upon pain of anathema. This ceremony existed, not only in collegiate churches, but in almost every parish. It is supposed that the anniversary montem

* Germ. Sacra, II. 378.

at Eton, which used to be celebrated in winter, is only a corruption of this ceremory, which for once at least, deserves a dignity in history, from having been suppressed by the edict of Henry VIII.

At the procession of Michaelmas, in honour of St. Michael, made by a confraternity at Paris, there used to be a representation of angels and demons, and Monteil remarks that a salutary effect was produced upon the surrounding multitude, by the spectacle of the great balance, which St. Michael slowly agitated with a solemn noise. The festival of St. Martin was an occasion of rejoicing to the poorest and most obscure class of society; for on that day was chosen Le Roy des Guêtifs, or king of the mendicants, who was allowed a revenue from the authorities of each town, raised on the markets, in order to hold his court and public diversion which was repeated on the first day of the year.*

On the eve of every festival, the inhabitants of each parish would vie with each other in bringing the most beautiful flowers and the richest vases to adorn the altar of their church; so that even in the beauteous garniture of the sanctuary one beheld an emblem of unity and faith. Fires flamed on all the hills on the eve of St. John, to commemorate, as Durandus says, "the precursor, who was a burning and a shining light."† For still was fulfilling the prediction of the angel, "Et multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt."‡ Cities had recourse to the same emblem on this occasion. The fire in the Place de Grève, at Paris, used to be lighted solemnly by the governor of Paris; and sometimes even the king, accompanied by the princes and all the principal magistrates of the city, would take torches, and light it with their own hands.§ To the poet, however, the solemn woods and the bald top of desolate mountains would seem a more appropriate scene for this wild but touching manifestation of a general feeling, which recalls the simple enjoyments of the primæval world:—

"Interea, quod sylva glabra est, quod cespite vertex
Decalvato horret; damna, sed apta, puto.
Nocturnos nam hic ipse locus magè quadrat ad ignes.
Nempe, suis semper sunt bona juncta malis!
Huc, cantus studiosa cohors, pueri atque puelæ,
Scandite! pacificos et glomerate choros:
At prius, ædificate pyram. Trahe pinea tecum,
Tu Virgo! trahe tu robora querna puer!
Arida mox, spatiis interlucentibus, igni
Nutrimenta date. Stridat in alta rogus!"*

At Florence, on St. John's eve, the exterior of the vast cathedral, and of the baptistery adjoining, are illuminated at the expense of a confraternity of pious laymen; and the poor mariners on the Adriatic behold the illuminated dome of Loretto glittering on the mountains during the night of our blessed Lady's festival.

Lo, what a contrast between the two societies, however minute may be the detail in which we investigate them! The moderns illuminate their cities for victories in the senate or the field; Catholics, on the festivals of the martyrs. The one for an earthly and sanguinary, the other for a heavenly joy; the one for some party triumph, the other for a universal benefit: for in the strict sense of the term, Catholic is even the very rejoicing of a Catholic population. Nevertheless it is too true that some of these ancient popular customs associated with the religious festivals were far from being in unison with the spirit and object of the Church in their institution. The Church prepares her children for the penitential exercises of Lent by gradual abstinence, in which she was followed by multitudes during the middle ages.† Nevertheless we find St. Chrysostom speaking of persons who provide against the approach of Lent with feasting, as a city makes provision in the advance of an enemy. The Church, in subsequent ages, had to deplore the excesses of the Carnival, and to recur to her most affecting solemnities, in order to win the frail and wavering combatants of the cross from succumbing to the infectious spectacle of vanity which the world then presented to them with more than ordinary attractions.

It appears that the Christians used to feast in their houses on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the time of St. Ambrose;‡ and that it was a general practice on the festivals, may be learned from St. Jerome.§ St. Bernard alludes to this custom without censure. "You know, brethren, that it is the custom of seculars to prepare a feast on days of festival; and the greater the solemnity, the more splendidly do they feast."‖ He might have

* Marchangy, Tristan, V. 40.
† Rationale, Lib. VII. c. 19. ‡ Luc. I. 14.
§ Duchesne, Antiquitéz des Villes de France, Tom I. 62.

* Joan. Biselii, Deliciæ Æstatis, Lib. I. Eleg. 24. Ignes Joannæi.
† Maximus Tourenensis Hom. in die Cinerum.
‡ S. Ambrosi, Serm. LXVII. § Epist. XXIII.
‖ S. Bernardi in Festo Omnium. Sanctorum. Serm. I.

even appealed to the monastic discipline; for on Christmas-day, and the three feasts of Easter, the use of fowl was permitted to the Benedictine monks of Monte Casino,* as Paul the Deacon observes in his Epistle to King Charles, son of Pepin, which is inserted in the chronicles of that house: and it is expressly mentioned that the two silver gilt cups, which had been given to the monks of that house by Robert Guiscard, were used by them in the refectory on the principal festivals.† But by degrees, the door of abuse being once open, grievous scandal was introduced from the anticipation of the festival, in such a manner as to interfere with the vigil, and also from the intemperance of the dissolute. The vigil of Christmas was most solemn, and the Church regarded its violation as a most serious offence; and equally repugnant to all her desires, was the dedication of the night of Christmas to excess and intemperance.—We remarked in a former book, that by the rules of fraternities of workmen, playing cards on the vigil of Christmas subjected offenders to be banished from the society.—During the middle ages, men were not left in doubt whether they might not confine their Christmas visits to the stalls of those that ply the slaughterer's trade, according to the practice of that flesh-devouring people, who, like the idolatrous race near Mount Libanus, might wear the image of an ox to represent their Deity, from its being, as they say, with beef that he sustains them.

Dom Gervaise, abbot of La Trappe, in his life of Suger, is greatly amazed that so wise an abbot should have ordained a feast, and a full banquet for the monks, upon the day of his own future anniversary. Abeilard too had raised his voice against this mode of paying honour to days of particular devotion. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in speaking of the Epiphany, had exhorted the people to celebrate that great day, not with feasts for the body, but with a holy joy.‡ St. Jerome also says, that such a mode of honouring the festivals of the martyrs was ridiculous;§ and St. Augustin inveighed against the same abuse, reminding the people that they ought rather to imitate the moderation and abstinence of the martyrs.‖

"Alas! wretched and insane lovers of the world!" exclaims Thomas à Kempis, "who pervert the festivals of Christ, and the honours of the saints, to banquets of gluttony and merriment! Woe to you who desert Jesus, offend the angels, and gladden demons"* Walafried Strabo mentions the custom of consecrating a lamb at Easter, which had come down from the Jews, and which still prevails in Poland; and he objects to it as a superstition, thinking that the shadow ought to be abolished, and not blessed, when we have been vouchsafed the reality:† and at the time of the festival of the circumcision, it was usual with the Romans to make presents, and to indulge in various entertainments. The Christians held these in horror. "The Pagans," says St. Augustin, "give presents; you give alms to the poor. They listen to licentious songs; you go to hear the holy homilies of your pastors. They run to the theatre; you hasten to church. They get drunk; do you fast or make a frugal meal." The faithful were forbidden to give etrennes, or new-year's gifts, in order to avoid the superstition of the Pagans. It was even made a day of fasting and penance, to contrast with the excesses of the calends of January; but as the Church was not able wholly to suppress the ancient habit, after abolishing the more gross abuses of the calends, she abrogated in the eighth century, the fasts which had been prescribed for the beginning of the year, and only exhorted the faithful to make their presents to the poor instead of their private friends. The drawing lots on the Epiphany to elect a king, is a remnant of the Pagan superstition observed in the world, which ecclesiastical writers have censured, without being able to suppress it. St. Ambrose reproves the people for continuing to observe with Gentiles the calends of January at the Epiphany. "One thing," says the holy bishop," is the order of eternal life; another the desperation of temporal lasciviousness. How can you religiously observe the Epiphany of our Lord when you devoutly celebrate the calends? for Janus was a man, the founder of a city, now called Janiculum, in whose honour the calends of January were instituted by the Gentiles: therefore he sins who pays divine honour to a dead man. Brethren, let us shun every festivity of the Gentiles, that when they feast we may fast; and in like manner, let us avoid all conversation with the Jews, which is a great pollution."‡

* Capit. Aquisgrav. LXIX.
† Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. III. c. 58.
‡ Lib. III. § Epist. XIX.
‖ De Pœn. Medic.

* Sermonum III. Pars 10.
† De Reb. Ecclesiast. cap. 28. ‡ Serm. XVII.

Let us move onwards—lamenting only, and with upraised hands—wondering, in conclusion, at the insensibility and oblivion of so many persons in later times, who at such seasons, withdraw themselves from cities and solemn churches, to enjoy rustic sports and luxurious banquets at their feudal retreats, and study only where they well may dine: who thus, not only as Christians, in a spiritual and mystic sense, but as men, in relation to the highest privilege of genius, may be said, when heaven opens, to gloat with fond eyes still upon the earth; and literally, like the degenerate Esau, for a mess of pottage to exchange their birthright.

CHAPTER VIII.

SO far we have considered, as it were externally, the festivals of the Catholic Church. Let us now penetrate more into their interior sense, and proceed to inquire with what mind the faithful assisted at their celebration, during the ages of which we are attempting the moral history.

In the first place, they were evidently received, not as secular, but as religious festivals; they were seasons set apart for the cultivation of holy affections, of the pure, spiritual, interior life, and for the consequent exaltation of the true dignity of our nature. In the language and manners of our ancestors, we can see what it was to comply with the desire of the Church, to breathe after the nativity of Christ, to feed and drink of that celestial mystery.† It was not enough to suspend manual labour; but the affections, acts, and conversation, were all to correspond with the character of fervent, that is, sincere disciples. To spend festivals in games and diversions, was prohibited by the first Council of Toledo, and by that of Tarragona, as also by the constitution of St. Louis; which prohibitions were repeated in France under Henry II. in 1547. Moreover, men were advised to seek solitude on the festivals; for the secular conversation of persons following the discipline of the world, would render it almost impossible for the soul to retain the graces and recollections which had been inspired by the ceremonies of faith. It was far from his own, far from his mother, far from the three great apostles, his most intimate friends, that Jesus persevered during those three long hours, in that lengthened prayer, "Eundem sermonem dicens."

Petrarch makes a remark of this nature, in reply to a letter of Barbatus de Salmone, who lamented that he had not found him at Rome, when he went there to join the jubilee—"You speak of our not meeting at Rome," writes Petrarch, "as a misfortune: I hold it to have been providential. If we had met in that great city, we should have been more occupied with the arts and sciences than with our souls; and should have sought to ornament our understandings rather than to purify our hearts. The sciences are most agreeable food for the mind; but what a void do they leave in the heart, if they are not directed to their true and perfect end!"

It was the opinion of St. Francis de Sales, who was so remarkable for a constant cheerfulness, that on Sundays and festivals one ought not even to speak of temporal affairs.* On those days Tertullian requires men to avoid all habit and office of anxiety.† On occasion of a dispute between two monks at Cluni, St. Odo, the second abbot, is recorded to have spoken as follows. "Dominicus est, ideo nullus contristari debet, et ideo ista discussio suspendatur in crastinum."‡

It was expected that the laity should meditate on the mystery of the season. "It is not sufficient that you hear divine lessons

† Post Com. for the Vigil of Christmas.

* Marsollier vie de Mde. de Chantal. I. 150.
† De Orat. c. 23. ‡ Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 40.

in the church," says St. Cæsarius of Arles, "but you must yourselves read them, or hear them read, in your houses."* Thus Stephen Pasquier, in a letter to the curate of his parish, says, "As Christmas approaches, I have been reading over the four Evangelists, with diligence and devotion."† St. Bernard requires the people to have erudition in their acquaintance with the festivals. "Perhaps," saith he, "the meaning of this word Advent, so celebrated throughout the world, may not be known to many; for the unhappy sons of Adam, omitting true and salutary studies, pursue rather those that are perishable and transitory."‡

From St. Bonaventura's remarks on the ascension, we may form a correct idea of the influence which was produced on the minds of men by the festivals of the Church. "O what was it to behold the Lord thus gloriously ascending! O what would it be if any one could see and hear those most blessed spirits and holy souls ascending up with him! Perchance through joy the soul would be separated from the body, and would ascend also along with them! Never, from the beginning of the world, was there such a festival in the heavenly Jerusalem, nor will there ever be again one so solemn until the day of judgment, when all the elect will be presented there with their glorious bodies. Therefore does this solemnity surpass all others. Examine them all, and judge if it be not so. A great and solemn festival is indeed the incarnation of our Lord, and the beginning of all our good. But this regards ourselves, and not him. (Mark how the moral philosophy of the middle ages breaks out here.) A great feast is his nativity, but it only regards ourselves: for it is a subject of compassion as far as regards him, because he was born to poverty, and labours, and sufferings. A great festival is that of his passion, because then all our sins were wiped away; and, as blessed Gregory says, it would have served us nothing to have been born, if we had not been redeemed. But this was a subject of joy to us, and not to him who endured such bitter torments. Moreover, a great and solemn feast is the resurrection of our Lord Jesus, as well for him as for us, because he appeared to triumph gloriously, and we were justified; and therefore the Church celebrated it with that singular exclamation of 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus.' And yet this day of the ascension is still greater, because before it, though our Lord rose from the grave, yet did he remain on earth; still were the gates of Paradise closed, still the holy fathers had not gone to the Father: all which things were completed in the ascension—without which all the rest had been imperfect. Similarly, a great feast is the day of Pentecost; but still, the object of rejoicing then regards ourselves, and not our Lord. But the ascension is properly the most solemn festival of our Lord Jesus, because on that day he began to sit at the right hand of his Father, and to rest from his labours of redemption; and also it is properly the festival of all the heavenly spirits, because they conceived a new joy on beholding our Lord, who then, for the first time, appeared in heaven, under the form of humanity; and it is also no less properly our festival, because on that day was human nature exalted above the heavens, and because, unless Christ had ascended, the Holy Ghost would not have been given; and therefore St. Bernard says, in his Sermon de Ascensione Domini, that this most glorious solemnity is the consummation and fulfilment of all other solemnities, and the happy termination of the whole journey of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God."*

The mind being thus instructed and sanctified, all external acts and occupation were to correspond with the festival. "During the intervals that used to be spent to the injury of your souls," says St. Augustin, "the sick are to be visited, prisoners are to be comforted, strangers received to hospitality, and discords appeased." "Let no one," says St. Cæsarius of Arles, on those days treat his domestics with severity. Let us be mild to our servants, courteous to strangers, merciful to the poor, pacific to all men. Let the whole day be devoted to prayer or reading, or to hearing holy conversation."† "Let quarrels cease," say the Fathers, "let offences be forgiven, let severity give place to gentleness, indignation to pity, and discord to peace."‡

In the second place, it is necessary to bear constantly in mind, that the festivals of the Church were, in a certain sense, dramatic—not only by the spirit of their institution, but also in the estimation of the people who assisted at them; for the only key with

* S. August. Append. CXL. 2.
† Lettres, Liv. XX. 7.
‡ De Adventu Dom. Serm. I.

* S. Bonavent. Meditat. Vitæ Christi, cap. 97.
† S. 146.
‡ Rheinwald Die Kirchliche Archæologie, p. 187.

which we can penetrate into the secrets of their mystic connexion with the life of men, consists in the knowledge of this fact, that the Church supposes the mystery which she celebrates at any particular season, to be then actually taking place as if for the first time. Thus, as Lewis of Grenada remarks, "for seven days before the nativity she sings the antiphons, which express her ardent longing for the coming of the infant Messiah, whom she calls by various titles, exclaiming, 'O Sapientia quæ ex ore altissimi prodiisti! O adonay et dux domus Israel! O radix Jesse, qui stas in signum populorum! O clavis David, quæ aperis et nemo claudit! O oriens splendor lucis æternæ, et sol justitiæ! O rex gentium et desideratus earum.'"* She supposes that Christ is then about to be born; and to express the intensity of her desire, she repeats in a strain of ravishing harmony, that short emphatic prayer, which sounds like the cry of humanity thirsting after justice, in this world of wretchedness and sin—" Rorate cæli desuper, et nubes pluant justum: aperiatur terra, et germinet salvatorem."

This fact being well understood, the clergy took care never to dissipate the impressions of the festival, by delivering before the people on that occasion any general moral instructions or philosophical speculations, however calculated to give pleasure at other times. We find that, during the middle ages, the sermons for festivals were always in accordance with the dramatic spirit of the Church, and calculated to complete the rapture of those who were to be filled with mystical vows and joy. As an instance, witness the discourse of St. Bernard on the nativity. "A voice of joy hath sounded in our land; a voice of exaltation and of safety in the tents of sinners! A good word, a consoling word, has been heard; a word full of gladness, worthy of all acceptation! Sing praise, O ye mountains, and all ye trees of the wood. Hear, O heavens, and lend your ears, O earth; let all creatures stand amazed: and above all, O man, be thou astonished. Jesus Christus, filius Dei, nascitur in Bethleem Judæ. Who has such a stony heart as not to melt at hearing this? What could be announced more sweet and delectable! What word was ever heard like this, or when did the world ever receive any thing similar? Christus, filius Dei, nascitur in Bethleem Judæ! O short word, abbreviated from a word, but full of celestial sweetness! The affection of surpassing pleasure flows over, not finding words. Such is the grace of this sentence, that it would instantly lose somewhat of excellence, if I were to change one iota. Jesus Christus, filius Dei, nascitur in Bethleem Judæ. O blessed nativity! holy, honourable to the world, amiable to men, unsearchable to angels, unfathomable in the depths of its sacred mystery, and wonderful to all, in the singular excellence of its unprecedented strangeness! for there was never any thing before like it, and there will never be a sequel. O thou only birth without sorrow, without shame, without corruption—not rending, but consecrating the temple of a virginal womb! O nativity above nature, surpassing and repairing nature, by virtue of the mystery! Brethren, who will declare this generation? An angel announces; virtue overshadows; the Spirit of the Most High descends; a virgin believes, conceives by faith, a virgin brings forth, and remains a virgin! The Son of the Most High God is born; born of God before all ages! Who can sufficiently admire! Jesus Christus, filius Dei, nascitur in Bethleem Judæ! Ye that are in the grave, rise up and cry out praise. Behold the Lord comes with salvation: he comes with salvation, with unction, with glory. For neither can Jesus come without salvation, nor Christ without unction, nor the Son of God without glory: for he is salvation, and unction and glory.—Happy the soul which is drawn by tasting the fruit of salvation, and which runs in the odour of ointments, that it may behold his glory; the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father. Ye lost people, breathe again; Jesus comes to seek and to save that which was lost. Ye sick, recover health; Christ comes to heal contrite hearts with the unction of his mercy. Whoever you may be that desire great things, rejoice; the Son of God descends to you, that he may make you heirs of his kingdom. Heal me then, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved; glorify me, and I shall possess glory. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name; for he is propitious to all my sins, he heals all my infirmities, he fulfils all my desires! All this I know on hearing that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is born. Jesus, then, is born. Let him rejoice whose conscience adjudges him worthy of eternal condemnation; for the pity of Jesus surpasses all the multitude and heinousness of sin. Christ

* Vide Ludovic. Grenad. in Commem. Annunc. Concio.

is born. Let him rejoice who is assailed by ancient vices; for before the fece of the unction of Christ no disease of the soul, however inveterate, can stand. The Son of God is born. Let him exult who is accustomed to desire great things; because a great dispenser hath arrived. Brethren, this is the heir: let us devoutly receive him, and the inheritance shall be ours. For he who gives his own Son, how will he not with him give us all things? If man judge these things incredible, let his eyes confirm faith. Jesus Christus netus est in Bethleem Jndæ. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after him; for this is justice in the heart by faith, which alone has glory before God. Let there be added confession unto salvation: and then securely receive him who is this dey born in Bethlehem of Judah —Jesns Christ, the Son of God."*

Having seen what was the spirit of the Church and the solicitude of the clergy, there will be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that the devotion of the people corresponded with both. It is clear, from consulting the history of the middle ages, that the ceremonies of these anniversaries generally acted upon the minds of men with the force of reality. During the great week, every city was Jerusalem,—and Jerusalem about to witness the crucifixion of the Messiah. A general agitatiou and fervour announced the entrance of our Lord on the first day. The whole population might be seen carrying branches of palm. So positive an event was this commemoration to the seraphic mind of St. Claire, that after walking in that train, agreeably to the advice of St. Francis, clad in her most sumptuous robes, she left the city secretly on the following night, to exchange, not in imagination but in reality, the pleasures of the world for the tears of the passion, and the wey of the children of vanity for thet of the Son of God. Who could describe the popnlar impressions evinced upon that awful day which followed soon after, of which the bare name is so full of mystery, which saw the devont kiss imprinted by such multitudes upon the mystic sign of mourners—or that universal joy, which hailed the festival of the hnman race, commemorative of its great deliverance from the sting of direful death!

To consent to the beauty and wisdom of the festivals of the Catholic Church, considered in this point of view, implies undoubtedly the admission of many points which are either overlooked or contested by her edversaries—as that the mysteries of the Christian faith are historical facts, and that we should bear in mind the humanity as well as the divinity of our Lord. But to those who would check the tender and affectionate piety of Catholics, on the ground of Christ having beeu God, and therefore not susceptible of the sufferings which wonld justify such commiseration, St. Augustin replies in the lesson read during the office of tenebiæ. "Passus est se teneri nt homo. Non enim teneretur nisi homo, aut videretur, nisi homo, aut cæderetur nisi homo, eut crucifigeretur, eut moveretur nisi homo. Accessit ergo homo ed illas omnes passiones quæ in illo nihil valerent, nisi esset homo. Sed si ille non esset homo, non liberaretur homo."

The mystic devotion of John of the Cross recognised the necessity of meditating on the sacred humanity of Jesus Christ, and of never neglecting to represent it before the miud, as the source of all kinds of good; and in this it was distinguished from all that false mysticism which has been condemned by the Chnrch.*

During the middle ages, men were accustomed to meditate on the circumstances of the passion with an intense emotion of humanity, as well as with the clearest penetration of spiritual intelligence, not only attending to the mystery aud to the divinity, but also in order to excite their compassion the more, considering onr Lord as pure man, and then, as St. Bonaventura says, beholding "juvenem elegantem, nobilissimum, et innocentissimum, et amantissimum, totum eutem flagellatum et sanguine livoribusque respersum."†

What a feeling discernment, and what an attentive consideration, of all the piteous details attending the accomplishment of these stupendous mysteries, is evinced in the commentaries, to which the different parts of the office of this commemoration gave rise! Not to speak of those revelations of celestial secrets which they were instrumental in imparting to the sainted daughter of Sueden, witness the multitude of tender and acnte remerks of a St. Bonaventura respecting them; as where he says that our Lord would not call the blessed Mary mother from the cross—"Ne præ amoris vehementis teneritudine amplius ipsa doleret;" and where he speaks of the strangeness of that loud cry with which our Lord

* S. Bernardi in Vigilia Natalis Domini, Serm. I.

* Le P. Dosithée vie de S. Jean de la Croix, Liv. III.

† S. Bonavent. Meditationes Vitæ Christi, cap. 77.

gave up the ghost, which alone was sufficient to convince the centurion that he was the Son of God. The blessed Catherine of Cardonna, of the illustrious house of that name in Catalonia, allied to the kings of Arragon, and the first recluse of Spain, whose history is such a surprising scene of penitence, after enduring rigours which seemed to surpass the force of human nature, yielded at last to the intensity of her compassion for the sufferings of our Saviour. It was on Good Friday, in the year 1577, while the nuns were chanting the passion in their church, that she experienced such a violent grief from meditating on the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, that she fell to the ground, and was supposed to be in her agony, although she lingered till the Monday after the resurrection.*

Along with this fervent and tender sentiment of humanity, we find, in the middle ages, a constant vigilance to guard against the errors of false mysticism; "for," adds the seraphic doctor, "all this meditation of the life of Christ is designed to lead the mind from fleshly things to what is spiritual, that we may not rest in knowing Christ in the flesh, but may proceed to adore him in his divinity:—'Bona est enim hæc meditatio carnalis per quam vita carnalis excluditur, contemnitur, et vincitur mundus.'"† In regard, therefore, to the divine side of the mysteries commemorated, no want of spirituality was evinced by the men whose thoughts and manners we are investigating; within that sphere no one boasted of his condition, but all contented themselves with saying, "This is the day of the ignorant, the day of the obscure and humble. God is born in the flesh; God dies upon the cross; God descends upon our altars in sacramental veil. Why do you inquire the reason of the mystery? It is sufficient that it is a mystery. All things in God are above reason; nothing above faith. This day human reason yieldeth; for the Word of God—the Reason of God is born upon the earth."

Finally, it must be remembered that the religious seasons, as well as ceremonies, were regarded in a symbolic sense, of which Father John d'Avilla furnishes an instance, when he says, "Let our commencement be humility, represented in the ashes; and let our end be love, figured in the resurrection: and thus we shall have observed a good Lent and a good Easter.* "The branches of palms," to use the words of the ritual, "signify triumphs over the prince of death; but the sprigs of olive proclaim, in a manner, the arrival of spiritual unction. For that blessed multitude of men understood then that these things were prefigured; because our Redeemer, compassionating human miseries, was to fight with the prince of death for the life of the whole world, and by dying was to triumph. And therefore they dutifully ministered such things as signified in him the triumph of victory and the abundance of mercy." Dionysius the Carthusian shows, that the Church represents, in the four Sundays of Advent, not only in the number of the days, but also in the order of the offices, the four advents of Christ to man—two visible in the flesh and in the majesty of final judgment, two invisible in the mind by grace and in the death of the faithful.†

But it is to the sermon of Richard of St. Victor, De Gemino Paschale, that we should be referred if we desired to form a just idea of the sublime symbolism belonging to the ecclesiastical festivals and rites during the middle ages. "We celebrate," says this great doctor, "a two-fold paschal feast; the former of which is commonly called the floral pasch—sweet and acceptable time! and the latter the fruitful pasch, which is its completion. Both are interpreted a passage; both are grateful and full of joy. The first is that by which we pass from malice to justice; the second, that by which we pass from misery to glory. Brethren, to what end do we say this? or what do we think of this transit? What will it be to pass from iniquity to goodness, from calamity to beatitude? Do you see then with what exultation we ought to celebrate this two-fold solemnity? I wish that all would study as much to be good as to be happy: then truly would they be both happy and good. I wish they would as much affect the beginning as the end of the just. 'Let my soul,' says Balaam, 'die the death of the just, and let my last end be like his.' But they who wish to have that end, must study to have the same commencement: they must flower in the meanwhile from justice, that they may have their fruit afterwards of eternal life: for it is from a just and good that they can have an eternal and happy

* Vie de St. Therese par Villefore, 99.
† Meditat. Vit. Christi, cap. 98.

* Epist. VIII. † De Judic. Anim. 2.

life. Let the floral pasch therefore precede the fruitful, that in the mean while, by passing from vice to virtue, we may hereafter pass from misery to happiness. Why do men assemble on this day for a procession? It will be a good procession if we ourselves make a progress in good. What a beauteous procession to pass from virtue to virtue, forgetting what is behind, and hastening on to what is before. O what flowers are true virtues! Let us strew our way with them, and over the enamel of virtues let us pass on. Let us proceed in purity and decorum, that we may make a fair and grateful procession, worthy of the paschal solemnity. O how pure, how joyous will it be, to walk over flowers, and through the sweets of virtue, by the crocus of charity, by the lily of chastity, by the rose of the passion, and by the violet of humility! O how excellent, how delightful a fragrance, will rise on all sides! how will it charm and attract minds to the glorious spectacle! This is the Christian, the paschal procession, after the example of Christ's procession, whom we must follow. Let us mark then whence it begins and whither it tendeth, and by what way it passes, and how it proceeds. It begins from Bethany, it tends to Jerusalem, it passes by the Mount of Olives, it moves upon an ass. This is the procession of Christ, which Christians ought to imitate. We must tend therefore to Jerusalem; that is, to peace as our end. We must seek peace and pursue it. We must decline from evil and do good. We must have peace with our superiors, with our inferiors, with our equals, and with all men. Let us beware then how we disturb the peace of our prelates, of whom the Lord saith, 'Qui vos audit me audit.' We must wish what they wish, and dislike what they dislike, if we would reach Jerusalem, and obtain celestial peace. Hence we begin from Bethany, which is interpreted house of obedience—for we are to obey those who are eminent either in authority or sanctity or wisdom, showing honour to all, according to both human and divine institutions. But our way is by the Mount of Olives, for oil signifies the works of piety; therefore we pass by this way when we have compassion on the weak, and show mercy to them. Certainly we must remark how this conduces to true tranquillity of mind. For how can he ever obtain peace who is constantly disturbed and angry at what he sees? In the weak he will always find matter for just reprehension and for merciful tolerance. Our procession then must pass by the Mount of Olives, and our piety must increase till it can be compared to a mountain, that we may learn to bear with tranquillity of mind, not only the least, but also the greatest faults of the weak, and to sustain patiently the infirmity, both corporal and spiritual, of our neighbour.

"Having thus laid hold of the plenitude of obedience and mercy, we must seek more high for perfection: for which purpose it will be necessary to search for the ass, that as Christ approached Jerusalem seated on an ass, we may guard our virtues by the marks of humility. Who would not be filled with wonder to behold, amidst such a solemn and glorious preparation, so sordid an animal? For my part, it seems more wonderful in my eyes, that a man clothed in pontifical habits should sit upon an ass, than that he should carry in his hand that sweet wood, or bear on his head that splendid mitre. It is neither new nor strange to make a boast of virtues, but it is a great and wondrous thing, amidst so many ornaments of virtue, not to disdain the ass. Thus will our procession move in admirable order, if amidst the lofty graces of obedience and mercy we evince the modesty of the humble. Let us study then to be truly humble, and we shall be able to conciliate our equals: for it is between equals that envy and discord arise. But if we sit upon the ass, and hold amongst them a low and abject place, we shall cut off the root of envy. True humiliation makes peace, not only between equals, but confirms it with superiors and inferiors. Therefore for this seat we must, if necessary, send to a distance, for some have it near at hand, but to others it is far off. They who live shamefully, and commit things to be blushed for, have no need to go far in search of matter for humiliation; but they who do nothing in their lives worthy of shame, like those who come from Bethany, passing by the Mount of Olives, who celebrate the floral pasch, and strew their way with the flowers of virtue,—these I think are obliged to send to a distance for the ass, and look for matter of humiliation either in the past or future. Thus Paul being conscious to himself of nothing, was obliged to go back to the way of his ancient conversation. Mark how he returned to a distant time in search of the ass. 'Ego minimus apostolorum, qui non sum dignus vocari apostolus, quoniam persecutus sum eccle-

siam Dei.' Truly, it will not be safe without having this humble bearer to meet the Hebrew youths, crying on all sides, 'Euge, Euge,' because, being children, they know not wherein, nor when, nor how they ought to praise.

"This then is the mode of the procession which Christ made, and which he wishes us to make. Behold in what manner Christ passed; behold with what flowers he strewed his way, when he celebrated this floral pasch. Behold whence, and by what way, in what mode, and whither. From obedience; by piety; with humility; to peace. Remember then to strew your way also with such flowers, if you desire to keep this solemnity.

"And now, if you desire to know the fruit, recur to what is said of Christ, that rising from the dead, he dieth no more, and that at his name every knee should bow. You have seen the transit—behold then the fruit! From death to life—from tribulation to glory! Behold the second pasch! Behold the fruitful pasch! O what fruit! Life and glory! O sublime fruit! Eternal life, with highest glory! Knowing therefore what is the fruit of obedience, let us run with all haste to Bethany, nothing doubting of the fruit, but holding for certain that this corruptible will put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality. And as piety is great gain, having the promise of the present life as well as of that which is to come, let us pass on by the Mount of Olives, in the exercise of piety, knowing without doubt that we shall receive oil for oil—the oil of joy for the oil of pity—for 'blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' And let it not shame you to sit upon the ass, or to take the lowest place, for 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.' Let nothing therefore be done with contention, nothing through vain glory; but in humility, let us think every one superior to ourselves. O fool, O blind! you who will not hasten where you can find truo peace! Let ns run by peace to peace—by internal to eternal peace. For there is a peace which is only exterior, and there is a peace which is only interior, and there is a peace which is both one and the other. The first pertains to the flesh alone, the second to the mind alone, the third to both nnited. The two former we can never hsve at the same time in the present life, and we only hope for the third in the future. Christ came to destroy the first, to decree the second, to give the third. Let us detest then what Christ hath condemned, and let us love what he taught—for he is faithful who hath promised. Let us love internal, let us hope for eternal peace. Thus shall we celebrate the floral, thus the fruitful pasch. Thus shall we obtain that inestimable joy, which shall endnre without change for ever."*

Reader—we travel slowly through this way, which is not, I hope, found sterile, or nnrefreshed by the sweet dews of heaven. Here again we must pause awhile—for it will be well to examine what were the sentiments of men in ages of faith respecting the festivals of our blessed Lady; not only because the subject is in itself fruitful of tender and noble thoughts, and that it is impossible to understand the spirit of the middle ages without having studied them, but also on account of the errors respecting them which are so prevalent in modern society.

It is most true, that the Church seems to place no bounds to her gratitude towards the august creature who had such a part in the ineffable mystery of human redemption, pronouncing that new fiat, no less solemn and no less efficacious than that which called down upon the universe the first rays of material light, promised in the first announcement of mercy, even before the divine Saviour. As Lewis of Granada remarks with St. Augustin, "All that we can say in praise of the blessed Virgin, falls short of what St. Matthew expresses when he says, "De quâ natus est Jesus, qui vocatur Christus."† We have before heard what St. Irenæus said respecting her in the apostolic age, for which Milton profanely proposes that he should be despised by Christians as ignorant of divinity: and similar expressions are met with in all the early Fathers. "O wondrous mystery!" exclaims Clemens Alexandrinus:" "one Father of all, one Word, one Holy Spirit, and the same every where, and one only mother, and she a virgin!"‡ St. Augustin says, "If all our members were changed into tongues, there would not be one able to praise her sufficiently."§

It is most true that, in the middle ages, the devotion to the mother of God was tender and profound. St. Bernard, St.

* Ricardi S. Victoris de gemino Paschale.
† In Nativitate B. Mariæ Concio, III.
‡ Pæd. Lib. I. c. 6.
§ De Sanct. Serm. XXXV.

Peter Damian, St. Anselm, and St. Bonaventura, are sculptured in a chapel of the Benedictine abbey of Solêmes, as being the four doctors whose eloquence in celebrating her privileges was most admired. St. Anselm, that profound and penetrating philosopher, that theologian, whom even modern writers style admirable, calls Mary "the repairer of the lost world, queen of angels."* The great disciple and master of mysterious song, who had drank so deep of the living water that wells from Holy Writ as from a fountain, who had searched into so many profound truths, and whose genius reflected such a light on every path of almighty Providence, affirms, that he who grace desireth, and comes not to her, fain would have desire fly without wings.† Coming, in the vision of his soul, to the verge of that eighth heaven, where Mary was in view, he says that the fervent band he saw there halted, and—

> "'Regina Cœli' sang so sweetly,
> The delight hath left me never."

I should never finish were I to collect all the proofs from history of the devotion of men in ages of faith for blessed Mary: but on what ground can the moderns justify their displeasure and finding it to be so? How can any expression of the Church or of the holy Fathers be considered an exaggeration, indicating an unguarded utterance, when we know that the Holy Spirit guides the former, and when we find the concert of the latter so unanimous? The true solution can be given in few words. When once a people is convinced that Christ is God, and that the words of the Evangelist, styling him, in reference to Mary, her Son,‡ are rightly adduced by Dun Scotus, to silence the subtle distinctions physico-theologo of active and passive, urged by some disputants against the faith of the Church, there can be no alternative for that people but to admit the exercise of devotion to the mother of God, in obedience to the dictates of natural reason and the conscience of the human race.

"Rejoice, O father Adam, and thou, O mother Eve, be comforted," exclaims St. Bernard, "for a daughter is born that will take away your reproach, and the man shall no longer have reason cruelly to accuse the woman, because if man fell by woman, he cannot be raised up unless by woman. What sayest thou, O Adam? 'The woman whom thou gavest to me, gave me of the tree, and I did eat.' These are words of malice, which rather increase than cancel thy fault. But change now the word of guilty excuse into thanksgiving, and say, 'Lord, the woman whom thou gavest to me gave me of the tree of life, and I did eat, and it is sweeter than honey to my tongue, because in it thou hast given me life eternal.'"*

The devotion of the ages of faith to the blessed Virgin, recommends itself to the understanding and to the heart of all Christians, on account of her high privilege, through regard to the love which Christ our Lord must have borne for her—and none of his affections we need be ashamed to cultivate—on account of her own extraordinary virtues, through tenderness for her sorrows, and finally, from a consideration of the benefit which must result to ourselves in consequence of its cultivation. Of the first motive we have already spoken in brief; and words need not be multiplied to enforce a truth which is obvious to the intelligence, and as clear as any conclusion of the severest dialectician. Let us proceed to examine the other inducements, which are drawn conjointly from the understanding and the heart. It is of faith that Christ was perfect man; consequently, independent even of faith, as supremely virtuous, he must have possessed, in an eminent degree, the sweetest and best of all human affections, maternal love. O who can estimate the love of a son for his mother! How constant is nature in all ages! But lately we read of a young man miserably slain, who spoke no other words at his death but these: "Ah! what will my poor mother say?" One of the most affecting pages of history furnishes an instance precisely similar. The young Conradin on the scaffold uttered only this cry, "O my mother! what grief will the news of me cause to you!" That mother, the Empress Marguerite, was hastening from the centre of Germany to redeem his life. Arrived too late, she consecrated the price to found the Monastery del Carmine, in which she is represented with a purse in her hand. Can any one conceive it possible, that the humane, the affectionate, the tender Jesus, who had wept for Lazarus and prayed for his murderers, should have felt no emotions

* Lib. de Excellentia Virginis Mariæ.
† Dante, Parad. XXXIII.
‡ Matt. i.

* Hom. II. super Missus est.

of this kind for blessed Mary, his virgin mother, who reclined beneath his cross, her bosom pierced with a sword? Can we then imitate Jesus, and regard with the eyes of a mathematician, the severity of a stoic, or the scorn of a cynic, that desolate mother, to whom he was so long subject? Again, independent of her amazing privileges, and without any reference to the example of her divine Son, is not devotion due to her from a consideration of her virtues; virtues the most eminent gift of highest God, and such as one might suppose it was impossible for the frail vessel of humanity to receive or retain in a similar degree?

> ———— "Whatsoe'er may be
> Of excellence in creature, pity mild,
> Relenting mercy, large munificence,
> Are all combin'd in her."*

How men meditated on these graces in the middle ages, may be witnessed even in the rules of many institutions, which had regard to them in all that they enjoined. Those of the order of the Annunciation, founded by Jeanne de Valois, comprise ten chapters, which treat successively on the chastity, prudence, humility, faith, devotion, obedience, poverty, patience, piety, sorrow, and compassion of Mary. But it is from the writings of a St. Anselm or a St. Bonaventura that one may best learn how to speak her praise. "Ave Maria; rightly," adds the latter, "is she addressed with the salutation, 'Ave,' who was most safe from all the woe of sin; for 'Ave' is the same as 'without woe.'"

Let us consider that triple woe, from which she was most secure. There is the woe of sin, the woe of misery, and the woe of hell. Of these three we read in the Apocalypse, when John says that he "heard one like an eagle flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth." But behold each of these three, alas! is multiplied by three, so that there are nine woes; for the exemption from which this salutation is due to Mary, for there are three woes of sin, and three of misery, and three of hell: from all which being guarded, she is justly greeted with "Ave."

First, of sin there is a tripple woe,—from the sin of the heart, from the sin of the lips, and from the sin of deed. "Woe to you who are profound of heart, that you may hide counsel from the Lord."† "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, who are like whited sepulchres, which appear beautiful without to men, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." O how far from that woe was the innocent heart of Mary! Her heart was most clean: it was not a sepulchre of vices; it was a garden and a paradise of the Holy Ghost. Since, then, Mary was so far from that woe, justly is she addressed with "Ave."

Again, of the sin of the mouth, Isaiah says, "Woe to you who call evil good, and good evil." And in the Psalms we read, "Woe to those who sin with their tongue. The poison of asps is under their lips." O how far from that woe was the innocent tongue of Mary! No poison of asps was under her lips, but honey and the milk of the Holy Spirit. Was it not so when she spake that most chaste word, "Quomodo fiat istud?" Had she not honey on her tongue when she uttered that mellifluous sentence, "Ecce ancilla Domini?" Since, then, Mary was so far from the sin of the tongue, justly is she addressed with "Ave."

Again, of the sin of deed. We read in Ecclesiasticus, "Woe to the double heart, and to the wicked lips, and to the hands that do evil:" that is, Woe to the sin of deed. O how far from that woe was all the work and all the life of Mary! Neither in heart, nor in word, nor in deed, had she the least spot of sin, that the Lord might truly say of her, "Tota pulchra es amica mea, et macula non est in te."

Since, then, Mary was so far from this triple woe, justly is she addressed with "Ave."

In the second place, it is to be considered how Mary was secure from the triple woe of original misery: from the woe of birth, the woe of child-bearing, and the woe of death. Of these it was truly said, "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth." Woe, therefore, of birth, in consequence of which we are all born children of wrath. O how safe from that woe was the most holy nativity of Mary, delivered from it, as it is believed, by being sanctified in the womb, so that she was never inclined to sin. Therefore, her nativity being secure from woe, we justly salute her with "Ave."

Again, of the woe of bringing forth children. We read in Genesis, when God says to Eve, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children." O how secure from that woe was the pregnant and producing womb of Mary, that happy mother, who conceived

* Dante, Parad. XXXIII.

† Isa. xxix.

without contamination, and who produced the medicine without sorrow! since, then, Mary was secured from that woe, most justly do we salute her with "Ave."

Again, there is the woe of death, of which it is said, "Woe to you, impious men, who have left the law of the Most High: if born, you are born in malediction; and if dead, your part will be in malediction." Certainly both pious and impious will die in the malediction of ashes; but yet the woe is only applied here to the impious, to whom that turning to ashes must seem so much more odious, and of which the memory must be always so bitter and so terrible. O how far from that woe of incineration was, as we believe, the holy body of Mary, that body, the most holy ark of God, which was made of imperishable wood; whence it is said, "Surge Domine in requiem tuam, tu et arca sanctificationis tuæ!" Therefore, justly do we salute her with "Ave."

In the third place, it is to be considered that Mary was safe, not only from the triple woe of actual sin, not only from the triple woe of original misery, but also from the triple woe of hell. This last consists in the greatness of the punishment, in its multitude, and in its duration. Of these three it may well be said, "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of earth." To this Ezekiel alludes, saying, "Woe to the city of blood, of which I will make a great pile." The city of blood is the collection of the impious, of which there will be a great pile in the great burning of the damned. O how far from that woe of the magnitude of punishment was the magnitude of the grace and glory of Mary! of whom St. Bernard says, "As much grace as Mary was given upon earth over others, so much of especial glory hath she obtained in heaven." Since, then, Mary was so far from that woe, justly is she addressed with "Ave."

Again, the woe of hell consists not only in the magnitude of the punishment, but also in the multitude of punishments; whence it is said in Isaiah, "Woe to their souls, because evils shall be rendered unto them." He says plurally, evils, because many evils await the evil in hell. O, how far from that woe of this multitude of torments was in Mary the multitude of merits and rewards! As we read in Proverbs, "Multæ filiæ congregaverunt divitias, tu sola supergressa es universas." If we understand these daughters to signify holy souls or angelic intelligences, hath not Mary surpassed the riches of virgins, confessors, martyrs, apostles, prophets, patriarchs, and angels? Since, then, Mary was so far from that second woe of hell, justly is she addressed with "Ave."

Lastly, the woe of hell consists not only in the magnitude, not only in the multitude of punishments, but also in their perpetual duration. When it is said in the canonical Epistle of Jude, "Woe to them who have gone in the way of Cain, for whom is reserved clouds of darkness for ever;" remark that "for ever," and consider what must be the duration of that darkness which is never to have an end; and how far from that interminable woe of hell, was the interminable glory of Mary, for whom the Lord hath prepared against that eternal darkness an eternal light in heaven! Thus, then, the most blessed Virgin Mary was far from the triple woe of hell, and far from the nine woes; and, therefore, we justly begin our address to her with saying "Ave;" therefore, dearly beloved, let us all say to her, "Ave;" and let us pray to her that, on account of her sweetest Ave, she would pray that we may be delivered from all woe by our Lord Jesus Christ.

But let us consider again how Mary was removed from all sin: for against pride, she was most profound by humility; against envy, most affectionate by charity; against anger, most gentle by mildness; against sloth, most unwearied by industry; against avarice, most refined by poverty; against intemperance, most removed by sobriety; against luxury, most chaste by virginity.

In the first place, consider her profound humility. "Ecce ancilla Domini," were Mary's words. O wonderful and profound humility of Mary! behold an archangel speaks to Mary, who is called full of grace, the operation of the Holy Spirit is conjoined, Mary is assumed to be mother of the Lord; Mary is now preferred before all creatures; Mary is now made the queen of heaven and earth; and yet, after all this she is not lifted up, but depressed with wonderful humility, saying, "Ecce ancilla Domini!" This is against many, who, in prosperity and honours, in graces and virtues, are not humbled with Mary and with Christ, but with Eve and Lucifer! See, beloved, that Mary was also affectionate by charity; for it is Mary of whom Luke says, "Exurgens autem Maria, abiit in montana cum festivatione." She went that she might visit, that she

might salute, that she might minister to Elizabeth. See how full of charity was that visitation of Mary! for in the descriptions of it, there are four things named in which her charity to God and to her neighbour were fully declared, for she showed charity to her neighbour in heart, word, and deed. She had charity in her heart; and on account of this, rising up, she went into the hill country with haste; for what obliged her to hasten to that work of charity, unless the charity which was in her heart? We read that the shepherds came hastening to the manger, and that Mary went in haste to fulfil a service, and that Zaccheus descended in haste to receive our Lord to hospitality. Woe to those who are slow to works of charity.

Again, Mary showed charity by word to her neighbour; for it is of her also that we read, "Et factum est, ut audivit salutationem Mariæ Elizabeth," &c. Charity is always to be nourished in salutations to our neighbours, and in words of charity to others. Thus, the angel saluted Mary; Mary saluted Elizabeth; the Son of Mary saluted the Marys who were going from the sepulchre, saying to them, "Avete." Woe to those who, through hatred, neglect to salute their neighbour! Woe to those who salute their neighbour deceitfully, like Judas, when he said, "Ave Rabbi." O how sweetly did Mary know how to salute! O Mary, deign to salute us by thy grace! Moreover, Mary had not only charity in her heart, not only did she show charity in word, but also she exercised it in deed; for it is of Mary that we read, "Mansit autem Maria cum illâ quasi mensibus tribus." She remained to serve and to console Elizabeth. And as she thus had charity to her neighbour, so had she, above all things, charity to God; for it is Mary who says, "Magnificat anima mea Dominum,"—for whom she loved, she sought to magnify.

In the third place, observe how Mary was most gentle and lenient; for it is of Mary that Simeon said, "Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius." This sword signified the sharp passion and death of her Son: a corporal sword could neither kill nor wound the soul. In like manner, the sharp passion of Christ, although it pierced through the soul of Mary by compassion, yet it could neither kill it by hatred, nor wound it by impatience: for Mary never hated the murderers of her Son, never was impatient against them. For if other martyrs were most patient in their corporal martyrdom, how much more our martyr Mary in her spiritual martyrdom! of which Jerome saith, "She was more than martyr." Alas! how far from the grace of the most gentle Mary are those who give way to roughness, and impatience, and anger, as their own domestics, companions, and neighbours often experience!

In the fourth place, observe how diligent was Mary in good works; for we read in the Acts, "All these were persevering with one mind in prayer, with the women, and with Mary, the mother of Jesus:" and mark, that our Mary was unwearied, not alone in prayer with her lips, but also in heart, with holy meditations; for it is said in the Gospel of Luke, "Maria conservabat omnia, verba hæc conferens in corde suo." And as she was diligent in word and in heart, so also with the work of her hands; "for to this end," says the venerable Bede, "she remained three months with Elizabeth, that she might, as a younger person, serve a woman of advanced age."

Fifthly; observe how abstemious she was by poverty. The poor shepherds found Mary, the poor mother, and the poor infant, in a poor place; not in a pompous court, but in a poor stable. Certainly whoever is poor voluntarily for God, or whoever is poor necessarily, patiently, may be much consoled by the poverty of Mary and of Christ. Far from that consolation are the wicked rich, who seek a different purpose. Nevertheless I am unwilling to despair of the rich; because not alone the poor shepherds, but also rich kings, found poor Mary and her poor Son: for the rich found them, and came with gifts. The poor found them to their consolation, by poverty; but the rich by liberality: for while the poor, by poverty, are conformed to Christ, the rich, by liberality, are reformed to him.

Again, we shall discover the grace which sat upon the lips of Mary, if we deliberately collect her words from the Gospel; for we shall find seven mellifluous sentences proceeding from her mouth, which she spake to the angel, to man, and to God: two to the angel, two to man, and three to God. To the angel she had a word of chastity,—"Quomodo fiat istud?" and a word of humility,—"Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum." This is against the proud and arrogant, who neither think nor speak humbly of themselves, but utter words of boasting

and inflation. To man she had a word of charity and a word of truth: of charity, when she so affectionately saluted the mother of the precursor, that the very infant in the womb exulted. This is against the rancorous, who either do not charitably speak to their neighbours, or who altogether disdain to speak to them; she had a word of truth, when she said to the servants, "Quodcunque dixerit vobis facite." This is against those who do not instruct others to good but to evil, and who never admonish them. Lastly, Mary had three words to the Lord. So that she spoke more with God than with man or with the angel: for she spoke twice to the angel, and twice to man, but thrice to God. Alas! alas! against many who so seldom speak with God in prayer, and who speak so much with men in vain and often in pernicious conversation! But Mary had with God a discourse thankful, plaintive, and compassionate: thankful, with regard to herself; plaintive, for the loss of her son; and compassionate, for the failing of the wine. A thankful word, when she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord." This is against the ungrateful, who, alas! so seldom return the smallest thanks to God for many and great benefits, but rather proudly turn the benefits of God against God. A plaintive word, when she said to her Son, after having lost him for three days, "Fili, quid fecisti nobis." "Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." This is against the irreligious, who never seek Jesus sorrowing, though they may have lost him for many days through their indevotion. Mary had a word of compassion with God, when, at the marriage feast, she said to her Son, "They have no wine." This is against the unmerciful, who are not moved by the want of piety in others, and who never exhort their neighbours. Alas! now, O Mary, behold still there is need that you suggest to your Son that there are many among us who have no wine: the wine of the grace of the Holy Spirit; the wine of compunction; the wine of piety; the wine of spiritual consolation. Of this St. Bernard says, "How often is it necessary for me, brethren, after tearful complaints, to entreat the Mother of Mercy that she would suggest to her benign Son that you have no wine; and, dearly beloved, I tell you, if you would but piously demand, there would be nothing wanting to your necessity, since she is the merciful Mother of Mercy."*

* S. Bonaventuræ, Speculum, Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.

You have heard the sentiments of the ages of faith respecting the virtues of blessed Mary: let us briefly observe them in relation to the two remaining motives for devotion to her. And, first, to that of compassion for her bitter sorrows. "O tearful spectacle," cries Thomas à Kempis, "of a mother, and a Son before her eyes in the act of being crucified! of a mother weeping, and of a son speaking to her; of a mother standing under the cross, and of a son hanging from it; of a mother sighing, and of a son expiring! O magnitude of immense grief! never to be forgotten, but to be held fixedly in the hearts of the pious!"* "Consider," says St. Bonaventura, "how bitter was Mary in the bitter passion of her Son. Hence she might well have said, with Ruth, "Do not call me Naomi, that is, beautiful; but call me Mara, that is, bitter: because the Lord hath greatly filled me with bitterness." She was bitter, because her two sons were dead; and Mary, too, was beautiful, by the sanctification of the Holy Ghost; but bitter by the passion of her Son. The two sons of Mary are God, made man, and pure man; for of the one she is corporally, and of the other spiritually, the mother. Whence the blessed Bernard says, "You are the mother of a King, the mother of an exile, the mother of God, the mother of man. These two sons of Mary were both dead in the passion: the one in the body, the other in mind; the one in the bitterness of the cross, the other in the infidelity of the soul. And, therefore, the bowels of Mary were filled with bitterness."†

It only remains to observe the sentiments of men in these ages respecting the benefit which resulted to themselves from their devotion to Mary. True, they believed that a great sign of one's predestination or reprobation is his devotion or indifference to the Mother of God. St. Anselm says, "As it is necessary, O blessed Virgin, that he who loseth thy favour should, with it, lose his eternal salvation, so it is impossible that any in thy favour should perish." And St. Bonaventura says, "The grace of God will sanctify that heart which worthily serveth thee; and he that neglecteth thee, shall die in his sins, as a punishment for such a neglect." But is there ground to justify the censure passed upon St. Bonaventura, St. Anselm, and St. Bernard, by

* Sermonum, III. 2.

† Spec. B. Mariæ Virg. Lect. III.

a recent author, who affirms that they ascribed to the blessed Virgin a rank higher than either reason or true piety would assign? There are, at least, some who are not quite prepared to concede at once that such men were deficient either in reason or in piety. Methinks the modern reader ought to have been warned from drawing any rash conclusion here. If the recollects of Liege said that the worship of the blessed Virgin, even in those who lived gentilely was a sign of predestination, they spoke to men who knew their meaning, and who, therefore, received their words as teaching it to be a sign that they would cease to live gentilely; and if Francis Mendoza said, it was impossible that such a person should perish, his readers interpreted his words as teaching that it was impossible he should not be converted to a holy life; and this precisely on the principle which every one concedes to St. Ambrose, when he said to the holy widow of Ostia, who mourned over the errors of her predestinated child, that it was impossible the son of such tears should eventually be lost for ever. These men judged from traditionary observation, as also from personal experience; and I conceive that the acutest brain would be a little perplexed, if called upon to show what there was in the opinion itself that could justify any man in qualifying it as a wretched extravagance, the excess or perversion of religious belief. On the other hand, would it be very difficult to qualify that mind which could not be made to comprehend why a secret reverence for the blessed Mother of Jesus should furnish proof that the sparks of virtue were not wholly extinguished in the heart?

The doctrine of the immaculate conception, though not an article of faith, was yet the natural conclusion of a devout mind; and men were taught by the writers who defended it, that "it would be to no purpose to be jealous in advocating the purity of Mary, if they were not most careful to preserve purity in themselves."

Hereafter there will be occasion to show that there was no point of religion in the middle ages which interfered with the belief in the doctrine of the atonement; but, for the present, hear what say the doctors most eloquent in setting forth the benefits which we derive from the prayers of Mary. St. Bonaventura begins his Mirror with these words:—"Since, as the blessed Jerome saith, 'There is no doubt to any one but that all pertains to the glory and praise of God whatever is worthily ascribed to his Son, so to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ,' I have undertaken to express something concerning the praise and glory of his blessed Mother." St. Anselm speaks as clearly* to the same effect; and the universal spirit of this devotion is expressed in the words of St. Bonaventura, in addressing her:—"Sic in te vis homines jucundari, ut semper in eum, cujus Mater es, refundatur affectus."† But that they believed her example, her merits, and her intercession to be of great avail to the children of Eve, is a fact which no Catholic will be disposed to doubt. After hearing the words of the seraphic doctor, speaking on this head, we may rise and proceed:—"Consider," saith he, "how Mary is interpreted the Star of the Sea." We read that it is the custom of sailors, when about to navigate, to choose some one star, by whose rays they may be guided so as to make the desired land. This is the office which is discharged by our star Mary, which directeth those who are navigating through the sea of the world, in the ship of innocence or of penitence, to the shore of their heavenly country. Innocent, in allusion to this, asks by what assistance can ships escape through so many perils to the shores of their country? Certainly by means of wood and a star; that is, by the faith of the cross, and by virtue of the light which Mary, our star, afforded to us, our Star of the Sea, the purest, most radiant, most useful star; for such is the lustre of that star, which rose out of Jacob, that it illumined the universal orb, reaching to the height of heaven, and penetrating to the profoundest depths of hell. Mary is a light to enlighten the world by the example of her life, by the benefits of her compassion, and by the rewards of her glory. Consider, first, that Mary is a light to enlighten many, by the example of her bright life. St. Bernard says, "He that will follow thy ways, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Secondly, consider that she enlightens us by the benefits of her compassion; from which it is that many are spiritually enlightened in the night of this world. And, thirdly, consider that she is a light by the glory of her rewards: for Mary is the most excellent work of God; and as she was filled with grace in the world, so she

* Medit. Cap. VI. B. I.
† Stimulus Divin. Amoris, Pars III. c. 16.

is full of glory in heaven. "You see, then, how Mary is the Star of the Sea, and how she is a light to enlighten and direct us. Therefore, dearly beloved, let us pray to Mary, that, in true penitence, we may become wholly bitter, that we may be spiritually guided through the sea of this world, and that hereafter we may be shone upon by the rays of eternal glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.* Therefore, we may well implore Mary, as Abraham besought Sara, saying, 'Say, I pray thee, that thou art my sister, that it may be well with me on account of thee, and that my soul may live for thy sake.' O, then, Mary! O our Sara! say that thou art our sister, that on thy account it may be well with us from God; that, for thy sake, our souls may live in God. Say, I pray thee, O our dearest Sara! that thou art our sister; that, on account of such a sister, the Ægyptians, that is, the demons, may reverence us; that, on account of such a sister, the angels may join themselves in company with us; that, on account of such a sister, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost may have mercy upon us."†

Having now heard what were the sentiments and views generally entertained during the middle ages with respect to the festivals of the Church, the present would be the proper place for considering the arguments brought against them by the adversaries and lukewarm followers of our faith, who persist in calling for their suppression. "I am filled with joy this day," says St. Augustin, "on account of the great festival of St. Peter and St. Paul; but yet I am somewhat sad, because I do not behold such a multitude assembled as ought to be found on the nativity of the Passion of the Apostles."‡ Alas, what would be his language now, if, in countries exposed to the atmosphere of the new opinions, he witnessed the desertion and silence of the holy churches on days of obligation! But what need here of many words to show how excellent a thing it must be to "celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought, with high providence, in his Church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just men against the enemies of Christ, in fine, whatsover in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave,—whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtilties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within,—all these things, with a solemn and unchanging form of emblematic imagery and of inspiring sounds, and of majestic words to point out and describe?" Hesiod, in his works and days, and Aratus, speaking of God, express the testimony of the human soul to the importance of regarding seasons and hours in all the affairs of life. By the jurisconsults and legislators of the middle ages, attention to them is considered as belonging essentially to that wisdom of government which should characterize every Christian state.* Who object to the Catholic festivals, but the men who already stand condemned in the Gospel of the marriage feast! "Cœperunt omnes simul excusare. Villam emi, Juga bovum emi quinque; non possum venire." Here was industry and necessity, indeed, sufficient, one might suppose, to justify the suppression of any obstacle. Yet we know what was their sentence. The language of the moderns, on this head, reminds one of Seneca's objection, when he affirms that the Sabbath day caused the Jews to lose almost the seventh part of their lives, and to suffer many losses, from its not allowing them to work incessantly; but, without referring to the wisdom of the Church, to the tender affections of her children, and to the charity of the rich, which provided against the injury of the poor—surely an answer may be found in the writings of the ancients, the solid excellence of whose natural reason conforms with such admirable precision to the principles of faith? The Athenian, in Plato, shows that the gods, in pity for the laborious life of men, determined that there should be intervals of repose dedicated to their worship, to the muses, and to Bacchus; and hence he says the festivals of religion were an institution of celestial mercy.†

Let any man contemplate the order of society which succeeded to that of the ancient states, and he will find no ground for concluding that the same wants had not continued, notwithstanding the influence of the Christian liberty. It is not the interests of the poor alone that would convince a thoughtful and benevolent observer of the importance of the festivals. How they stood in relation to those things,

* Lect. III. † Lect. VI. ‡ § 298.

* Gregorius Tholosanus Præludia Jurisconsulti, Lib. IV. † De Legibus, Lib. II.

is sufficiently obvious to every one. But there is a race belonging to a higher class of society which, I think, would supply him, if possible, with still stronger arguments for preserving the ecclesiastical discipline in all its integrity. Only let him observe what takes place in the houses of the rich: how a multitude of wretched and involuntary captives are there constantly retained, slaves of custom, that stern, that unspiritual instructor, who can have no hopes of any respite from the evils of the world's vanity, unless from the interposition of the Church; children of a mysterious and calamitous doom, who must perish in unmingled bitterness, unless the festival shall succeed, from time to time, to remind them of a happier world, and to assuage their thirst, by presenting them with the memory and the anticipations of justice. Only let him observe that nothing short of the necessity of an universally recognised obligation can secure them the moral refreshment which is indispensable to their spiritual existence, and, without taking into account the interests of any other class, methinks he must arrive at the conclusion, that the suppression of Catholic festivals, wherever it takes place, and under whatever circumstances, must be always an irremediable calamity to the race of men.

After Anacharsis had visited the different states of Greece, he is reported to have said that "all wanted leisure and tranquillity for wisdom, except the Lacedæmonians, for that these were the only persons with whom it was possible to hold a rational conversation." "The life of all the other Greeks," adds Müller, "had doubtless appeared to him as a restless and unquiet existence, a constant struggle without any object." And it is curious to remark how many writers have dwelt on the tedium and listlessness of a Spartan life, as well as on that of a Catholic country which has retained the discipline of ages of faith. Yet Lord Bacon himself makes the remark, that, "in the distribution of days, that wherein God did rest and contemplate his own works, was blessed above all the days wherein he did effect and accomplish them."*

In the middle ages, men were industrious and indefatigable: unnumbered monuments have they left behind of having passed an active existence; and yet we never observe them complaining of the number of ecclesiastical festivals, or lamenting their institution. The desire of every heart seemed to be expressed in that verse of the Psalm, "Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram: ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ; ut videam voluptatem Domini, et visitem templum ejus." The prayer of the minstrel used to be, that every day in the week might be Sunday,* and Columbus used to observe the festivals of the Church during the perils of his expedition, in the wildest parts of the new discovered world.

Who wishes to abolish the festivals of the Catholic Church? Not the poor man, whom they console; not the holy man, whom they nourish; not the meekly learned man, whose labour they assist; not the artist or poet, to whom they supply such sweet and glorious visions. But the Christian pastors are called upon to suppress the festivals, to gratify a few insolent and gloomy pedants, who, in the pride of their political or literary fame, mistake genius for superstition, and faith for insanity. Remorseless task-masters, who impose worse than Herculean labours upon the sons and daughters of the poor; immediate authors of what Æschylus ascribes, in the first instance, to the Furies,—

——— "ἀνδροκμῆτας
δ᾽ἀώρους τύχας,"†

of the fortunes that slay men prematurely. Therefore, they say in their hearts, "Quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos Dei à terra."‡ Thou shalt return no more to this world of dreams," say these men of false wisdom, in the same breath confessing the wretchedness of their own state, "Thou shalt return no more to this world of dreams. Go! forget these mitres of light, these aureoles, these chants, these seraphs. The voice of the archangels has finished for thee. Cast away thy remembrances, thy infinite hopes. Real life is somewhat different from the fancies of youth. Follow us, and we will show thee things that thou hast never seen—the source dried up, the rind withered, the heart broken, the cup empty." Lo, what a vapour of malediction comes from mortal lips! The earth is become dark and cold. In those streets where a new civilization declares that God in sacramental presence shall never pass, the dust now drinks the

* Advancement of Learning.

* Legrand, d'Aussi, Fabliau, Tom. II. 26.
† Eumenid. 956. ‡ Ps. lxxiii.

black blood of the citizens, which brings with it again fresh retributive murders with unforgiving rage.

Yes, assuredly, "the poor man bent to the earth, oppressed with fatigue, and uncertain whether he will obtain sufficient support for his subsistence, the rich man, surrounded with things in which the world places happiness, and astonished every moment not to find himself happy, ever striving after some object which he does not possess; the man cast down by misfortunes, and the man intoxicated with a prosperous success, the man immersed in delights, and the man devoted to the attractions of science, the powerful, the obscure, all, in short, find in every object an obstacle against rising to the Divinity—a force which tends to bind them to something for which we have not been created, to make them belie the nobleness of their origin and the importance of their end."—"What wisdom then," exclaims Manzoni, "in the ordination of the Christian festivals, which gave all men an occasion and an excitement to escape from this state of subjection!"*

Moreover, it is certain that the mind was confirmed in its belief of all the facts of the Christian religion by means of these institutions. In all the monuments with which they were surrounded, in the temples every where erected, in the annual festivals of the nativity, the epiphany, the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and in the pentecost, which was the day of solemn mission to the apostles, men saw, and as it were felt with their hands, the evidence in proof of their faith; so that when grown up to maturer years, they could no more doubt respecting the miracles ascribed to Christ and to his apostles, than the facts relating to the history of their own nation, the series of their kings, or any other circumstances respecting them.

Had one only followed the ceremonies of the Church in a Catholic country but once during the passion and the festivals of Easter, it would have been sufficient to have impressed the understanding ever afterwards with a conviction, that the events thus commemorated must have occurred, and in that sense at least to have secured the fulfilment of her desire, where she prays that the receiving of the paschal sacrament may ever remain in our minds. Thus was formed that Christian faith even in those who could not express its origin in clear words; and they were not more able to give a reason for their conviction of innumerable other facts, which they could not have denied, without being regarded by all men as stupid and insane.*

The moderns read about our Lord as they do about any remarkable historic personage; Catholics, in ages of faith, by means of the festivals and ceremonies of the Church, may be said to have actually lived with him. Religion in the former is but a speculative opinion; in the latter it was a real and personal experience. Custom served them better than innumerable reasons, which, however solid, cannot be always present to the mind. Metaphysical proofs strike but little; and even when they do avail with some, it is only during the instant while the demonstration is seen: for in an hour after, men fear that they were deceived. "Quod curiositate cognoverint, superbiâ amiserunt." The Church, by her festivals and ceremonies, imbued, and as it were, dyed the souls of men with belief, so that they had that habitual faith, which Paschal says is absolutely essential independent of conviction, since we have a body as well as a soul; and that the senses impel us to believe the contrary.

But if there were advantages resulting to the understanding from the institution of the Christian festivals, still more were they conducive to important ends in the economy of the interior life, as directing the emotions of the heart in subordination to faith. What are the poor solitary meditations of an individual, let him be ever so wise and holy, if compared with the realities which just men find in the anniversaries celebrated by the devout people? At each recurrence of the holy time, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom, and the sweet odour of the remembered Gospel imbathe the soul with the fragrancy of heaven. This result was not left depending upon the force of any natural and general law; it was secured by a number of positive exercises connected with their celebration: for at all the principal feasts, holy exercises were renewed, and the suffrages of the saints were fervently implored.

In cathedrals and parishes, the approach of a solemn day might have been easily foreseen, by observing what were the numbers that waited at confessionals. Even to the peasant, remote from cities, the vigil would be announced by the light,

* Osservazioni Sulla Morale Cattolica, cap. 5.

* La Hogue Tractat. de Religione, Q. V. cap. 2.

which threw it beams far over wood and waste, issuing from the turret of the castle chapel—a well-known sign to him, by which he would know that at that moment the inmates were making holy preparation for a blessed morrow. Every where, from festival to festival, men were always looking forward, and resolving to celebrate each, as if it were to usher them unto the eternal festival of the future world.* Above all, the fast of Lent, with its repeated instructions, and the solemn rites of the succeeding anniversaries, was always found effectual in sanctifying a multitude of souls for the rest of the year. To celebrate the least festival in the true spirit of the Church, and in conformity to her injunctions, was, as she herself expresses it, "to be filled with the eternal fruition of the divinity of God, which is prefigured by the temporal reception of his precious body and blood." We see that, in the most solemn commemoration of the highest ineffable mysteries, her chief, indeed her sole solicitude, is to promote the virtue of her children. This breaks forth even amidst the transports with which she prepares to celebrate the resurrection of our Lord. "Hujus igitur sanctificatio noctis fugat scelera," she exclaims at the benediction of the paschal candle; "culpas lavat, et reddet innocentiam lapsis, et mœstis lætitiam: fugat odia, concordiam parat, et curvat imperia."

Thus, in fine, were earthly desires mitigated, and minds trained to love celestial things. Men were purified from all vile inclinations, and enticed to renounce trivial and degrading objects—they acquired an exquisite sense, and an ardent love of what is just, in morals as in art, in matters of religion, as well as in all the relations of human society; and thus by degrees weaned sweetly and imperceptibly from all that was intrinsically perishable and vain, they were prepared to arrive at the great destiny of their nature—the immortal possession of God.

Already have the just limits of this chapter been overpast, and yet we have still to consider the ecclesiastical festivals in the same point of view in relation to the anniversaries of the saints.

In the Pagan mythology, the honour of apotheosis was granted to the authors of new arts and commodities.—Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius; and with the moderns, "relatio inter divos," seems to be considered as due only to the same kind of merit, to the inventors of printing, of steam-engines, of machinery to facilitate the production of articles of trade, or of scientific instruments conducive to the development of national industry; in short, to the inventors or improvers of things appertaining to Vulcan or Dædalus. These are the persons to whom, as eminently useful to society, the supreme honour which man can attribute unto man is given; though, independent of all truths of theology, their merit is certainly mixed with strife and perturbation. Middleton indeed says expressly, that he would rather with Pagan Rome pay divine honours (a remarkable expression from one who professes himself a champion against idolatry) to the founders of empires, than with Popish Rome to the founders of monasteries: "For my part," he says, "I should sooner be tempted to prostrate myself before the statue of a Romulus or an Antonine, than that of a Laurence or a Damian." For such a judgment, the voice of mankind during the middle ages would have had no other compliment but St. Jerome's to Vigilantius—"O infelicem hominem, et omni lacrymarum fonte plangendum!"—Well indeed might the voice of that ancient society have sounded strange to one who had such thoughts, when in unison with holy Church it besought God, while making its offering in commemoration of his saints, that as suffering made them glorious, so devotion might render it innocent, through its Lord and Redeemer.*

But what skills it to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men? or how could the vain and sanguinary trophies of human ambition be associated with the golden vials full of sweet perfumes, which are the prayers of the saints? In determining the proper objects of Hyperdulia—which is the service or worship due to excellent creatures, Latria being the worship due to God alone, by faith, hope, and charity, and Dulia being the service due to ordinary creatures, as the ancient schoolmen distinguished†—how could there be a question between the type of Middleton and that of the Roman Pontiffs? The wisdom of the Church, like the Minerva of Æschylus, required that nothing but what contributed to the object of a blameless victory, should be sung to her favoured people—

* De Imit. Christi. Lit. I. 19.

* For St. Stephen.

† S. Bonaventura Declaratio Terminorum Theologiæ.

ὁποῖα νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα.*

And as for the objection of heretics, if those who followed humbly and perseveringly in the way of the cross, were not to be honoured by men, would the Psalmist have said, "Mihi nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus?" Christ teaches us that they are honoured by God. "Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus qui in cœlis est?"† Moses prayed to the Almighty, saying, "Recordare Domine Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, servorum tuorum:"‡ and Jacob, in his benediction, added, "Et invocetur super eos nomen meum, nomina quoque patrum meorum Abraham et Isaac."—"Job autem servus meus orabit pro vobis," says God himself; "faciem ejus suscipiam, ut non vobis imputetur stultitia."§

Justly, therefore, did the generations of the middle ages conclude, that the intercession of saints is not a contradiction to the atonement of the Son of God: and truly just was it that they should rejoice in the temporal duty of commemorating their victories, when it was their prayer that they might exult in beholding them for eternity.||

Let us, however, hear St. Anselm, who had such a tender devotion for the saints and for the mother of God. "What other intercessor can I obtain in thy presence, but him who was made the expiatory victim for sins—who is seated at thy right hand—and who, from the midst of the ineffable glory of which he partakes with thee, implores for us thy clemency? He it is who is my advocate with God the Father; he is that sovereign pontiff, who has no need of shedding other blood to expiate sins; his own blood shed for us flows yet from all his wounds.—Behold, O my God, the holy victim—the perfect victim—which is agreeable to thee. Behold the spotless lamb, who kept silence in presence of his shearers. Behold him, who without having committed sin, charged himself with our sins, and who has put an end to all our miseries by the torments of his agony!"¶

Who can imagine, to use the language of antiquity, that the rich man buried in hell should evince such solicitude for the salvation of his brethren, and that the saints in heaven should have no care for the lot of their fellow-citizens, still combating?

* Eumenid. 903. † Joan. xii.
‡ Exod. xxxii. § Cap. xlii.
|| P. C. Com. of 1 M.
¶ S. Anselmi Meditat. c. 6.

If any one asked how could this be, he was referred to St. Augustin, who acknowledges that to understand in what manner the martyrs hear the invocations of men at different places on the earth, exceeds the power of human intelligence.* If the especial devotion to particular saints at certain places was objected to, the wisdom of the same great doctor could have been urged in reply; for when relating the miracles wrought by St. Stephen's relics, he does not fancy St. Stephen to be busy, and ambitious in advancing the peculiar honour of his altar, and promoting his own private glory and worship, in preference to his competitors, with a neglect of the general advancement of religion and piety among men. It is besides a fact of history, that while the bodies of holy martyrs and saints have been borne along in procession with the prayers of devout people, plagues have been suddenly stopped; so that the anniversary has been ever after celebrated with religious joy in the city which had been delivered. Truly affecting and sublime to the eye of faith is the spectacle of that crowd, which for nine days and nights continually presses round the tomb of a saint, leaving offerings upon it in such abundance, that churches can be built without other means, covering it with their burning tapers, and carrying away, as a domestic treasure, the flowers and pictures which have touched it.

In the constitutions called Apostolical, the faithful are invited to visit the prisons of the witnesses of Christ, from the motive of being rendered partakers of their contest by exhibiting their will towards them.

Of Charlemagne we read, that he made a pilgrimage from Rouen to Tours, following the sea-shore and then mounting the Loire, to visit the Church of St. Martin, for the sake of prayer. Frodoard and Glaber make mention of many great men who repaired to the tomb of that glorious confessor. We read that the old hermit John, who lived in a cave near the town of Sochus, had so great a reverence for the martyrs, that he would often travel over the desert to visit their shrines, one time going to Ephesus to St. John; at another to Euchaita to St. Theodore; at another to St. Thecla, in Seleucia of Isauria; at another to St. Sergius, in Saraphas; and so on.†

By the ancient laws of France, the being

* Lib. de Curâ pro Mortuis, 16.
† Sophronii Prat. Spirituale, cap. 180.

on a pilgrimage in honour of some saint of God, was a legal plea to excuse non-residence where the right of citizenship was desired, which otherwise could not be obtained without a corporal residence in the place, from the festival of All Saints to that of St. John the Baptist.*

Truly admirable was the operation of that faith which preserved with such zeal the memory of Christian heroes, whom the Almighty has signalized as his favourites, and crowned with eternal bliss. Truly efficacious was that honour and veneration paid to them by all, from the lowest to the highest rank of mankind. The anniversaries of the saints kindled wondrous devotion, by leading the mind back to the first ages of Christianity; transporting, as it were, the Christians of the most remote regions into the ancient basilicas of the martyrs at Rome and Constantinople, and thus propagating throughout the world the apostolic spirit and heroic constancy of the first generous champions of Jesus Christ; exciting men, as the Church says, after their example, to despise, for the love of God, the prosperous things of the earth, and to fear not its adversity. The mere recalling of such names as those that occur in the canon of the mass, was sufficient to establish hearts in the love of God for ever. In some ancient liturgies, the names recited were more numerous. In the Ambrosian, twenty-four martyrs are named within the action; in the Mozarabic, the names of forty-six are mentioned; and in the ancient Gallican sacramentary, the names of Hilary, Martin, Ambrose, Augustin, Gregory, Jerome, and Benedict, are added to those of the twelve apostles and of twelve martyrs. In the first ages of the Church, the diptycha sanctorum, or anniversary books, were employed to perpetuate the names of the martyrs whose nativities were commemorated.† A Roman calendar of the fourth age was brought to light by Bucherius;‡ and another of the second century by Mabillon, from a manuscript in the monastery of Cluny. Although the use of these diptychs of the Primitive Church had become obsolete in the middle ages, the people nevertheless continued to be no less familiar with the acts of the martyrs. On each festival, rythmed sequences, sung before the Gospel, commemorated the most remarkable

* Pasquier Recherches de la France, Lib. IV. 7.
† Salig. de Diptychis Veterum, cap. I.
‡ Comment. in Vict. Aquit. Canon Pasch, cap. 15. f. 267.

events in the history of the saint; and it was usual to read publicly in parish churches a short account of his life and passion. Thus we find the passion of the holy martyrs, Valentine and Damian, Bishops of Terracina, divided into nine lessons, for the purpose of being publicly read in that church.* Many legends still exist, composed in old French rhyme, which in the seventeenth century were generally laid aside for prose narratives.† De la Barre speaks of an ancient legendary, which he found enclosed within an iron grate on a pillar in the Church of our Lady at Corbeil, from which he learned certain events that had occurred there in the time of Philippe-le-Long.‡

"As often as we celebrate the solemn anniversaries of the saints," says St. Ouen, in his history of St. Eloy, "we ought to recite something from their acts in praise of Christ for the edification of the Christian people; since whatever is laudable in his saints, is truly the gift of Christ."§

Invariably, indeed, do we find the clergy of the middle ages instructing the people with respect to these anniversaries. "Brethren," says an ancient chronicler, "as often as we celebrate the solemnities of the saints with a faithful mind, we ought to consider, that as they continually pray to God in behalf of human labours, so we have especial ground to hope, when we are more particularly attentive to the praises of God on account of their glory. Therefore we must take care with pious attention, that what we externally signify in appearance we may internally hold fast in truth; and then we shall be strengthened outwardly in work when within we are reformed in mind: for the solemnity of the saints is the salvation and joy of the faithful, who now rejoice for that invention whence we are sustained by hope on our journey, that by the grace of God we may come to the society of those whose examples we imitate by faith and works: for they, holding fast the anchor of hope, by desire imitated Christ in his death, and by the cup of his passion, gained the rewards of eternal felicity."‖

The reading of the Martyrology suggests some fine reflections to holy men. "For

* Italia Sacra, I.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, X. 42.
‡ Antiquitez de Corbeil, Liv. II. c. 12.
§ Vita S. Elegii Episcop. S. Audœni Episcop. Auct. Prolog.
‖ Chronicon. Mosomense apud Dacher Spicileg. Tom. VII. 523.

what shall we have to say," says St. Ephrem, "in that dreadful day of final judgment, when the blessed martyrs of Christ, standing near the throne of glory, will show their wounds, and the atrocious cruelties which they have suffered in their bodies? We, I say, my dearest brethren, what shall we have then to show? what virtues to produce? Shall we have charity towards God and our neighbour? Shall we have whole and inviolable faith? Shall we have voluntary poverty and privation? Shall we have peace and tranquillity? Shall we have alms? Shall we have the affection of pity? Shall we have the spirit of gentleness? Shall we have pure prayers—salutary compunction, vigils, tears, and true penitence? Happy shall we be if we can then produce such testimonies? Then we shall be associated in the choir of the saints, and become partakers of their crown."*

There still remains an advantage resulting from the festivals of the Church—of which we have as yet taken no notice—which recommends itself to the attention of those who cultivate political wisdom; for there is nothing more certain, than that they contributed to preserve the temporal order of society, by rendering the people content with their position in the present, and happy in the prospect of the future world.

Cardan, speaking in general of religion, says that the people of Sienna and of Florence, in constructing their cathedrals with such marvellous magnificence, and in lavishing upon them all the riches of art, so that every part seemed equally elaborate, have given an example of wisdom to the world. The temple of St. Mark at Venice and of St. Dionysius at Paris, appear to him similarly as monuments of the highest wisdom. "Sapienter hæc omnia non solum pie," saith he, in his elaborate work on Wisdom.†

Without referring to the supernatural rewards of eminent piety, it is clear that these rites and anniversaries caused the people, with one mind, and by a judgment fruitful in general utility, to have loves and dislikes in common: a compensation, or rather a remedy, as Æschylus affirms,

"For many woes that wait on mortal life."

True, the whole importance of what are styled principles of taste, as connected with popular manners and the external order of life, has been underrated by the sophists, who govern the modern society; and that in proportion as it was better understood and more clearly demonstrated by true philosophers. "We must confess," says Fries, "that among the people of the present higher European cultivation in general, to promote this art, which consists in the development and direction of sentiment and taste as an important object of attention, would appear a folly; and whoever should entertain such a desire, would seem to have a fancy fitted only for departed and distant times: for in truth, to receive this spirit of beauty in the external life, these people are still too greedy, avaricious, and warlike. Through greediness and avarice they have been obliged to limit still more and more the number of festival days, in order that they might work, and collect the more. While they regard murder on a great scale as their necessary, and even as their heroic work, they must employ the best part of their public power in building fortresses and in maintaining armed idlers; so that, when root and branch are thus wanting, it is in vain to look for the ornament of blossom and flower."* But yet, without referring to the religious operation, remark only these popular customs and traditions interwoven with them, and you will discern with Marchangy, how under an apparent frivolity, powerful and beneficial influences lived and acted. The ambition of men was satisfied at a small expense, by means of the annual circle of domestic fêtes, and local promotions: their passions were sanctified by immemorial anniversaries and traditions: and thus, in the great relations of social life, were united the intellectual and sentimental interests of positive religion, and the practical interest of the state.

The value of these innocent institutions has been discovered by the fearful void which their abolition has left in society. The small money having been suppressed, only the great is put into circulation, for which every one disputes with confusion and rage.†

Those who attach importance to the refinement of a nation, will observe, that the cultivation of a taste for the beauties of the popular life, is inseparable from the maintenance of the Catholic ritual. The reign of taste in the external social life,

* Eph. Sec. de Laudit. Sanct. Mart.
† Hieronymi Cardani de Sapientia, Lib. III.

* Religios Philosophie, 195.
† Tristan. Tom. V. 21.

requires the retention of the varied forms of festal days and intervals of rest, as well as those of working days and times of business, with their various agricultural and commercial arrangements; and the history of mankind shows that genius can only produce its great forms in the open service of the popular life, and that every worthy expression of the fine arts must be expended in the service of religion."*

Certainly, in relation to the political advantages resulting from poetry and art, that annual recurrence of festivals, which has so often been the theme of poets, as with Vida and Chiabrera,† might suggest innumerable reflections: for it would be difficult to determine whether, by means of their intrinsic beauty, in general and in detail, they contributed more to the intellectual or to the social cultivation of man. Whoever reflects on the tender and majestic scenes with which they kept the minds of the people familiar, will easily understand why the ages of faith were, in so eminent a degree, ages of poetry, which Novalis calls the heroism of philosophy, and of which philosophy teaches us to know the value. Doubtless we must ascribe much of the sublimity and purity which distinguished the European imagination, to the influence of the solemn daily ritual, to that essence of ideality and of supernatural joy, which was inhaled with the fragrant incense of the altar. Genius as well as faith was kindled into a common flame, by joining, during Lent, those vast assemblies of believers, in churches whose very stones were each ideas—whose vaults and arches were so many epic poems—who met there by night to hear the solemn rhapsodies of divinely commissioned men, disclosing visions of the threefold world, reminding them of the passion of Christ, the glory of the blessed souls in heavenly paradise, and the dreadful doom of sinners, for ever lost! Who could ever forget the spectacle of this devout multitude, retiring in tears from the portals of the gothic cathedral, under that infant moon, which, in its fulness, was destined to be the solitary witness of the stupendous fact of the resurrection. Truly, genius was not without its share in what was provided by the festivals of the Church, for the beatification of the poor in spirit, for the exaltation of the humble, for the endowment of the meek, for the consolation of mourners. Eternal youth of the soul! poesy that never fades! enchantment equal to that of childhood! Faith gave a sense to the wildest illusions; it explained the most strange creations of the fond imagination. Nothing in them was wholly false. Faith could revive those poor flowers which the world's breath had withered, could make them a second time raise their heads, and diffuse their sweetness in its bosom.

We have already surveyed the beauty of the divine offices in general, as the expression of the hunger and thirst after justice in the human soul; but here, in conclusion, I would invite the reader to view it in relation to the changes introduced by the particular stages of the revolving year, and to remark how it even possessed every feature of the genuine poetic character, being universal, and yet peculiar, definite, and yet free, clear, and yet full of mystery: so that the rule of its perfection, like that of mathematics, was in accordance with the principle of unity in variety.

What a divine beauty in this solemn order, which is unchanging, and yet ever new! possessing at the same time the charm of constant renovation and the majesty of eternal repose! What grandeur in its steady, irresistible movement! Paris was still beholding the sanguinary rage of her revolted citizens; an armed throng, with hands and weapons blood-stained, beat against the doors of a church which stands near the scene of the greatest slaughter, demanding the clergy. Behold the venerable pastor, who fearlessly advances! Are they appointed by Heaven. to give him the long-desired and now expected crown? No: they come there only to desire that mass for the souls of the slain should be celebrated on the following day. What a heart was his, what an institution did he represent, which in such a moment preserved its untroubled peace and order! "Men and brethren," he calmly replied, "to-morrow is the Lord's day, on which the rubric forbids me to sing a requiem; but I shall consult the calendar, and fulfil your wishes on the first vacant feria."

Remark too in the ritual to what profound and matchless taste the mere simplicity of faith gave rise. Witness the ghostly eve of All-Hallow Mass! What a moment is that for intellectual impressions in the course of mortal life, when at the end of the joyful vespers in honour of all the saints, after the "Benedicamus

* Fries, Religios Philosophie, 178.
† Le Feste dell Anna Christiano.

Domino," the priest, withont moving from his place before the altar, exchanges his golden cope for one of mournful hue, and then, in altered and soul-piercing strains, entones aloud the "Placebo Domino in terrâ viventium," which annonnces the commencement of that day of universal grief and pity, when the whole world becomes one supplicant for the souls of the dead, that are waiting their deliverance from penal fire.

New thonghts are ever excited by the course divine of the ecclesiastic year. Whether it be the sweet vernal season, which yieldeth joy to all breasts, or the time when leaves are fallen, and churches beaten by the raging winds, he who loves the sacred offices, continues still as one in whom desire is wakened, and whom the hope of somewhat new to come fills with delight. Short space ensues between the holy triumphs of the host of Christ. At one time it is the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" which doth lay open the path that had been yearned for so long betwixt the heaven and earth; at another, it is the "Lauda Sion" which yields a heavenly banquet to the raptured soul. Now it is the coming of the Just One which holds in expectance those who hunger and thirst after justice. "Rorate cœli desuper," you hear them sing; "et nubes pluant justum:" soon it will be the sacred orison on the presentation of our Divine Lord in the temple: then prayer, that as those lights enkindled with visible fire dispel nocturnal darkness, so the hearts of the faithful, illumined by invisible fire, that is, the brightness of the Holy Spirit, may be free from the blindness of all vice; that their mental eye being purified, they may perceive those things which are pleasing to God and profitable to their salvation; so that after the dark perils of this world, they may deserve to arrive at never-failing light, through Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world.

The office for the passion has not been changed since the highest antiquity—so profound was the respect of the Church for the early traditions and ceremonies of faith connected with that awful day!

Here this discourse might well leap like one that meets a sudden interruption to his road: but he who bears in mind that the festivals were dramatic, may pardon if it should extol the high poesy of the sacred strain, and invite him to leave the immortal verse of Sophocles to witness the darksome offices of the holy week. The first sounds, "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo," or those, "Exultet jam angelica turba cœlorum," which announce the magnificent consecration of the paschal candle, will convince him that he has no loss to fear by the exchange. O gracious virtue! that doth revive, from time to time, the fainting bards of Sion! how is thy might and sweetness felt, when after a long office, arranged with subtle, profonnd, but often undiscerned skill, the mystic object of the master minds that composed it is attained—the soul becoming suddenly present at the mournful or glorious event commemorated. The absence of all spiritual refreshment had been endnred so long! and lo now, as if a veil were suddenly withdrawn, men seem to behold every thing described by the sacred penmen, no less than if they really stood at Bethlehem or on Calvary, seem, like Thomas, to have beheld the side and the feet and the hands of Christ, and to have heard, like him, "Noli esse incredulus" from the Divine lips; and feel constrained, through the weakness produced by that intimate sense of the reality, to sink to the earth in adoration—while the rapt crowd sings over them, "Quando Thomas vidit Christum, pedes, manus, latus snnm, dixit; tu es Deus meus, allelnja."

The moderns conceive that these testimonies to the admirable beauty of the Catholic ritual are exaggerated. They flock to onr churches at all the principal anniversaries; they gaze astounded at the ceremonies of faith; they admit that the music is of the highest order: but their view of all is partial; they can discern no connexion between these things and what is invisible and infinite. They complain that the season is ill chosen, or that the locality is attended with disadvantages. True, the chants, as the walls and towers of the church, may be made an object of scientific curiosity and of philosophical explanation. The church, as Michelet observes,* is a gothic mnseum, which is visited by men of ability. As they enter irreverently, and look round to praise the beauty of the architecture, so they perform in their brilliant assemblies the most admirable masses of Hadyn and Mozart. What gains their favour, what they like in the church, is not the church itself—not its profound symbolism, which speaks so high—it is the delicate workmanship of its ornaments, the fringe of its mantle,

* Hist. de France, Tom. II. 660.

its lace of stone, the difficulty of the execution! How little can these men, who discern nothing hut stone and sounds, comprehend a Catholic festival!

During the heroic ages of our history, there would not have heen wanting some to remind them of the maxim of ehivalrous honour, which pronounces it unjust for those to be at the triumph who had not been at the pain. How should they be now filled? "You see then," says St. Bonaventura, "what joy is here at this paschal feast! Perhaps, however, yon have heard, hut not felt it, becanse you had been moved hy no pity in the time of the passion. For if yon had known how to compassionate our Lord, then, with a mind not distracted hy secular cares or superfluoos and curious studies, you would now keep the feast with corresponding sentiments, according to the apostle, who says that, if we were companions in his sufferings, we shall he also partakers of his consolation." How should they experience mystic refreshment, who have never known the hlessed thirst? What vigils have these men observed? With what penitential austerities have they purified their intelligence, appeased their passions, sanctified their heart? They have not studied the mournful symbols of Lent; and now that the veils are withdrawn, altars again decorated, and full choirs, in a circling melody, are taking up the hymns of angels, unseen, unfelt, unheard, will pass hefore them the figuring of Paradise.

O festival of the Resurrection! how dost thou imparadise the soul, drawing the veil from off our present life, and disclosing visions of eternal hliss to the eyes of poor mortality! Whatever melody sounds sweetest here, might seem a grating to fatigue the spirit, eompared unto the sounding of those hells of Easter morn which awaken the assurance of the resurrection in the heart of man! This is the day of hope, the feast of angelie love, and of that friendship which unites in sweetest honds of fraternal affection the wayfarers of hnman course.

I did note once a youthful pair, fellow students in the same city, who loved, from time to time, to consecrate together these sacred days to religion, happy when they could withdraw from the erowd, to meditate on the past and future.

Christian friendship improved upon the counsel of Alceus. It said not

"Σύν μοι πῖνε, συνήβα, συνέρα, συστεφανηφόρει,
Σύν μοι μαινομενῷ μαίνεο, σὺν σώφρονι σωφρόνει."

But rather, "Follow me to the altar of God, and pray with me; to the trihunal of penance, and confess with me; to the great sanctuary, where rejoicing spirits atand amazed at Heaven's merey, and receive with me the Lord of life."

What a charm was there in thns preparing together for the struggle of the earthly existence, when hoth had the same passions to comhat, the same dangers to traverse, the same Master to serve with faithful zeal! These young friends felt it; and during the exercises of the long penitential season, elosed hy the Holy Week, they loved to concentrate themselves in a common sadness, that afterwards, when the days of immortal triumph should arrive, they might lay themselves open to the same joy. So together did they repair to the churches, to adore the cross; together, to hear the chance of prophecy; together to meditate, and to sing the Miserere and Vexila Regis, hefore the veiled image of the Savionr. This affliction had a taste as sweet as any cordial comfort; for during these affecting solemnities, they felt the truth of that devout sentence of Thomas à Kempis, that "it is sweeter to be with Jesus on the cross, than without him in Paradise." How deeply did they understand, and with what love did they contemplate all the mighty and the tender things concealed under the beautiful Catholic forms? And when the priest, holding the crneifix in his hands, said, with tears, "Christians, behold it, that cross which you adore, the sole treasnre and comfort of the unhappy upon earth! Christians, rememher Calvary! 'Ihi crucifixerunt eum.' Shudder at the thonght of there being a spot on earth where the Creator has been crucified hy his ereatures. Tremhle, lest this terrihle inscription should be for yourselves also: 'Here they crucified him.'" Yes, these young friends understood and felt the words of the priest, for they, too, had been unhappy, and the charity of Christ had urged them to works of mercy; and when evening came, they nsed to remain longer on their knees before the cross in silence.

Now the aspect of all things bears testimony of the Passion. After the mass of Maunday Thursday, every sound of earthly occupation and plessnre ceases: no bell, no music, hreaks the solemn stillness of the mourning city. In Spain, no carriage is allowed to appear in the streets; the king and court, with the meanest snhject, going to the stations on foot. "I have seen," says De Bourgueville, "before the change of religion, the devotion of the people of

Caen to be so great and fervent, that, on the night between the Thursday and Good Friday, both men and women used to go by night, barefoot, to all the churches, to adore our Lord under the sacramental species, and give their alms to a multitude of poor at the doors of the churches."* This affecting devotion was encouraged also by the indulgences which the church attached to its observance. It is still a practice observed in France to pass the night within the tomb, in adoration of the sacramental presence there. During the day, the streets of cities wonder at the unaccustomed spectacle of holy recluses and devont women, in the habits of their respective orders, who throughout the whole year, are never seen beyond their cloisters, excepting on this occasion. At Genoa, twenty-one confraternities of devont laics proceed in procession after vespers, to the sepulchre of the metropolitan church, carrying lighted tapers, crosses, and various mystic emblems curiously wrought.†

These two friends repair now, in the dusk of evening, to the sepulchre, to chant the Stabat Mater with the tribe of holy mourners, who make the solemn vaults resound with a melody most sweet and sad. Why did Bernardin de St. Pierre feel himself so profoundly moved on these occasions, by seeing a young peasant maiden leave her companions, and, when every one was at a distance, kneel down, and, with joined hands and eyes raised to heaven, make her prayer, and then put her piece of money into the plate which was at the foot of Calvary? What is it, in sanctity, which moves us, and why does the view of it make the tears gush from our eyes? I know not. Philosophy can teach nothing here: love alone comprehends what is mystic in the details of love; and man, when not depraved, is a being of religious love. Here sing those saintly sisters of Christ's family, whose countenances have so often enabled painters of old to impart to their female heads that more than ideal sweetness which we behold in those of Benozzo on the walls of the Campo Santa at Pisa. Here they raise the sympathizing strain, which condoles with the blessed Mary, till suddenly their tears choke the words,—

> ——— "Like to the lark,
> That, warbling in the air, expatiates long,
> Then, trilling out his last sweet melody,
> Drops satiate with the sweetness."‡

This dropping off, through pity, of the sweetest and most heavenly voices, while the solemn procession moves on through the crowd, has an overpowering effect. It indicates that the souls, of which these were only the expression, have been dissolved by the words of that divine hymn. I used to discover these affectionate persons bowed down, with faces in the dust, whose hearts, too full for music to give them relief, found it now in the secret flow of delicious tears; and there, too, oft have I been one of many who could not, to the end, endure the harmony of that unearthly strain.

The profound and intense feeling with which the laity of the middle ages entered into the spirit of the Church during the commemoration of the Passion may be witnessed in many remarkable episodes of history. In the year 1203, after the defeat of John de Courcy, at Downpatrick, by Sir Hugh de Lacy, that nobleman offered the single combat, which the latter declined accepting, at the same time promising a large reward for his person, alive or dead. This offer proving ineffectual, he, in the next place, practised secretly with some of the followers of de Courcy, who were prevailed upon by bribes to betray their master. Having chosen their opportunity when he was doing penance near the church of Downpatrick on Good Friday, on which day, yearly, say the annals, he wore no arms, but was wholly given to divine contemplation, and used to walk, all solitary, round that church-yard, they rushed upon him, killed some of his retinue, amongst them two sons of Armoric de St. Laurence, who attempted to defend their uncle. De Courcy, however, with his usual prowess, seizing a wooden cross which stood in the church-yard, maintained an obstinate contest. He was at length, however, overpowered, bound, led captive beyond the seas, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower of London.

But the day of the resurrection approaches: it is already anticipated in the office of Holy Saturday. Since yesterday, there is a change: there is an expectation of some mighty joy. The walls are no longer hung with weeds of mourning: the beauty of painting, the splendour of marbles, the lustre of illumined gold, again involve men in the strife of vision. It is no longer the Miserere and the Stabat: it is a prayer that we may so be inflamed with heavenly desires through this Paschal solemnity, that we may be able to arrive with pure minds at the festival of perpetual light. Forms

* Les Recherches et Antiquitéz de la Ville de Caen. † Italia Sacra, V. 834.

‡ Dante, Parad. XX.

of hope and victory are beheld; the emotions are too powerful for words: the only language is symbolic. The light of Christ is raised, and thrice the prostrate crowd adores. At length the Church breaks forth in the extatic cry, "Let tho angelic choir of heaven now rejoice: let the divine mysteries rejoice; and let the trumpet of salvation sound for the victory of so great a King. Let the earth, also, rejoice, illumined with such splendour, and enlightened with the brightness of the eternal King. Let, also, our mother, the Church, be glad, adorned with the brightness of so great a light; and may the temple resound with the loud voices of the people. Wherefore, I beseech you, most dear brethren, who are here present at the wonderful brightness of this holy light, to invoke with me the mercy of Almighty God."

What tongue can express the admirable beauty of the office on this great day? What humility may not be learned in the mighty triumph, when he to whom the benediction of the Paschal candle is assigned, pronounces himself at that moment unworthy to be a Levite? With what profound and tranquil joy does the soul of man hear those celebrated and wondrous words, "O certe necessarium! O felix culpa!"

Hitherto the harmony has been alone of voices; but now comes forth the majestic priest, vested in gorgeous chasuble, with solemn company, to sing the mass of this triumphant night. Now again rises to the highest vault the fragrant cloud, through which pierces the tremulous lustre of innumerable tapers. All is adoration, holy rapture; and yet still there is an expectation, for the choir has not resumed its office. But the moment is come, the moment so long desired, of announcing the accomplishment of human redemption and the fulness of heavenly joy. Inflamed with a seraphic ardour of spirit, the priest, with outstretched arms, entones the Gloria in Excelsis, and then earth and heaven seem united: the bells are rung; they murmur in the lofty towers; the roar of distant cannon answers them; while within the church, the majestic swell of organs and the burst of the long silent choir seem to dissolve innumerable souls in the ecstacy of heaven. As Dante says of that loud hosanna which was sung in Paradise, "it is such a sound as must leave desire, ne'er after extinct in human breasts, to hear renew'd the strain."*

But now the Church, having sung her treble allelnja, hastens to dismiss her children, that they may prepare themselves for the ensuing day. She briefly salutes the Virgin Mother, and sings "Regina cœli lætare alleluja." Nothing can better express the feelings of every faithful heart, than those broken artless lines, where each word is joy and love, terminating with the same "allelujah," indicating by their simplicity the overflowing of gratitnde.

With many, the happiest moment of life seemed to be that when the priest sung on this day the "Ite missa est, allelujah, allelujah." Leaving the church, each one returned to his home through thronged streets, with swelling bosom, and eyes diffused in tears, and looks that showed the hope of life eternal on his mind imprinted; and with a heart so moved by vehement affection, that he would gladly enfold within his arms every stranger that passed by, as the prisoner embraceth his fellow captives when tidings are brought of their approaching deliverance. These emotions, which every one feels within himself, were permitted formerly to have actually a corresponding expression, as Leo Allatius witnesseth:—"When all who are in the church," saith he, "have followed the example of the priests, and have mutually embraced with devont kisses, the same manifestations of spiritual affection are exchanged even without the church. During the three days of the Resurrection, and even longer, all persons embrace each other on meeting: the men embrace men; the women, women; boys only observe no order, but, with tumultuous joy, give and receive a thousand kisses. And thus the whole Christian people, laying aside hatred, and reconciled with a kiss, is united together in one bond of love."* During that night, in the third century, the streets of cities were illuminated, so as to be as lightsome as in the day: torches and lamps cast their beams in every spot.† St. Gregory Nazianzen speaks in rapture of the beanty of this mystic rejoicing.‡ Nevertheless, whether it be in consequence of the suspension which at present takes place from the office having been forestalled, or from some general principle of our spiritual life, certain it is that the soul, during the intervening hours, seems to experience a strange interior struggle, as if it were uneasy at the prospect of being fully consoled on earth.

* VIII.

* De Hebdom. et Domin. Græc. c. 22.
† Euseb. Vita Constant. IV. 22.
‡ Serm. XLII.

It was so sweet a thing to mourn at the foot of the cross of Christ! Who would not have stood for ever there, and forgotten his own hopes of a resurrection, to have wept with Mary, and to have gazed for ever upon that amazing spectacle of woe and pity? The world, in which this enormous act was perpetrated, is not the proper place for gladness: in heaven, joy is associated with perfection; here it seems to be, at the best, a doubtful emotion, and rather a thing of guilt and shame. Therefore it is that the Church tempers her sweet with bitterness; for even this most triumphant festival breathes a mystic joy mixed with abundant sorrow. The eyes are hardly dry with which we contemplated the spectacle of the cross, and the strains of the Stabat Mater still seem to rise around us, when we are invited to sing allelujah with rejoicing souls. Great is the glory of the mighty triumph, but the countenance continues pale, the cheeks are still stained with the tears which flowed at the sad sight; and with a kind of inexplicable, strange desire, the heart still seems to cling to the office of a mourner. We find it recorded in history, that these feelings were experienced by the men of the middle ages:—"I used to minister to him when he celebrated the divine mysteries," says an ancient writer, describing the character of Lucas, elected Archbishop of Cosenza, in Calabria, in the year 1204; "I heard him say once," he continues, "that he never felt lighter throughout the whole year, than during the fifteen days of the Passion; so that he used always to grieve when they were finished."*

But the day of the Resurrection is come: the silence of the first dawn is broken by the toll of solemn bells; crowds already throng the streets; there is a solemn procession to the tomb: the churches can hardly contain the faithful. Christ is risen indeed, and has appeared to his disciples.

The church now displays all the treasures of rare and beauteous kind with which the piety of the people has adorned her. Thus Paul, the deacon, mentions that the holy Bishop Masma, in his church at Merida, ordered the most precious vestments of gold and silk cloth to be used in the Easter festivals. As through streams of sun-light is seen a flower-besprinkled meadow, so now on every side we see bright fair forms, legions of splendours, on whom burning rays shed lightnings. It is the day of saintly pomp, expressive of the deep things which are below, from mortal eye so hidden, that they have in belief alone their evidence. O ye, in blissful fellowship admitted to the supper of the blessed Lamb, to drink of the fount whence flows what most ye crave! lo, it is the great day of the adorable Eucharist. Let other men beware and tremble, who have not that credence on which is founded every virtue. Say, inconsistent utterers of current coin, who would be Christians without faith, who will not confess your Saviour present in the sacramental elements, because you have not demonstration physical, would you have acknowledged your God during the late days in the person of a poor crucified carpenter, bleeding on an ignominious cross, saturated with opprobrious insults? See, then, to what a distance your unribbed bark is driven, if once you hoist a sail before this fatal blast, which has scattered so many before you over the immeasurable ocean of evil, there to perish unseen for ever!

And now where shall I find words to speak of the assembly of disciples to commemorate, after twelve or eighteen centuries, this stupendous and adorable mystery of a dead God risen! O what mortal tongue can describe such a festival! It is unlike any thing else that mortal eye beholds: it is a symbol, it is an anticipation of heaven; for it leaves nothing present to the mind but the fulfilment of all justice and the reign of everlasting peace. To which ever side you turn, you behold some image of Paradise, some victorious trophy won from death, some proof of things not seen; every where you behold devout people, hastening to assist at the solemnity: all is movement and rennion. In all other places, to a philosophic eye, a crowd of human beings is associated with mournful or fearful reflections: its presnece brings fatigue, disgust, or terror. Here, it is felt as a benediction; it brings refreshment, delight, and courage. Some persons may be discerned in meditative mood, leaning over the galleries along the upper walls of the temple, listening to the mighty sound, like the distant murmur of the sea, which rises to them from the mere tread of the multitude below, and apparently indulging in the deep and soothing reflections which it is so capable of inspiring. In short, whatever is seen or heard is cheering and ravishing: the place itself is full blessed; it would be well to drop dead in it. As the Church herself sings, this place is made by God, an inestimable sacrament, irreprehensible. Here the crimes and follies of the race of

* Italia Sacra, Tom. IX. 206.

men are forgotten; here the countless sorrows of human life end. It is a place alike for mourners and for those who rejoice. Prophecy is seen accomplished here. All the families of the nations are adoring in the sight of God. All these old men, all these young men, all these mothers, these maidens, these children, who, from the bottom of their souls, have poured out so many tears for the sufferings of Christ: behold them now to-day consoled, consoled with abundance of bliss, filled with mystical vows and joy. It is as if what blessed John beheld in vision had now been accomplished upon earth: it is as if God himself had wiped away all tears from the eyes of men; as if there was no more death, nor grief, neither lamentation nor sorrow any longer, from the former things having passed away at the voice of him who sitteth upon the throne, saying, "Behold, I make all things new."

And the two young friends went together, at the voice of their sweet and precious guide, to be refreshed with these sacred dews. All within was purified and calm; no idea of the world to obscure the bright lustre of their holy thoughts,—the past atoned for, and the future in the pledge of mercy sure. Then did they pray fervently and long for each other: they prayed also for their families, for all their brethren in Jesus Christ, and, above all, for such as were not given to God, whose understanding had a thirst for truth, and had not been refreshed, whose hearts had a craving for justice and happiness, and had remained empty.

How beautiful and how holy must have been that union of two young men, supplicating, to aid their intelligence, the Divine intelligence, to enable them to resist the corrupting torrent of the evil days on which their lot had cast them, and aspiring with all their souls to the Divine love, that they might be instrumental in communicating it to others! Admirable power of religion in friendship! sublime sanctification of friendship by religion! Wondrous mystery of the Eucharistic union! To yield angelic love in breasts of flesh and blood, and hope immortal in creatures doomed irreprievably to die!

It is evening, and vespers are now with exultation sung. Some writers have expressed surprise that there should be no hymn for Easter: but methinks in this very omission one must feel that there is something in accordance with the astonishment which such a mystery creates in human breasts. Yet not without soul-inspiring strains breathing the love of angels, does the Church leave the faithful audiences on the evening of this great day, and on those which succeed it through the octave; for at the benediction, when golden altars, resplendant as the sun, fire the highest vaults of the temple, the "O filii et filiæ" is chanted from above, as if by an angelic chorus, making heaven and earth copartners in its joy.

No, I should never finish, were I to describe the festivals of the Church in all the mystic grandeur and pathetic tenderness of their detail, or were I to express all the indications of profound thought and of ecstatic rapture with which they were received and celebrated in the ages of faith. If a feeling of regret at the shortness of the earthly course were ever admissible to a Christian, methinks it might arise from a wish to have celebrated oftener these great festivals, to have meditated oftener on these stupendous mysteries, ere death his fatal term should prescribe, and faith be changed into possession. Life is clearly too brief to enable us to enjoy the thousandth part of the sublime and rapturous emotions which they are capable of yielding to our nature. But these are themes for men, who are of angels taught, of heaven inspired with gifts of the highest muse, and, as one of ancient fame hath said, in circumstances similar, "for me, sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing amongst many readers of no empyreal conceit," to attempt to develope them is presumptuous and vain.

Durandus wrote his austere complaints on the insensibility of men to the sublime symbolism of the Catholic Church in the thirteenth century, in the age when Christian art shone with so much splendour, when an enthusiastic and spiritualized society pushed forward with all its efforts towards a marvellous ideal, and sought to escape from the realities of terror, by symbolizing life. Oh, if he had lived in later times, no one would accuse him of rigorism, and of having merited the satiric epitaph composed for him by his enemies,—

"Durus Durandus jacet hoc sub marmore duro."

Justly would he have wept on beholding ages of prosaic dulness, of reactions full of hatred and of avaricious industry, when men had lost the sense of religious art, and had grown to regard the temples of

their fathers and the ceremonies of faith as the hieroglyphic traces of a former world. These rites and commemorations were instituted, as the sacred Scriptures were written,* that men might believe; and now that the inference of Duns Scotus is rejected,† and theology is reduced to bare action, resting npon no philosophy of life; when men, loving vanity and seeking after lies, desire rather that they may not believe, and that a pompous affectation of virtue should uphold the civilization which is to exclnde the manners of Catholic ages, we need only conclude that the boasted progress of society, whatever their most subtle doctor may affirm in its praise, is in truth nothing more than a verification of the sentence of St. Augustin, "Omnis creatura mutabilis, solus Deus immutabilis."*

CHAPTER IX.

SUCH, then, is the evidence furnished hy the institution and observance of the Catholic rites and festivals, and by the whole history of the Roman Liturgy. Thus was the mystic society which had been diffused over the world impelled hy a secret and insatiable thirst to seek, in the symbolic representation and commemoration of things invisible, a more perfect union with justice than could be obtained hy an application to the realities of the present external natnre. Incidentally, it is true, we have been led, during the investigation, to witness many proofs of the piety of the middle ages; but we shonld hardly have a full conception of the prevalence and intensity of the blessed thirst, if we were not to direct our attention expressly in conclusion to this point, in order to observe what a general spirit of devotion existed dnring this long period of the history of man.

Every act of pnre morality, and every thought of true greatness,—whatever can serve the necessities or exalt the dignity of human natnre,—all that excites the genius of the artist, or impels the poet to develope the ideal forms of his imagination in harmonious words,—must arise from that secret thirst after justice, which, from being inherent in the soul of man, is augmented, directed, and finally satisfied hy grace. "All our inclinations," says Novalis, "appear to be nothing hut religion in some sense or other. The heart seems as if it were the religious organ. Perhaps the highest produce of the prodnctive heart is nothing hut heaven."† Morality, even in the sense of natural reason, as expressed hy the ancient philosophers, recognises the snpreme pre-eminence of devotion above every other obligation. Cicero sums np the dnties of man in this order: the first being what he owes to the gods; the second, what are required hy his country; and the third, what he must fulfil towards his parents.‡ It is needless to remark that the Christian philosophy places piety in the van, since it declares that from that source every meritorious action must take rise; hut what I have engaged to show in this place is the conformity between this axiom and the manners of society during the middle ages, which when viewed in this particular point of view, will appear more than ever justly entitled to the designation of "Ages of Faith." The proposition cannot be better stated than in the words nsed hy a modern author, in other respects of no great weight, hnt which will

* Joan. XX. † In Lib. Sentent. Prolog. IX. 4.

* De Trinit. VI. 6.
† Schriften, II. 306
‡ De Officiis, Lib. I. 45.

answer our immediate purpose sufficiently well, since, in the eyes of his contemporaries, of whose opinions he is the steady advocate, they must possess the merit of unquestionable impartiality:—"The middle ages," saith he, "were more distinguished by a religious character than any other period of which the history of the world makes mention; and this feature, which belonged to society in general, was the property of almost all its individual members, imbuing the light love-strain of the minstrel with its deeper pathos, giving a soft and solemn beauty to many of the customs of domestic intercourse, and blending the soldier's dream of glory with one of immortality and heaven." So far this writer, speaking as to the general fact, which, however, is better stated in the following words, by a French historian:—"In the abyss of the Passion lies the thought of the middle age. This age is wholly contained in Christianity, as is Christianity in the Passion. Literature, art, the different developments of the human mind from the third to the fifteenth century,—all is suspended on this eternal mystery."*

We may remark here, in confirmation of the literal truth of this statement, that it was not merely on the sixth feria of the great week that the faithful people of the middle ages commemorated the mysterious day on which man was made and redeemed: throughout the whole year, it was observed as a day of abstinence and retirement, and in many places there were ceremonies and other usages expressly instituted in memory of our Lord's passion. Ferdinand de Bazan ordained that, on every Friday, in order to remind the people of the death of the Saviour, at the sixth and ninth hour, the bells of the churches of Palermo should toll with a lugubrious sound:† and in the bishopric of Ratisbon, as also in many other dioceses, the great bells were similarly tolled at nones, on Friday; on hearing which, the prayer, "Respice in me Deus," or the psalm, "Deus, Deus meus, respice in me," or some other supplication, was repeated by every tongue, and indulgences were attached to this devotion. In Milan, there were no fewer than nineteen confraternities of laymen, under the title of the Holy Cross, whose especial object was to erect and repair, throughout the province, monuments that would constantly recall to the minds of the people the cross and passion of their Redeemer.*

Man, in Paradise, fell from innocence through the temptation of a foreign enemy; and, on earth, he falls from grace through the influence of his brethren. Like one individual, society itself experiences these awful moral vicissitudes: it falls like one man, generally, by a gradual and imperceptible progress of degradation. "For," says St. Odo, in his Collations, "as we do not perceive in what manner the beauty of the body changes in old age, so, also, our mind, we being unaware, frequently is bent from the state of rectitude and from the form of religion, unconsciously grows old, and decays according to the words, 'Traxerunt me, et non sensi.'"† Indifference to religion, in its progress through society, advances like the hand of a clock, "Quam progredi non videmus, progressam autem videmus."

Could the men of former ages be permitted again to visit the regions in which they had once thought that faith had taken imperishable root, great would be their astonishment! They would hear, indeed, on all sides, even from those whose cheeks were not yet clothed with down, much boast of reformation and morality, renovated light, and evangelic lore; but what likeness would they find to that grain of mustard-seed, which a man sowed in his garden, which increased and became a great tree, so that the fowls of the air lodged in its branches? Or what similitude to that leaven, "which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened?"‡

One of the first characteristics of the religious fervour of the middle ages which presents itself in history, is its universality: devotion not being confined to any particular order or condition of men. Sanctity was not confined to cloisters, or to the chair of St. Peter: it was found in the walks of secular life, and upon worldly thrones. The words of Isaiah were literally accomplished in the middle ages, "The nations walked in his light, and kings in the splendour of his rising."§ These mighty waters, which now, like a savage torrent, precipitate themselves in straight lines against the Church, leaving nothing standing but what is absolutely part of the very Rock which can never be overthrown,

* Michelet, Hist. de France, I. 637.
† Sicilia Sacra, Not. I. 262.

* Italia Sacra, IV. 27.
† St. Odonis, Collat. Lib. I. Bibliothec. Cluniac.
‡ Luke xiii. 19.
§ lx. 3.

—in those days flowed gently, and in a varied undulating course through the divine garden, refreshing its tender plants, fertilizing and covering with flowers of ten thousand lovely hues all the adjacent soil. "True," as St. Clement said, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, "the laity had particular duties different from those of priests;" but during those ages, if a person in the ranks of secular society were studious and thoughtful, fond of retirement, walking not in the trodden paths, but looking to the divine mysteries and to the ceremonies of faith as the true medicine for sorrow, it was not concluded that he was forsaking the post which Providence had assigned to him, or introducing confusion into the social hierarchy; for that nice discrimination of offices which our modern civilization has sanctioned, where it was not unknown to our ancestors, was expressly condemned by them, as in contradiction to the spirit and letter of the Christian law, which declares that without holiness no man should ever see God. In the laity, therefore, as well as in the ecclesiastical order, sanctity was the first duty and the highest honour of every one who professed himself a disciple in the school of Christ.

"No!" exclaims St. Jerome, "it is not ecclesiastical dignity which makes the true Christian. The centurion, Cornelius, though a pagan, was purified by the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Daniel, while a child, was the judge of old men. Amos, from the bosom of poverty and ignorance, was raised to be a prophet of the Lord. And David was sought for among shepherds, when he was to be established King of Israel. It was the youngest, the last of the disciples, who obtained the greatest marks of the love of his Divine Master."*

St. Anselm, while a monk at Bec, in a letter of advice to his friends, Odo and Lanzo, reminds them of the words of truth, that but few are chosen; and adds, with solemn eloquence, "Quapropter, quicunque nondum vivit ut pauci, aut vitam suam corrigendo inter paucos se colligat, aut cum certitudine reprobationem timeat."†

We find the ancient monk of Ratisbon, whose account of his temptations, various fortunes, and writings, has been published by Mabillon, speaking of his having edited a book entitled "A Manual written for the Admonition of Clerks and Laics."‡

* S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Heliodor.
† Epist. Lib. I. 2. ‡ Vet. Analecta, 118.

Alcuin, in his book, "De Virtutibus et Vitiis," which is addressed to Count Guy, after reminding that nobleman of the care required for his salvation, speaks to him as follows:—"And be not alarmed by the habit of a laic which you wear, or by the secular life which you lead, as if under this habit you could not penetrate through the gates of celestial life. For as the blessedness of the kingdom of God is preached to all without distinction, so the entrance to this kingdom is open equally, according to the degree of merits, to every sex, age, and person. There it is not distinguished who on the earth has been a laic or a clerk, rich or poor, young or old, master or slave; but the eternal glory crowns every man according to his works." Iona, in his celebrated book, "De Institutione Laïcale," written in the ninth century, and printed by Dacherius from a manuscript 500 years old, which he found in the Abbey of Corby, shows that the law of Christ is to be observed, not especially by Clerks, but generally by all the faithful.*

The Abbot Smaragdus, in his work entitled "Via Regia" addressed to the Emperor Louis le Debonnaire; and Gilles de Rome, in his "Mirror of Chivalry for the Instruction of Princes," argues on the same ground, desiring them to remember death and judgment.† What a heavenly air breathes through all the Laical Institution, which was written during the reign of Charles the Bald! Here is proof that it was not dry, cold morality which used to be addressed to the secular society of the middle ages! "It must be our care, then," says Iona, "that nothing of the corruption of the old man may remain in us. Christ, not in part is crucified, but wholly, that we should die to all sin and live to God. But he lives to God who follows the footsteps of Christ in humility, sanctification, and piety: he, I say, lives to God and is made his temple, who is clothed with these celestial precepts which form the raiment of the new man, which he shall want who with a stained robe shall repair to the nuptial feast. If, therefore, as the blessed Jerome saith, any one shall be found in the day of judgment under the name of a Christian, not having the wedding garment, that is, the robe of the celestial man, but a stained robe, that is, the garment of the old man, he will be immediately addressed in these words,

* Lib. I. cap. 20. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.
† Mir. Lib. III. c. 18. 48.

"Amice quomodo huc intrasti?" and he will be speechless. In that time there will be no place for penance, nor power of denial, when all the angels, and the world itself, shall be witness of sins. Therefore every one of the faithful should know, that unless he be clothed with this new man, namely, with our Lord Jesus Christ, though at present he may walk in purple and fine linen, adorned with gold and gems, yet will he appear miserably and tearfully naked in the eyes of the Divine Majesty. And if he should depart in this nakedness, not only will he be reproved by Christ the King, hereafter, but also he will be excluded for ever from the marriage feast. Now if any one desire to know what is the raiment of this new man, let him know that it consists in innocence, patience, benignity, gentleness, faith, humility, charity, modesty, chastity, without which, no man shall see God."*

During the middle ages, the laity, whatever may have been the excesses into which they were occasionally betrayed, can never be said to have borne any resemblance to that stony people, from which, according to Pindar,† their name had been originally derived. They were far from being that durum genus which Deucalion and Pyrrha produced :‡ or, as Pindar styles it, λίθινον γονὸν that race of stones.

The eulogium, "Laïcus sed religiosus," which is bestowed on the brother of Valentinian, in the chronicles of Monte Casino, indicates no character that was uncommon in the world.§ The popular race had now been softened and moulded by the power of that religion, which appeared equally divine and miraculous to the shepherds of Judea in the stable of Bethlehem, to the empress of Rome in the catacombs, and to the chiefs of the barbarians under the forests of Germany.

The author of the book entitled on the Use of Romances, objects to history, on the ground that its characters are always equivocal. But the argument does not hold with respect to the indications which it exhibits in the laity, during the ages of faith, of the thirst for justice. They now desired to hear that tender petition of the Church in their behalf, when at the paschal solemnities, after praying for her clergy, she adds, "Et devotissimum populum." The heroism and activity, the magnanimous and joyous character of the middle ages, have struck every one conversant with their history; and yet the piety of the laity in those times would now seem fitting only in a cloister.

Nocturnal vigils, sacred lessons at repasts, the observance of three Lents in the year, belonged to the devotion of such princes as Charlemagne, Alfred, Godefroi de Bouillon, Louis VII. of France, and many others.

We read of youths being sent to the royal court, in order to be instructed in divine doctrines and monastic discipline;* of martyrs who had been educated in the scholastic doctrines of our Lord in the hall of the palace.† What greater statesman than Nicholas Acciajoli, the high steward of the King of Naples, who preserved the crown to his sovereign, and in the year 1363, fitted out ships at his own expense, for the service of Florence his native country? Who more richly endowed with the goods of fortune? He was master of cities and castles both in the kingdom of Naples and in Greece. Yet what was his ruling passion? It was to build churches and monasteries, and to enrich altars. He had a predilection, says Pignotti, for the Carthusian monasteries, having restored that of Naples, and rebuilt that of Florence, the architecture of which, even to the disposition of the cells, being his design. "Perhaps," adds this writer, "his spirit, in the midst of the laborious agitations attendant upon great affairs, turned itself with pleasure to the contemplation of the life of those who had retired from civil tempests into the port of solitude."‡

Ughelli says, that the munificence of the princes of Beneventum to churches and monasteries was so great, that he fears his statement will not be credited. It equalled that of kings and emperors. They seem to have given their whole principality to the Church.§—But what country ever produced more heroic, more devoted, and magnanimous men, than these pious dukes of the Longobards? Hear the inscription on the tomb of Arichis, Prince of Beneventum, which was composed in the time of Charlemagne:—

"Hic Arichis dormit magni pulcherrima proles
Unica spes patriæ, murus, et arma suis.
Religione patrem, dulcisque parentibus usque
Nullus plus voluit amplius, aut potuit.

* Jonæ Aurelianensis Episcop. de Institutione Laïcale, Lib. I. cap. 2. apud Dacher. Spicileg. I.
† Olym. IX. ‡ Virg. Georg. I. 63.
§ Chronic. Casinensis, cap. 13.

* Vitâ S. Laudeb. Ep. Traject. ad Mos. n. 3. 596.
† Acta Martyr. S. Ragnebert. n. 2, p. 619.
‡ II. chap. 6. § Italia Sacra, VIII. 60.

Seu Abraham genitor Isaac sic iste peregit:
Oblatus tacuit, jussa parentis agens.
Traditus ob patriæ, populi cunctique salutem
Se opponens voluit pro pietate mori."*

It is curious to remark, that the gravity of the middle ages appears even in the kind of sacerdotal dignity which the writers of that period ascribe to noble manners.—Thus Christine de Pisan says of Louis, duc d'Anjou, brother of King Charles V. "Moult sages homs estoit et avisiez en tous fais, hault et pontifical en maintien."† And of Charles, duc de Bourgogne, his third brother, she says, "Prince estoit de souverain sens et bon conseil, doulx estoit et amiable à grans, moyens, et à petis: noble et pontifical en court et estat magnificent."‡

Guntchramnus, the best of the Merovingian kings, is described by Fredegaire as being like a priest among priests.§

Petrus Diaconus relates, that when the Emperor Lothaire came to the monastery of Monte Casino to appease the dissensions which had broken out respecting the election of an abbot, he never ate or drank from the first hour of the day till vespers; "et sub imperiali clamide alterius militiæ tyrocinium ostendebat." "During the whole expedition on which I was with him," says this monk, "he used to hear mass for the dead at the first dawn, after which he heard mass for his army; and lastly, he heard the mass of the day. While staying in the monastery, he used to go about the cloisters, and all the offices, as if he were abbot or dean, desiring to examine how every one lived under the blessed Benedict, and he used to go barefooted to all its churches. Yet he never absented himself from the company of the bishops, archbishops, and abbots, that he might fulfil what is written, 'Cum sapientibus sermocinatio ejus;" and notwithstanding all his occupations, he was the staff of the blind, the food of the hungry, the hope of the wretched, the comfort of mourners: and he so shone in each virtue, as if besides it he possessed no other."||

Their manner too of expressing themselves, though it would be now felt inconvenient in legislative assemblies, was nevertheless that of men who studied wisdom; like that of Dante, of whom Philip Villani says, "In locutione tardissimus, et qui nunquam inpræmeditate loqui

* Italia Sacra, VIII. 36. † Part. II. c. 11.
‡ II. 13. § Fredeg. ap. Scr. r. fr. T. II. 414.
|| Hist. Cassinens. Sæc. VII.

videretur." Lo, how nobly stands, in that romantic fabling which keeps so near to truth, among those worthies of the house of Este, whose figures represented in the shield, caused Rinaldo to wake up from his lethargy, and to cheer his face.—

"Almerike, first created Lord Marquis of Ferrara,
Founder of many churches, that upthrew
His eyes like one that used to contemplate."*

The knights of chivalrous celebrity, in the poems and annals of former ages, are all, more or less, described as men of this character:—"Very early in the morning he rises, and goes to hear mass; then mounts on horseback with his squire, and rides on. After mid-day 'il entre en une forest moult grande et chevauche longue espace de temps moult pensif.'"† The ideal, in the poet's mind who drew these portraits, was that of men who thirsted after a higher order of existence, and who would have thanked Heaven, in the words of Chateaubriand, that their life was not built on the earth as solidly as the towers in which they passed their youth.

"Est hæc vita brevis, stimulis circumdata sævis
Qui se credit ei, torpet amore Dei."

Such were the lines of the ancient original inscription on the tomb of Count Raynaldo de Avenel, in the cathedral of Catana, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century.‡

It might seem vain to multiply examples; but the language of the ancient writers in this respect is so picturesque, that a few might always be proposed in history, without danger of causing fatigue to any reader. Christine de Pisan relates, that King Charles V. of France used to rise at six or seven o'clock, when to his chamberlain and other servants he would always show a joyous countenance. Then after the sign of the cross and his words to God, as being very devout, he used to entertain himself familiarly with them while he was dressed for the day. He used to take pleasure in what was said by the simplest among them. When fully adjusted, his breviary was brought to him, the chaplain being at his side to assist him in saying the canonical hours according to the ordinary of the time. At eight o'clock he went to mass, "laquelle estoit célébrée glorieusement

* Jerusalem Delivered, XVII.
† Gyron le Courtois. f. 10.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, I. 528.

chascun jour à chant mélodieux et solemnel;" then he made a retreat in his oratory, during which time, low masses were continually said before him. At the issue from the chapel, all kinds of people, rich or poor, could speak to him; and he, with the greatest affability, would listen to their requests, and would remit them to his master of the requests. Then he went to the council, and if business did not occupy him, he sat down to table at ten o'clock. While he was at the repast, music was performed before him. On rising from table he received ambassadors and other strangers. After various conversation, which used to last for two hours, he went to take repose during one hour; after which he used to amuse himself with his most private friends, and then he went to vespers; after which he walked in the garden of his hotel of St. Paul, where the queen and other women used to attend him with the children. But in the winter season he used to spend this interval in hearing different fine histories of the holy Scriptures, or of the deeds of the Romans, or the moralities of the philosophers, read aloud, till the hour of supper, which was always early and of a slight nature; after which he took some little diversion, and then retired to rest: and thus in continual order did this wise king pass the course of his life.*

That provision was made in all the private dwellings of the laity for nourishing a spirit of prayer, appears from the fact formerly observed, of the chapel being a constant appendage to the castle. In the decrees collected by Ives de Chartres, we read that "every one of the faithful should have an oratory in his house, in which he may pray, but that mass must not be celebrated there, unless when such a privilege has been specially granted."†

Father Dosithee, in his life of St. John of the Cross, relates, that the doctrines of the Gospel had struck such deep root in the hearts of the inhabitants of Baëce, which is a great city in Spain, that lay persons lived there like ecclesiastics, and ecclesiastics like monks.‡

St. Theresa says, that the two merchants of Medina, who came with her to assist at the first mass in the chapel which St. John of the Cross had arranged in the poor cabin at Durvele, were so moved by what they saw there, that they shed a flood of tears. She adds, that gentlemen of the neighbourhood came to express their obligations to her for having given to that country such a fountain of benediction. Among these men of quality of the neighbourhood who came to Durvele from time to time to converse with St. John of the Cross, was Dom Louis de Toledo, near relative of the Dukes of Alba. This noblemen had five towns under his domain. The two merchants declared, that for all the world they would not have missed seeing what they saw there, so admirable did that poverty appear to these men of riches.*

Examples of this kind must strike all men as very remarkable, if they consider what peculiar obstacles are presented in that rank of life to the influence of ascetic principles. Remark only what passes before you at present. Observe narrowly these poor soldiers, these roughvested seamen, in the church. Might not one almost take them for monks? Pass on now nearer the altar, and mark those well-dressed citizens, those luxurious sons and daughters of the rich. What would you take them for? I do not ask whether they remind you of monks, or persons devoted to religious perfection, but have they the air of what Bossuet calls Christian severity? Would it not be ridiculous to see them kiss the cross, or perform any act which did not seem required by fashion and habit? Yet this description of persons remember, in the middle ages, possessed the faith and the piety of the poor.

"Pious merchant,"—"nobles et dévotes personnes," was the common style of public acts, even so late as in the sixteenth century:† for to what Shakspeare reckons the king-becoming graces—temperance, lowliness, devotion‡—every man of elevated rank formerly was required to lay claim. The title of the Countess Matilda in the archives of Monte Casino, is beautifully expressive of this spirit—"Matilda, Dei gratia si quid est."§

"The royal virtues," says St. Isidore, "are two—piety and justice. But piety is more praised in kings, for justice by itself is severe."‖ It is the remark of a German historian, that the insignia of the kingly state, during the middle ages, were all of sacerdotal origin.¶

* Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du Sage Roy Charles V. chap. 26.
† Decret. Pars III. de Ecclesia, c. 76.
‡ Lib. IV.

* Vie de S. Jean de la Croix, par la Père Dosithée. † Monteil, Hist. des Francais, V. 18.
‡ Macbeth. IV. 3. § Hist. Cassinens. Præfat.
‖ Etymolog. Lib. IX. 3.
¶ Phillips Deutsche Geschichte, I. 434.

This ideal of sanctity in the person of kings was beheld in many whom the Church has not canonized, as Dagobert, Louis-le-Débonnaire, Robert, Louis-le-Jeune, and many whom history but little extols, because they were not powerful as Henry VI. of England, and numerous others of the same type, some of whom, as Ceduallа, King of the West Saxons, Cenfed, King of Mercia, Offa and Ina, died at Rome, whither they had gone through devotion.

If such were kingly graces, devotion was deemed no less essential in their ministers.

Legislative assemblies were not then opened with military parade, and with manifestation of hostile force, such as is used against a besieged fortress. Duchesne says that the members of the Parliament used to be seen going to the palace on their mules, praying to God, saying their hours and chaplets by the way.*

See the rich nobles of Spain contending with the poor who should press nearest to the bier of St. John of God, as it was borne along through the streets of Grenada! The Marquises of Tarifa and Senalvo, Dom Pedro de Bovadiglia and Don Juan de Guevaro, four of the greatest nobles, thought it a singular favour that they were chosen to carry down his corpse from the room in which he died to the gate of the pavilion, where it was to lie in state.—When this humble man travelled, the greatest nobles used to vie with each other who should lodge him. As soon as he came to Valladolid, Mary de Mendoça, widow of the great commander, Francis de Los Cobos, employed her credit at the court, in order to prevent any one else from being allowed to entertain him, though nothing could prevent him from lodging in the hospital, and where there was no hospital, from preferring the houses of the poor to those of the rich.

Stephen the Wise, Count of Blois, after arriving at the Holy Land, was received with great honours by King Baldwin, who put all his treasures at his disposal. But nobles of these ages were not like our liberal peers; the Count refused every present except that of some relics, which he carried away with great devotion.†

In order to distinguish Thibaud V. Count of Blois, the great Senéchal, from his father, who was styled "the Saint," the people gave him the epithet of "the Good." There is extant an admirable letter written by this prince on the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He remitted to his subjects many of his rights, as is proved by a multitude of titles, and even by an inscription over one of the gates of Blois. His charities to the monks, to churches, and to hospitals, were also great.

He gave up all the dues of his sovereignty of Blois to the chapter of St. Saviour during the three days which followed the ascension.

Monstrellet remarks that Charles, Count of Blois, in the time of Louis XI. lived so holily during the last twenty years of his life, that he may be said to have spent them in fasting, prayer, and alms. He never sat down to table on Friday until he had washed the feet of thirteen poor persons, and served them at dinner with his own hands.

Charles of Blois, Duke of Brittany, in the fourteenth century, was another example of an heroic saint, who lived in the rank of a prince, as much detached from the world as if he had been in a cloister. Jacques de Heuchain and Jean l'Argentier, his preceptors, had so well instructed him in the duties of a Christian, that nothing could check his ardour to sanctify his soul while a youth at the court of his father, Guy de Chastillon.* Every day he used to recite the Psalter, the hours of our Lady, and those of the Cross; he used to serve every mass that was said in his father's palace, and assisted the poor in every way that he could. After he was married he continued his course of piety. He showed such respect to priests, that he would always alight from his horse whenever he met one on the country roads. He administered justice and prevented duels. He showed heroic patience in prison and amidst insults, and he closed his saintly life with an heroic death in the field, fighting through the sole desire of fulfilling his duty. This Charles de Blois, on being slain, was quickly despoiled by the varlets; and it was found then that he wore a hair shirt next his skin. A Franciscan brother, named Brother Raoul de Corgaignolles, came to the place, and being a very strong man, took up the body quite naked, and carried it on his shoulders for more than a league; then finding a cart, he placed it thereiu, and so conveyed it to Guingnant, where it was interred in the church of the Minor Friars. This Duke Charles had

* Antiquit. de Paris, I. 142.
† Bérnier, Hist. de Blois.

* Bernier, Hist. de Blois, 369.

been in eighteen battles during his life; "il fut le plus beau chevalier de France et le mieulx enteichié de vaillance; car de chevalerie faisoit ce qu'il appertenoit a prince. Jolys fut plus que nul aultre, toute sa vie, et de faire chansons et lays s'esbatoit souvent; mais saincte vie menoit secretement et maintient-on que en sa vie nostre seigneur faisoit pour luy maintz miracles."*

Armies seemed to feel a supernatural assistance when conducted by men of a devout and mystic character. Fernando Antolinez was performing his devotions while Count Garcias was giving battle to the Moors on the banks of the Douro, and the soldiers thought that an angel in his likeness was fighting for him. The same thing is related of the Emperor Ferdinand II. to whom, when at the foot of the altar, they brought standards and trophies, such as the mere valour of his predecessors had never gained.†

Many of the spiritual letters of Father John D'Avilla, the celebrated preacher of Spain, are addressed to great nobles, and knights, and young men living in the world; and from the style in which they are written, one must form a high estimate of the piety of these persons. In fact, to be a Christian in the sense of the middle ages, required the devotion of a whole life to acquire the habits and graces, and even the information requisite: for what is above all striking and singular in their history is, the manner in which the principles of theologians were understood by the mass of the people, rendering so secure from revolution the base of the ecclesiastical and social state. Men were in a strict sense obedient to the intellectual order: they acted not from habit, but from an idea. In these latter days the people seem incapable of reducing to practice any idea of an abstruse and elevated class connected with the spiritual society, even when in theory they admit it. Only consider what a change must be wrought in the intelligence of such a people before they could be brought, like the population of Catholic ages, to venerate the Holy See as the centre of unity,—holy times, in the observance of festivals,—holy ceremonies, discerning their symbolic character,—holy things, obeying the authorities that might oppose their wishes,—holy persons, being full of zeal to serve saints and religious orders for the love of God!

* Chronique de Du Guesclin. p. 145.
† Savedra, I. 184.

The half-brotherhoods of the Teutonic, Templar, and other orders, as also a number of religious associations and fraternities among the laity, served to extend the spirit of piety, and even the gravity of the cloister, in the world. The third order of St. Dominick, and that instituted by St. Francis, for people living in the world, were soon spread over Europe, and comprised kings and queens, princes and princesses, lords, knights, merchants, artisans, and labourers. The rule of the third order of St. Francis must have produced great effects in sanctifying the intercourse of social life. It particularly reminded the brethren and sisters to avoid the vices and follies which cause the misery and ruin of society, to refrain from worldly, vain, and calumnious conversation, to visit and relieve the poor and the sick, to assist them in the hospitals and prisons, and in their houses, to assist the dying, to keep secret the common faults of their neighbours, and to set an example of a pure and holy life, in courts, and camps, and great cities, and castles. By their rule, even persons living in the world were expected to assist at matins, in the churches of their respective parishes, during Lent.

To this order belonged the King St. Louis, St. Elzear, Count of Arian, and his wife, St. Delphino; St. Ives, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia; St. Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal; St. Brigitte, Princess of Sweden; the blessed Conrad, nobleman of Plaisancia; the blessed Isabella, sister of the King St. Louis; St. Clare of Monte Falco; the Emperor Charles IV. and Elizabeth his wife; the Empress Jane of the Greeks; Bela IV. King of Hungary; Charles II. King of Sicily; Philip III. King of Spain; Blanche of Castille, Queen of France; James de Borgia, King of Jerusalem; Beatrice, Countess of Rusconia; Francis II. Duc de Bretagne; Catherine, Duchess of Milan; Prince Robert Malatesti, Sovereign of Rimini; Prince Henry of Dacia; Isabella Archduchess of the Netherlands, and sister of Philip III. of Spain; Elizabeth de Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV.; Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII.; and Maria Theresa of Austria.

Few cloisters in Rome are more interesting than those of St. Isidore on the Pincian hill, along the walls of which are portraits of the illustrious persons who embraced this third order. There I remarked Brennus, King of Jerusalem; John, King of Armenia; Henry, King of Cyprus;

St. Louis, King of France; James, King of Hungary and Sicily; Peter, King of Arragon; St. Elzear and Delphine; St. Elizabeth, Qneen of Portugal; St. Elizabeth, daughter of the King of Hungary; James, eldest son of the King of Majorca; and many others.

Moreover, the Church, by granting especial indnlgence to those who should perform any one holy exercise observed in any religious order whatever, contributed no less to the same end. The year 1335 was remarkable for the extraordinary devotion connected with these fraternities, which moved the people of Italy and Provence, Spain and England. Processions of five, ten, or even twenty thousand persons, of both sexes, proceeded from city to city. They were enveloped in a white hood, which covered even the face, from which they derived the name of the white companies. They reposed in the cathedrals and public squares, crying out "Peace and mercy," beating themselves with rods of discipline, and chanting sacred hymns, particularly the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa," which was composed about this time. They were fed by the public, although they asked for nothing but bread and water. The pilgrimage lasted generally nine or ten days, after which they returned to their homes. The people of the towns which had been visited, kindled with the same fervour, proceeded in their turn; and thus these devout processions extended from town to town. The first came into Italy by the coast of Genoa. At the sight of these pious pilgrims, the most obdurate hearts were melted: hatreds were forgotten, enemies reconciled, and all became sanctity and peace. The Lucchese, to the nnmber of three thousand, visited Pistoia and Florence. The Pistoians came to the latter city in numbers about four thousand. Of the Florentines, forty thousand pnt on white; and twenty thousand, with the Bishop of Fiesole at their head, went to Arezzo. These processions spread themselves throughout the whole of Italy.

Devout confraternities of laics, devoted to particular pious exercises and works of charity, existed every where. Of these there were, when Ughelli wrote, no fewer than forty-six in the city of Bologna; thirty-five in Cremona; twenty-four in Genoa; one hundred in Naples; eighteen in Ferrara; twelve in Ravenna; and similarly in other cities, in proportion to the magnitude of the state.

At Venice, where there were upwards of one hundred confraternities, six of these, termed great schools, were celebrated, in which were inscribed an innumerable multitude of laics, having attached to them noble churches, precious sacred vessels and vestments, besides immense funds, which were yearly expended in pious works, and in charity to the poor.*

Chivalry was another institution of which the clergy took advantage, to infuse a spirit of devotion into the society of the world. To sanctify the profession of arms, which had the sanction of Christ, was an early project. A Latin prayer, of noble simplicity, was composed for the soldiers of the Roman army; and Constantine prescribed that it should be daily repeated.

The high, affecting symbols, with which the institution of chivalry indicated the essential duties of its members, are an evidence of the purest conceptions of a Christian life. Witness that bath of honour, courtesy, and goodness, that bed of repose, to signify the rest of Paradise, which we should conquer by our knighthood; that white robe, to signify the pnrity which we should preserve if we would arrive at God; that red garment, to signify that we should be always ready to shed onr blood to defend the holy Church of God; those sandals of black cloth, to remind us of death, and of the earth in which we shall lie stretched, whence we came, and to which we must return.†

Every part of the knight's armour had its moral signification. The gauntlets, in using which he lifted up his hands on high, were to remind him of prayer to God, and that he was not to be guilty of putting his hand to a false oath. "The ordination of priests," says a modern writer, "to which the admission to knighthood has been frequently compared, could not be accompanied with more solemn exhortations to devotion and purity of mind. Even the desire of glory was not allowed to be a worthy motive for seeking the order of knighthood, nnless meekly subjected to the wish of honouring God."

This was the spirit of the military character in Catholic times. It breathes throngh all the acts of a Tancred, a Roger, a Chandos, a Joinville, a Gonsalva of Cordova, a Don Antonio de Leïva, a Don Fernando of Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, a Don Alonso of Avalos, Marquis of Basto, an Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, an Alfonso of Albuquerque, a Count of Fuen-

* Tom. VI.

† L'Ordène de Chevalerie.

tes, a Marquis of Spinola, and numberless others, that we meet with in the old English, French, and Spanish chronicles. The spirit of St. Paul became the spirit of warlike heroes—for it was the essence of chivalry to glory in the cross of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

True, there may have been something to purge away in the deeds of romantic devotion, which illuminate the page of knightly books. Yet methinks the gravest hermit would only smile at the recollection of Fernando Perez del Pulgar, and of what he performed at the siege of Grenada, when with fifteen companions, between stealth and force, he penetrated in the dead of night into the city, leaving his company to maintain the skirmish with the surprised soldiers at the gate, and galloping through the streets till he reached the principal mosque, where he alighted, and on his knees took possession of it as a Christian Church; in testimony of which act, he nailed to the door, with his dagger, a tablet, which he had brought with him, on which was inscribed, in large letters, "Ave Maria;"—after which he effected his escape through crowds of soldiers, to whom the alarm had been given, rejoined his companions, who were still fighting at the gate, and with them returned in safety to the camp. The mosque, thus boldly sanctified, was eventually, on the capture of Grenada, converted into a cathedral; and in commemoration of this exploit, Fernando del Pulgar enjoyed the right of sepulture in that church, and the privilege of sitting in the choir during high mass. Like many other knights, he was a man of learning as well as a warrior, and inscribed to Charles V. a summary of the achievements of Gonsalvo of Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, who had been one of his comrades in arms.

As every thing was required to pay tribute to religion, the very titles of the orders of knighthood were connected with the memory of a saint, or of some devont mystery. Witness the Order of the Star, founded by King John of France in the year 1351. The knights, five hundred in number, used to assemble every year at St. Ouen, between Paris and St. Denis, in a castle called the Noble House, on the festival of the Epiphany and on that of the Assumption, at the hour of prime; and they were required to remain there till after vespers the following day. Here there was a hall, sixty feet wide and one hundred and twenty long, flanked with four round towers at each corner, and having a vast chimney, which was as high as the church steeple. In this hall each knight had his arms painted over his seat. The knights were enjoined to wear the habit, and to fast on Saturdays, also to give fifteen deniers to the poor. On the death of a knight, his ring and decoration were to be sent to the castle, that the rest might pray for him.*

The peculiarly religious character of the middle ages may be witnessed also in the form of those benedictions, the best of natal gifts, as Æschylus would have called them, given to the sons of great men—as that cited by Mabillon, which had been pronounced after the baptism of Lewis, son of the Duke of Angers, in the year 1377. In these formulas, the language is always characteristic of the supernatural views of life with which men's minds were then imbued; and so great was the importance attached to them that when St. Colomban, the courageous missioner, who reformed kings and people, refused to bless the sons of Theoderic, he was banished from Luxeuil and from Ostrasia, and obliged to take refuge with Clothaire II.†

In the benediction published by Mabillon, God is invoked to bestow his blessing on the child, that as Jacob before his birth was loved without any merits of his own, so he may live guarded by holy angels in the sight of the Lord,—that he may be delivered from all calamities, as was Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeans; that in him the Lord God may be praised, and his holy name blessed; that his birth may be useful to the whole world, and to the kingdom of the Franks; that his service may be received as that of Samuel, and that he may have grace to preserve his people in tranquillity; that, like his ancestors, he may be filled with spiritual gifts, and that his age may tend to the exaltation of Christianity; that the Holy Spirit may be vouchsafed to him as to Daniel, that he may know the judgments of God, and that he may fulfil what he knows; that he may be a school of virtues, a master of life, a mirror of modesty, and an example of all Christianity, being grateful in prosperous and patient in adverse fortune; so that, being guarded within and without by the Lord, he may, after a long life and a blessed death, arrive at God his Creator, to reign with him for

* Lebeuf, III.
† Michelet, Hist. de France, I. 247.

ever.*—Such was the γενέθλιον δόσιν of the middle ages.

But to proceed with the characters described in history. Baldwin the Pious, Count of Flanders, was nourished when a boy in the court of the Emperor Henry, and in that palace he was loved by all. In this time of his youth he was seized with so great a sickness, that his father held a candle within his hand, expecting that his spirit would depart—when lo! suddenly his strength reviving, he said aloud, "Father, I shall escape from this sickness if you will give me a place at Hannon, where I may build a monastery." The father was not slow in promising, and his son recovered. Accordingly the monastery was built there in honour of the holy apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul; and from this circumstance, Baldwin of Hannon was called Baldwin the Pious, because he was wholly given up to works of piety—a lover and defender of orphans and widows, of the churches, and of the poor and oppressed. In the church he used always to pay the greatest attention to what was said; and during the Psalmody he would never speak, unless to God. At mass he would always have some poor people near him, to whom he gave alms, that they might pray for him and with him. In time of scarcity he used to be most bountiful, and to cause the monasteries to dispense largely. He was completely devoted to piety, and he used also to be called Baldwin with the nest, and he used to be painted with a bird's nest on his fist, holding it in sign of peace, because, during all his time, Flanders enjoyed peace:—no arms were borne, no troubles endured; the plough was not withdrawn from the land, and scarcely were the doors closed during the night. He died in the year 1070, and was buried in the monastery which he had founded.†

We read of St. Leopold, Marquis of Austria, in the year 1096, and of his wife Agnes, daughter of the Emperor, Henry IV. that they two used to read the holy Scriptures together, and that they founded a monastery and Chapter near Vienna, because the care of eighteen children did not allow them sufficient time for the pious exercises that they loved. This saintly prince was also an heroic warrior, for he defended his country twice against the invasion of the Hungarians; and he terminated a glorious reign by a holy death in the year 1136.

In fact, many of the princes and nobles of the middle ages were a kind of lay bishops, ever contriving how they might best serve religion and exalt the Catholic Church, the type of which character may be witnessed in that Renaud de Montauban, who carried stones on his back to help in the building of the cathedral of Cologne. The Count de la Motte, writing to the Count de la Tour Maubourg respecting the success which attended the mission of St. Francis Regis, ends his letter with these words:—"In short, I regard this mission as one of the most signal benefits which I have ever received from the liberal hand of God."*

Duke Theodo, in the seventh century, with submissive prayers, besought the blessed Rupert to illuminate Bavaria, by visiting it with sacred doctrine:† and Virgilius, the holy priest from Ireland, who built the great church of St Rupert at Salzburg, in the eighth century, had another layman, Duke Otilo, for the promoter and protector of his apostolic mission to convert the Bavarians and the natives of Carinthia.‡ What is more remarkable, it was this zeal for religion which mingled with all the thoughts of Columbus:—"He looked upon himself," says his biographer, "as standing in the hand of Heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the prophecies. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations, and tongues, and languages united under the banners of the Redeemer."

Proofs of the religious zeal of the middle ages confront us at every step in the walks of our ancient history, as well as in the songs of our old poets: and, indeed, the adversaries of Rome are always willing to attest it. "As for the Papist," says Fuller, speaking of the Catholic gentry of England, "he can as soon not be, as not be active."§

What St. Adelbert said of the King of Denmark, who impeded his efforts to convert the northern nations, "quibus mens pronior est ad pensiones vectigalium quam

* Vetera Analecta, 485.
† Chronicon S. Bertini, cap. 38, Pars II. apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdotorum, Tom. III.

* Vie de S. F. Regis.
† Germania Sacra, Tom. II. 37.
‡ Id. II. 82.
§ Thoughts, 269.

ad conversionem gentilium," could never have been applied to the great Catholic princes of those times. The Emperor Ferdinand II. used to say that he would rather renounce his kingdom, than neglect any occasion of extending the faith; that he would prefer being banished, with his wife and children, having no other arms but a staff in his hand, being condemned to live on bread and water, than to suffer any injury to be done to God; and that he prayed to God that, if by his death he could advance the Catholic religion, he might be willing to have his head cut off: and he gave repeated warning to his successor, Ferdinand III., that he should endeavour to defend and preserve the true apostolical Roman and Catholic faith in all his dominions.

"Often have we wished to hold with you a familiar conversation on what concerns the utility of the holy Church of God." It is thus that Charlemagne writes to Odilbert, the Archbishop of Milan:* and we find the Archbishop Leidrad writing to the same emperor, in reply to his questions respecting the mysteries of faith.† "I know indeed," says Claudius, Bishop of Tours, to the Emperor Lewis the Pious, "that your serenity is always intent on holy works and on sacred reading, so that I doubt not that you lead a theoretic life under the imperial diadem."

On the death of Pope Gregory VII. when the heretics and schismatics, like wolves, sought to invade the Roman Church, Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino, with the bishops and cardinals, and also, adds Leo of Ostia, "the religious laymen who faithfully persevered in Catholic unity and obedience, began to act unanimously, and to provide for the due ordination of his successor."‡

Kings regarded it as their glory to cooperate with bishops and holy men in promoting the spiritual welfare of their subjects. Witness the following words, pronounced in the year 742:—"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I, Caroloman, duke and prince of the Francs, with the council of the servants of God and of my nobles, the bishops who are in my kingdom, with the priests, assembled in council and synod for the fear of Christ, that they might give council to me in what manner the law of God and ecclesiastical religion may be restored, which have been dissipated in the days of the princes my predecessors, and how the Christian people may be brought to the salvation of their souls, and may be prevented from perishing, we ordain as follows." The object of the decree is to preserve the bishops and priests from being molested and impeded in their ministry by military operations.

Still more remarkable was the language of the Capitulary, in the year 830:—"Since it hath pleased Divine Providence to constitute our mediocrity to this office, what we have chiefly to desire above all things, is that, by God's assistance, we may defend the holy Church and its servants, and that peace and justice may be preserved generally amongst all our people."

"Although," says the Emperor Albert, "our soul, amidst various and innumerable cares, is distracted by daily solicitude for the welfare of our subjects, there is one object above all, which engages it: namely, how we can protect the liberties of the venerable churches and ecclesiastical persons; how we may nourish them either by new donations, or by renovating ancient, according to the circumstances of the time."*

The words of William II., king of Sicily, in a diploma of the year 1157, were as follows:—"Kings and princes of the nations reign justly, if they understand that they are themselves subject to the highest Prince, by whom kings reign and exercise justice; nor do we think that we can in any manner administer rightly the reins of the kingdom committed to us by Heaven, unless we study to magnify and exalt, by all means of religion, the sacrosanct Church, which is the mother of faith."† Again, says this great prince, in another act of the date of 1177, "The chief business of a king is to attend to the interest of the churches, where is placed the foundation of safety and of the Christian faith; neither is there any thing in a prince more glorious than to provide for the augmentation of the things of the Church, and for the maintenance of its inviolable peace, 'quarum cultui deservire nihil est aliud quam regnare, et Ecclesias Christi protegere nihil est aliud quam Christum in Ecclesiis venerari.'"‡

Hence we may remark that, with respect to the peace and safety of the churches, and indeed of the whole state, it was not in the middle ages as with the fate of those spoken of by Apollo, whose destiny depended upon the absence or presence of one suffrage:—

* Mabilonii Vetera Analecta, 75, 76.
† Id. 85.
‡ Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. III. 65.

* Italia Sacra, Tom. IV. 718.
† Sicilia Sacra, I. 97.
‡ Id. I. 107.

Γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα.
*Βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὤρθωσεν μία.**

The ecclesiastical and social order, with the ideas attached to both,—the Christianity of a state, for which there was no word until after the time of Charlemagne, when that term was introduced†—rested upon inviolable foundations, upon certain general principles with which all governments were imbued, and which insured them from being left unprotected by the ruling power. Thus Dagobert proclaims that "the royal dignity strengthens the foundation of its structure when it listens to the petitions of priests and pontiffs, and gives them effect in the name of God."‡ Theoderic observes, that "the royal elevation ought always to provide that whatever had been done contrary to the decree of God or to the institutions of tho Fathers, should be anuulled."§ And Charlemagne says, "If we lend a willing ear to the prayers of priests and servants of God, and bear assistance to the discharge of their ministry, this, without donbt, will conduce to strengthen the state of our kingdom, and to the attainment also of the beatitude of eternal life."‖ Childebert speaks to the same effect:—"It becomes the clemency of the prince to obey the just petitions of priests, and to give them effect in God's name:¶ and if we preserve the works of our Fathers, we trust that our own will have eternal stability." The emperor Lewis also says,—"If we bestow opportune benefits on those who iuhabit places emancipated for the love of God, and set apart for divine worship, we doubt not but that a recompense of eternal remuneration will be made to us by the Lord;"** and in his diploma to the Church of Modena, he says,—"By attending to the petitions of priests and servants of God to the augmentation of the divine worship, we confidently believe that we shall not only add to the stability of our kingdom, but also enable ourselves to attain more easily to eternal rewards."††

In the year 930, King Hngo says, in his donation to Sigifred, bishop of Parma, "We believe that nothing can tend more to the honour of our exalted rank, or to the strength of our government, than our having solicitude for defending the property of the holy churches of God, and our lending pious ears to the vows of the faithful."* The Emperor Otho III. holds the same language:—"It behoves us who, by the divine gift, are given pre-eminence over other men, to obey in all things the precepts of God, to protect the places dedicated to him by the petitions of our faithful people, and to guard them by the imperial favour; since we believe that such actions will conduce both to the prosperous passage of this mortal life, and to our obtaining hereafter eternal felicity."†

In fine, such was the force of this traditionary wisdom, that we find even an Emperor, Henry IV., saying, "As our predecessors, whether kings or emperors, are in this greatly to be praised, that places dedicated to the divine worship were instituted by them with a pious intention, so we believe that we also ourselves shall not be without praise or divine remuneration, if we protect the same ecclesiastical peace, and confirm with solicitude the same primitive liberty."‡

"Whoever looks closely at the history of our France," says Pasquier, "will see that it is not without great reasou our kings have borne the title of 'Very Christian,' for each race has just ground to claim it: the first, for having renounced Paganism, in which it was nourished, and for having never degenerated into the Arian heresy, which infected so many of tho nations that attacked the empire; the second, for having advocated the popedom in France; aud the third, for its services in the crusades, and in protecting the great and holy orders of religion, which brought infinite fruit to Christianity by their saintly exhortations."§

In a heathen land, the princes and nobles of former times did not confine their speculations to projects of trade or to questions of human vanity; but their curiosity resembled that of Tasso's knight, Ubaldo,—

"'But will our gracious God,' the knight reply'd,
'That with his blood all sinful men hath bought,
His Truth for ever and his Gospel hide
From all these lands, as yet unknown, unsought.'"‖

They felt no guilty shame at being thought soldiers of Christ. It is the highest expression of praise with the writers of the middle age to say that a person was "greatly Catholic." The phrase of "ultra Catholic,"

* Æschyl. Eumenid. 750.
† Ughelli Ital. Sac. I. 409.
‡ Mabilonii Vet. Analecta, 282.
§ Id. 277. ‖ Id. 294. ¶ Id. 283.
** Mabil. Vet. Analecta, 355.
†† Italia Sacra, Tom. I. 95.

* Italia Sacra, I. 156.
† Mabilonii Vet. Analecta, 449.
‡ Id. 450.
§ Recherches de la France, Lib. III. 19.
‖ XV. 39.

used in reproach by a modern writer, would have seemed very strange to them. "Querelam Ecclesiæ quilibet Catholicus facit suam," was the maxim of these times, when every man would have thought it an honourable boast to say with Theonæ,

ἐγὼ πέφυκά τ' εὐσεβεῖν καὶ βούλομαι.*

Truly if we consider with Bellarmin how hardly there can be found a more general or less curable disease than human fear, how it rises, grows up, and remains with us till death, how children lie, through fear of confusion or shame, how men perjure themselves, to retain reputation, how it is this fear which makes them refuse to forgive injuries, and renounce luxury and expenses, and profusion,† this deliverance from the fear of man by means of the fear of God, which so remarkably characterized the middle ages, will seem entitled to all our admiration.

Behold the Paladins in Ariosto, when they recognise Rogero,—

"All, for they know he is a Christian, stand
About him with serene and joyful face:
All press upon the knight; one grasps his hand,
Another locks him fast in his embrace."

This is the spirit which still animates the Catholic population of Spain and Italy. Wandering through the vineyards in the neighbourhood of Rome, a stranger, whose looks proclaim him to be of English race, will be often questioned respecting the multitude of fervent Catholics in distant Ireland, that lies, he will be reminded, so far beyond the ocean stream.

Zeal for religion was a motive in kings which the laity respected, and in consideration of which they would tolerate much that might have displeased them in the conduct of rival states. At the great assembly of Gisors, in the year 1186, when, on the day of St. Agnes, the knights of France and England under Philippe-Auguste and Henry, received the venerable William of Tyre, who came with bulls from the Pope, and with words of pathetic eloquence, to move them to undertake the deliverance of Jerusalem, the archbishop had no sooner concluded his speech, than a general cry was heard of "The Cross! The Cross!" Henry being the first to throw himself on his knees before the legate, to solicit the pilgrim's sign, the barons of France began to murmur that he should have taken precedence of their sovereign: "Ah, ah," they cried, "the colours of the Plantagenets advanced before those of France!" But they were immediately appeased, when it became manifest that Henry was solely actuated by a zeal for Jesus Christ, and for the help of the holy sepulchre. Strange contrast to the character of their posterity! with whom there needs no other cause of execration against a government, than the fact of its being pure from sacrilege!

The truth is, that the vivacity of faith, from which zeal is inseparable, is attached to those exercises of piety which were so general during the middle ages. As Novalis says, "To pray is in religion, what to think is in philosophy; to pray, is to exercise religion;" and we have already seen how the inducements and facilities to acquire the spirit of prayer were supplied in abundance by the Catholic Church. Moreover we must bear in mind the effect of those numerous minute practices of devotion recommended by her authority, which were generally observed, in both high and humble life, with a confidence that derived perhaps not a little force from the influence of honour in religion. Tasso, in his letter to the Duke of Ferrara, the original of which may be seen in the library of that city, begins with making a cross. The sign manual of Atenulfus, count of Capua and prince of Beneventum, in the year 903, as also that of Pandolfus and Landolphus, Richard and Jordon, princes of Capua in the eleventh century, which existed in the archives of the monastery of Monte Casino, exhibit a Latin cross at the four extremities, as also along the lines of which are placed the principal letters of the name.* The signature attached to the diploma of the Countess Matilda, in the archives of the monastery of Nonantula, presented the letters of her name grouped in the four angles of a cross; † and the signature of Charlemagne, in his diploma to the church of Beneventum, where it was found by Gnicciardini, consists in the seven letters at the points of the cross.‡

All these customs had been transmitted from the first ages, as appears from Tertullian,§ Justin Martyr,‖ St. Chrysostom,¶ and St. Ambrose. "Rising in the morn-

* Eurip. Helen.
† De Gemitu Columbæ, Lib. III. 2.

* Hist. Cassinens. Sæc. III. † Italia Sacra, I. 170.
‡ Id. Tom. VIII. 37. § De Coron. Mil. 3.
‖ Apolog. I. 82. ¶ Op. T. I. p. 571.

ing," says the latter, " we ought to give thanks to Christ for our preservation, and we ought to perform every work of the day with the sign of the Saviour. When you were Gentiles, used you not to seek for signs, and to collect the signs hy which things would be prosperons? I do not wish you now to err in numbers, for I know that in the one sign of Christ there is safe prosperity of all things. He who begins to sow with this sign, will reap the fruit of eternal life; he who sets out on a journey with this sign, will arrive in heaven."* Traces, indeed, of a false shame respecting these things, in primitive times, may be discovered in the writings of the Fathers, who condemn it. "Let us not be ashamed," says St. Cyril, "to confess him who was crucified. Let the σφραγὶς be confidently made upon the forehead with the finger." But the complaint of a modern author respecting the shame evinced hy his contemporaries in making the sign of the cross when they stand for the "Benedicite" at table, would not have been justified in the days of feudal magnificence and chivalrous refinement. Had these practices no other use besides that of accustoming the mind to confess before men that it professed the humility of the cross, they would have heen deemed of inestimable importance hy the spiritual thinkers of the middle ages. For when is it, say they, that men are most in danger of denying Christ? It is on small, not great occasions: it is when some one will surprise them with questions. Why such a change? It will be near the fire, in an idle conversation, during a pleasant walk; it will be in the presence of a stranger, or even of their own servant.

Besides, the observance of these minute practices, of which we may say, in the words of St. Jerome, " Non sunt contemnenda quasi parva, sine quibus magna constare non possunt," we find that the laity, during the middle ages, were assiduous in practising all the important exercises of a spiritual life. In the time of Charlemagne, all persons were expected to receive the communion every Sunday, unless especially prevented.† By the canons of the Council of Autun, in the year 670, no layman was to he counted as a Catholic, who did not receive the communion at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, at which three festivals, all had been required to receive it hy the Council of Agatha in the year 506. "No one, excepting in case of public penance, neglecting communion on these three festivals, should be considered a Christian," says the Pastoral Epistle of Wulfad Bituricensis.* It was even the custom for the laity to make spiritual retreats before the principal festivals of the Church. Thus we find Romuald, a young nobleman at Ravenna, withdrawing to the neighbouring monastery of Classe, for the sake of penance. Every year, Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, used to visit the celebrated monastery of Pomposa, and there make solemn confession and penitence for his sins, sometimes publicly submitting to the discipline.

In a former book, we had occasion to observe how holy was the spirit that pervaded schools and colleges: but here the mystery of the phenomenon is explained, when we find that paternal towers and domestic hearths were also holy. What is commonly called education is but of little effect, in comparison with the constant and universal action of society. In vain do hypocritical parents separate and isolate children in colleges, or surround them with a sanitary cord, if the air which they themselves breathe is corrupt and unholy; for their children must necessarily breathe it too, when they come into contact with society. Among the laity of the middle ages, it was common to meet with men, like the noble Hilary of Aquitaine, when in the married state, endowed with the graces of a profound religious spirit. The Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Trudo relating how the Countess Heresinda, continually devoted to pious works, and advancing from day to day in holy conversation, constantly frequenting the Church of the blessed Michael the Archangel, laying aside her flesh, was buried there, proceeds to mention that, after her death, the noble Count Eilbert, meditating the Divine law hy day and night, going round to visit the precious churches, and consoling those that administered in them, disposed himself to adhere to God with all the affections of his mind; but the multitude of his neighbours rose upon him, and declared that he must leave them an heir. And, therefore, in compliance with their desire, he was a second time married. And so he lived, adhering to Divine meditations, and suffering no temporal impedi-

* S. Ambrosii, Serm. XLIII.
† Thomassinus de Vetere et Novâ Ecclesiæ Disciplin. Pars III. Lib. I. c. 14.

* Mabilonii Vetera Analecta, 102.

ment of frail and passing honour to shake his good resolution. And then he prepared his tomb in the Church of Vasor: nor was the oil of his lamp ever extinguished; nor were his senses disturbed either by losses or flattery; but the residue of his days was spent in holy conversation, and in contending against the snares of the enemy. So, when the judge knocked, and the Lord announced his coming, he was not found asleep, but watching and expecting his Creator. Thus his soul passed to Christ in the year 980.*

We read in another chronicle, which at least shows the colour of the age in which it was written, that St. Patrick inquired of the Prince Conallus whether he would assume the habit of a monk? And the prince replied, that his heart was prepared to do whatever the saint should command; and that then the saint replied, "For the sign of power and protection, and for the proof of thy spiritual worth, shalt thou bear thy shield and sceptre; the name of laic shalt thou show, but the mind and the merit of a monk shalt thou possess."

Mabillon gives many examples of kings and princes, who were refrained by holy men from entering into monasteries, on the ground of their presence being essential to the order of society. During many ages, the abbots of monasteries had no greater concern than to prevent kings and dukes from abandoning the government of their states to seek tranquillity in the cloister. William I. Duke of Normandy, would have left every thing, to retire to Jumièges, if the Abbot Mainard would have permitted him. Hugues I., Duke of Burgundy, was only prevented by the Pope's interposition from becoming a monk. The Emperor Henry II., entering the church of the Abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun, exclaimed, "Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi: hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam." A monk overheard him, and warned the Abbot Richard, who called the emperor into the chapter room, and asked him what was his intention? "I wish," said he, weeping, "to renounce the secular habit, to put on yours, and henceforth to serve only God with your brethren." "Will you then promise," replied the abbot, "according to our rule and the example of Jesus Christ, obedience unto death." "I promise it," answered the emperor. "Well then, I receive you as a monk: from this day I take charge of your soul, and what I command you, do you perform in the fear of the Lord. Now, I order you to return to the government of the empire which God has entrusted to you, and to watch with all your power, with fear and trembling, for the safety of the whole kingdom." The emperor, bound by his vow, obeyed; but, in fact, in heart he had been long a monk, as he continued to be to the end of his days.

Many noble persons were devoted to monasteries, while they retained the secular habit. They were called "Donati," and "Donatæ."* Though, in the close of life, many of these men withdrew altogether from the secular cares, they had still continued in it sufficiently long to be considered as having belonged to it, and, therefore, as being examples of the characters in question. Two Doges of Venice shone in sanctity upon the ducal throne, as well as in miracles after their death. It was not till after a glorious reign, that Petrus Urseolus, the twenty-second duke, retired into a monastery of Aquitaine, where he died in the year 976: and Aureus Marepertus, the thirty-ninth duke, had fought in the holy war, and had conquered Saladin, and had governed the republic in wisdom and justice during fifteen years, when he chose to abdicate, and retire into a religious house, there to spend the rest of his days in holy meditations.† St. Theresa describes the character of her uncle, who constrained her, as she travelled, to pass some days in his house. "Our Lord, indeed," she relates, "went on disposing him for his own service, so that, when he grew more into years, he left the world, and became a religious man, and ended his life in such sort, that I believe," she adds, "he now enjoys the vision of God;" but she represents him "as being at that time, while still in the secular state, a very discreet man, and of great virtue, whose usual exercise was to read good books in the Spanish tongue; and whose discourse was most commonly of God and of the vanity of the world."

Gobertus, the pious and venerable monk of Villers, had been long a Lord and Count of Asperimont, being born of noble and rich parents of Lotharingia. His father Ganfrey had two sons, of whom the eldest was John, and the other Gobertus. They

* Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. I. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VII.

* Præfat. VI. Sæcul. § 5.
† Italia Sacra, V. 1166.

were both handsome boys, elegant and robust amongst all the companions of their youth. On a certain day, the father regarding his two sons, and diligently reflecting, determined that his youngest son, Gobertus, was more adapted for temporal warfare and for the manners of the world, and accordingly he made him the heir of all his possessions; but his brother John, as less fitted for a military life, he made a clerk, who afterwards became Bishop of Metz. It happened, after some time, that while Gobertus, the knight, was idling away his years in worldly warfare, and had made for himself a name renowned amongst all his contemporaries, he took it in heart to consider that the fame of worldly glory could not be perpetuated in heaven. Therefore, he began to fear God, and to venerate ecclesiastical persons, and to embrace with great desire the blessed Mary, Mother of God, and, beneath the rust of mundane chivalry, to be so devout that he might almost be thought to have attained to perfection, if it were lawful to say so. From that time, he never despised the judgments of the law, but began to avoid all subjects of wickedness; he injured not his neighbour, but he stretched out his hands to the poor; he relieved the oppressed, and constantly endeavoured, in every work of piety, to render God propitious to him. On a certain occasion, he was inspired with a zeal to vindicate the land of Jerusalem from the Infidels, and to destroy the worship of idols, and to give extension to the Divine worship as far as he was able. This was at the time when Frederick II., the wicked emperor, who was a concealed infidel, as was afterwards clearly shown, proposed to go to the Holy Land, that his iniquity might be veiled with a false semblance of good. By prayers and promises, he persuaded Gobertus to join his expedition, and assumed him as his fellow-soldier; but the man of God, discovering his perfidy, turned from him, and having fulfilled his vow with great devotion, he repassed the sea, and returned home. After his return, he did not recede from his good resolutions, like those who believe only for a time, but he firmly adhered to God. He had learned on his pilgrimage to sing the hours of the blessed Virgin Mary: his heart was always fixed on God. It often happened that, going before day to assist at matins, he did not dare to go unarmed, through fear of enemies; and yet he chose rather to hasten to the worship of God, than to pass those hours without fear, luxuriously resting on his bed. Thus, before day, he used often to go armed to the Divine office: being thus armed against the visible and invisible enemy. Moreover, the pious soldier of Christ, wishing to turn to advantage the fruit of his warfare, went to St. James, at Compostella; but at the first hour every morning, he sought the church, where he saw and heard the celebration of the Divine office of the holy Eucharist, that his soul might daily be sustained by our Lord's body. Thus did the soldier of Christ proceed, going and returning, so that he seemed to fulfil what is written, "Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem, donec videant Deum deorum in Sion."*

A general feature of the devotion of the laity in the middle ages consisted in that religious and philosophical turn of their conversation and writing, which so clearly discovered what lay uppermost in the heart. Modern times, which can produce a De Maistre, a Bonald, a Chateaubriand, a Stolberg, a Frederick Schlegel, a Manzoni, and a Pellico, may seem, in this respect, to fear no contrast; but it is not so much the genius of a few great men devoted to religion, among the laity, which is so remarkable in the annals of former ages, as the prevalence of a religious philosophy among that class of society, and the readiness of all men to take part in beautiful disputation respecting the future life. "Non ad solos sacerdotes Ecclesiæ pertinet status: cunctis fidelibus solicitudo ista communis est." This is what St. Avitus says, in his letter to the illustrious man, Senarius.† Accordingly, we find a Gundobadus, King of the Burgundians, whose evil belief diminishes not the force of the example, writing to this holy archbishop, to ask the meaning of certain prophecies in Isaiah and in the Book of Kings, and this saint, holding a correspondence with him on various abstruse questions of theology.

Prosper and Hilary were the zealous defenders of the Catholic doctrine against the Pelagians of Marseilles; yet Prosper was neither priest nor clerk: Victorius Aquitanus only calls him "vir venerabilis;" and Pope Gelasius only "vir religiosus;" and Gennade only says, "homo Aquitanicæ regionis." Thus, though a simple laic, he meddled with theology and doctrine, and, in union with Hilary, not only

* Hist. Monast. Villariensis, Lib. II. cap. II. apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.
† S. Aviti Epist. Tom. XXXVI.

wrote, but also went to Rome to provide against the danger. St. Victor, a soldier, when in the prison of Marseilles, converted his three guards; and there can be no doubt that, in early times, the knowledge of the Gospel was propagated widely by the Roman soldiers, especially in Pannonia, by the armies of Trajan and Aurelius.* This spirit continued to prevail during the middle ages, so that similar examples could be multiplied from their heroic annals.

Celebrated was the history of the Sultan, who sent his daughter to persuade three knights of Laon, who were in prison, to abjure the Christian faith. They, on the contrary, converted her; and on their escape and return, founded in 1141, the church of our Lady of Liesse, three leagues from Laon.

Antony Galvan, a Portuguese, one of the most illustrious warriors of his age, and as renowned in history for his piety as for his valour, being governor of one of the Molucca Islands, having no priest to send as a missionary to instruct the natives of Macazar, who were desirous of embracing Christianity, in consequence of the example of two of their fellow-countrymen who had been converted by this governor, sent as a catechist a soldier, named Francis de Castro, who, being prevented from arriving there by a tempest, occasion was furnished to another layman to exercise this office of religion; for Antonio Payva, a Portuguese merchant, having landed there to take in a load of sandal-wood, the King of Supa came to converse with him on the subject of the Christian religion; and this good merchant was able to speak so much to the purpose, that the king was converted, and all his court, being baptized by Payva, who was now despatched by them with a charge to send priests to that country. This happened shortly before the visit of St. Francis Xavier to Macazar.

St. Odo says, that Count Gerald, when a young man, surpassed many clerks in his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.† This was no uncommon accomplishment in the laity of the middle ages. King Alphonso of Naples and Arragon, who used to read Cæsar and Livy every day, and who translated the Epistles of Seneca into Spanish, had read, with the utmost care, the whole Bible, with commentaries, fourteen times, from beginning to end.‡

* Germania Sacra, I.
† De Vita Geraldi Bibliothec. Cluniacensis, 69.
‡ Drexelius, de Conformit. Lib. III. c. 2.

In the life of the Count of Rosemberg, it is said that he had been accustomed from his earliest years to read the Holy Scriptures; so that his heart was for ever after impressed with a sense of their Divine purport, and that the world was never able to efface the knowledge and love of the truths of the Gospel. Antoine du Faix, in his book of instructions, entitled, "L'Esperon de Discipline," composed for Charles, Duke of Savoy, in recommending books, advises him, above all, to become well versed in the New Testament, that he may be on his guard against the heretics of the age. The Abbé Gouget observes that this author had a profound knowledge of human nature, and that his idea of education was admirable. We find the Constable de Clisson, in his last will, bequeathing to the Dame de Rochefort, a little cross of pearls, and his Bible in French.* We read of Mathien, son of Burchard V., Seigneur de Montmorency, in the reign of Philippe Augustus, that he had been brought up in all the arts of chivalry in the castle of Colombe; and that the monks of the Abbey of Laval, which had been endowed by the first barons of Montmorency, had instructed him in the science of the Holy Scriptures: and Mabillon relates that the heroic Duc de Montausier had read the New Testament one hundred and thirteen times.†

In fact, the laity of the middle ages, like the first Christians, might have been named disciples, which term applies to men who occupy themselves in studying the doctrines of salvation, sitting at the apostolic feet. The sentences of St. Jerome and St. Augustin were then as familiar to chivalrous ears, as those of the classic orators and poets to the modern scholar. Venerable tradition was widely disseminated; kings and barons would have homilies of the holy Fathers read aloud at their tables both morning and evening; and so general were the effects, that theologians, proving the impossibility of introducing secretly any new doctrine into the Church, show the astonishment and opposition which would have been instantly made, not only by the clergy and the religious order, but also by the laity, who were no less conspicuous in piety and in knowledge of their religion.‡ The language of

* Vie des Grands Capitaines Française du Moyen Age, IV. 200.
† De Studiis Monsst. Pars. III. c. 2.
‡ De la Hogue Tractat. de Eucharist, cap. II. art. III.

the clergy was therefore that of the Paschal Sermon of Richard of St. Victor. "Christ our pasch is immolated. Brethren, you know the Scriptures and their virtue: therefore our sermon to you will not be doctrine, but admonition, and the recalling to your memory of known things. From the fountain whence I drink, drink also ye. Where I draw, you draw: if I draw water in joy from the fountains of the Saviour, you also draw there. Judge therefore as spiritual, whether the water which I present to you flows from the midst of the fountain—whether it is drawn from the fountains of the Saviour. Christ our pasch is immolated."*

Peter, Abbot of Moustier-la-Celle, in the year 1154, dedicated his book, entitled De Disciplina Claustrali, to Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, by whom he was greatly loved.†

Dom Carlos de Tapia, Marquis de Belmonte, composed a treatise on religion, which was much esteemed in Spain. The Emperor Charles V. who had often wished to raise Louis of Blois to the highest dignities, had such an admiration for his writings, that he used to carry his ascetical books with him wherever he went, and they constituted his ordinary reading when in his retreat at St. Just.

It was the same in the first ages. Marius Victorinus Afer, a consular man, wrote four books against the Arians, which merited the praise of St. Augustin, and a page in the Bibliotheca Patrum. Charlemagne wrote a preface for the Collection which Paul the Deacon made by his orders from the Homilies of the Catholic Fathers:‡ and there is even an Epistle from his pen, De Gratiâ Septiformis Spiritus. Angilbert, Abbot of Corby, sent the book of St. Augustin, De Doctrina Christiana, to the Emperor Lewis, and presented him with some verses on that occasion, in which he commemorates the pious humility with which he studies day and night to investigate the secrets of sacred wisdom:§ and Adalbert, Bishop of Lyons, exhorts King Robert to read the books of Augustin, Dionysius, and Gregory the Great; instances which make Mabillon observe how familiar with sacred readings were the ancient kings of the Francs. Symphorius Amalarius sends his books on the divine office to the kings, Lewis and Lothaire.

* Serm. in die Paschæ.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 291.
‡ Mabillonii Vetera Analecta, 73.
§ Id. 425.

In later ages, many holy books were published, by means of the munificent zeal of lay persons, coming forward, like the Countess of Riccini in modern times, who has translated and printed at her expense, at Modena, a celebrated French work in defence of religion.

The women of the feudal castle were often skilled in theology: for, in so representing them, poets adhere closely to historical fact. And what shall we say of the theological lore possessed by the artists, poets, and musicians of the middle ages? Take any example from the innumerable instances that will occur to every one's memory. Behold that awful picture of Christ in the garden of Olives, by Guido of Bologna, which is in the museum of the Louvre. What a profound sense was here of the mystery of the passion, and of the sacrifice of the man God! Consider again Michael Angelo. Enter his house in the Via Ghibillina at Florence, where you see represented the various remarkable honours which were paid to him by the Pope, the Grand Duke of Florence, and the veneration of the people, with his own portrait, so expressive of the simplicity and manly carelessness of genius. What do you find besides in these walls which are in the same state as when he left them? His chapel and his holy paintings of devotion.

The King St. Louis used often to converse with the young Joinville as they were on the passage across the sea, going to the crusade. "Senechal," said he to him one day, "Quelle chose: est-ce que Dieu?" "Sire," replied Joinville, "c'est si souveraine et bonne chose que meilleure ne peut être." "Vraiment, c'est moult bien répondu," said the king. "Autre demande vous ferai-je; savior; lequel vous aimeriez mieux être lépreux et ladre, ou avoir commis et commettre un péché mortel?" Joinville must have known well what was the answer that would please the holy young king, so faithful to the lessons of his saintly mother Blanche, but in a spirit of juvenile rudeness and levity, or at the bottom, perhaps, with that feeling which St. Francis de Sales ascribes to true humility, that would rather be taken for proud than humble, replied, that he would rather have committed thirty mortal sins than become a leper. The impression which these light words made upon the good holy king, belongs to history. "Quand les frères furent départis de là, il me rappelle tout seul, et me fit seoir à ses pieds, et me dit: comment avez vous osé dire ce

que vous avez dit? et je lui réponds que encore je le dirais. Et il va me dire : Ha ! fou musart, musart, vous y êtes déçu; car vous savez qu'il n'est lèpre si laide que d'être en péché mortel. Et vous prie que, pour l'amour de Dieu premier, et pour l'amour de moi, vous reteniez ce dit en votre cœur?"—"What can be more admirable," says a modern critic, "than the goodness of this king and saint, who, though a king and a saint, does not grow angry at the reply of the young man, but allows the witnesses to retire, and does not reprimand him until he is with him alone?"

There is on record the judgment pronounced by a nobleman at the court of Henry IV. of France, in reply to the king's question respecting the relative merit of two religious orders. The conversation of the court, so far from excluding, sanctioned similar topics. Even so late as the age of Louis XIV. warriors, like Turenne and Condè, might have been heard discoursing upon the mysteries of religion, —women of the first quality, like Madame de Sevigne, in letters to their friends, treating theological questions with erudition, while others, like the Duchess de Longueville, were wholly renouncing the world, and flying to cloisters, in order more effectually to assuage their thirst for heaven.

The letters of Fenelon to the Marquis de Seignelai were expressly designed to show the necessity for laymen to be well instructed in their religion. A great prince and military hero, the Duc de Chevreuse, in his letters to the same prelate, expresses himself with the utmost facility and precision on some of the most abstruse questions of theology: and the editor of this correspondence remarks, that the same learning belonged to many noblemen of the time. Certainly, the humble artless replies of the young Duke of Burgundy to the letters of the Archbishop, which informed him in plain terms of the cutting language of the world respecting him, and in details which must have been most wounding to the pride of human breasts, indicate a degree of piety and of ascetic merit, which would edify men striving after perfection in a cloister.

The reserve and obstinate silence of the moderns on topics of religion, would not indeed have been permitted by the doctors of the middle ages. "Some virtues," says St. Bonaventura, "we are bound to show before men and others to conceal. We are bound to make known our faith, charity, justice, truth, and contempt of the world —and we are to conceal extraordinary graces and alms."* The heathen sage prescribed a practice which the moderns would think becoming only in a monastery. "Let discourse concerning God," said Epictetus, "be renewed daily more than food for your body."† Few of them, at the age of Cephalus, the father of Polemarchus, would say like him to a religious instructor, "If I had still the power of going up to the city, I would not ask you to come down here to Piræus, for I would then go to you; but now you must indeed come oftener here for my sake: for be assured, in proportion as other pleasures, those connected with the body, wither and fall from me, the pleasure of hearing noble discourse, and the fervour with which I long for it, increase continually."‡ But precisely similar to this would be the language of old laymen in the middle ages to the monks of the nearest cloister, to whom the knights of chivalry are represented as listening with eager fondness. Witness Spenser's knight, who lodged with the hermit:—

"With faire discourse the evening so they pas,
For that old man of pleasing wordes had store,
And well could file his tongue, as smooth as glas;
He told of saintes and popes, and ever more
He strow'd an Ave-Mary after and before."§

Reverential and devout in the highest degree was the common tone of heroic conversations during the reign of those manners which had been created by faith. Dialogues, speculative and mysterious, were held in the evening in castles, under the vaulted roofs of the old manorial house, in parks, under the shade of melancholy boughs, and during rides, along the stormbeaten shores of the wild ocean.

The piety of the laity, during the ages of faith, is also seen in a very remarkable light in their conduct relative to the clergy, on which body it would seem as if their character had exercised no small influence. For while the laity venerated the clergy, the clergy respected the laity, and zealously favoured such of them as showed a disposition to a holy life, not excluding them from their society and from assisting at their offices, as if on account of their secular habit, they must necessarily have the mind and manners of the vulgar and profane, but rather encouraging them, and granting them free access to their holy cloisters and learned schools.

* De Reformat. Hom. Inter. cap. 18.
† Epicteti Sententiæ.
‡ Plato, de Repub. Lib. I.
§ Fairy Queen, I. 1.

Paul the Deacon, in his Epistle to King Charles, son of Pepin, explains to him the various customs of the monks of Monte Casino respecting the division and chant of their Psalmody, as also their rules of fasting and abstinence.* Let it be observed too, that all this was done with a perfect understanding and from exact principle.

Hugo of St. Victor makes the remark, that St. Paul, writing to Philemon, who was invested with no dignity of ecclesiastical administration, but merely a man estimable among the people, in the form of his salutation gives no precedence to the priest over the laic, but names Philemon before Archippus, who was Bishop of Colossa.†

In truth, there was good reason for respecting the heroic piety of the laity, which in some instances seemed to leave the devotion of the religious in the shade.—When the King of England threatened the monks of Citeaux with the loss of their possessions in his kingdom for giving an asylum to St. Thomas of Canterbury, they gently gave the archbishop to understand that he could not remain with them any longer. "O religion! O religion! where art thou?" exclaimed the King of France, scandalized at this cowardice of the monks. "Lo, they whom we thought dead to the world, now banish, for the sake of temporal goods, him who is an exile for the cause of God."‡—We read in the Spiritual Meadow of Sophronius, that when three Anachorites came to the cave in which Nicholas lived, they found him conversing with a secular man, and asking him to say something that would be edifying.§

We do not find that the clergy, in their solicitude for the interests of laymen, were above attending to the influence of locality upon sensitive minds. At least, they did not consign men to live with the dissipated in the very precincts of corruption, with the slaves of worldly industry and vain pleasure, surrounded with every object that can debase and contaminate the purity and nobleness of the soul, and then express wonder that these persons were not saints. Wishing them to be truly spiritual, they endeavoured to facilitate the way before them, by using all the human means which their experience and sagacity could point out as calculated to accomplish that end. They invited men therefore to join in the society of the holy, and they allowed them to reside in buildings, of which the very walls seemed to proclaim the wisdom and happiness of the just. The laity accordingly, in consequence of these advantages, comprised other characters besides the man of business and pleasure. There were in that class the scholar and the man of contemplative habits, who attended to the duties of Mary as well as of Martha.

This reciprocal influence was most powerful in the middle ages. The clergy were consoled, strengthened, and perhaps, not unfrequently retained in the spirit of their order, by the noble and devout character of the men whom they guided, as Manfrid in the tragedy is warned and comforted by the rude chamois hunter.

It would be thought strange in our times to find laymen and military nobles administering fraternal admonition, in letters addressed to priests and saints, and consoling them in calamity, by repeating texts of the holy Scripture. Yet such conduct would not have been deemed indecorous in the middle ages. After the death of Pope Clement V. when there was great opposition of interests, and delay in electing his successor, Dante, so remarkable for the submissive docility of his genius, wrote a fine letter to the dispersed cardinals, in which he exhorts them to re-unite immediately, to stop this anarchy, so injurious to the Church, and to bring back the holy see to Rome. In fact, nothing is more common in the literature of the middle ages, than to find letters, and other documents of this kind, which one might suppose had been composed by persons of a religious profession. The testament of Count Gerard, in which he founds the monastery of Vezelay, in Burgundy, concludes with these words—"We pray you all then, most holy fathers and bishops, by our Redeemer, that to this work of our devotion you would always continue labourers and assistants in all things, that these our pious and dearest servants may always attend to the interests of devotion and religion, and that in all things they may show themselves as the ministers of God, giving no offence to any one, that the most religious and holy order of their ministry may not be blamed; that the pontiff of the apostolic seat may be a ruler to them, and comforter and guardian, being united together by the most faithful charity and religious obedience, as members of the

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis.
† Annot. Elucid. Quæst. super Epist. ad Philem.
‡ Vita Quadrip. 85. § Cap. 154.

body of the Church, and worthy of being joined to the head of that whole body, which is Christ." *

When Count Aylwin, alderman of England, was labouring under his last sickness, coming to the abbey of Ramsey, which he had founded, he gave spiritual counsel to the monks, and began as follows, as he stood leaning against a pillar:—"Be not angry, my brethren, seeing that you, being learned and instructed in divine discipline, should be admonished by a layman and a sinner. For in ploughing the earth, you see that the oxen who go first are induced to labour more cheerfully, by hearing the voices of those that follow them." Then after a long spiritual discourse, which might have been delivered by an abbot, he took a solemn leave of the brethren, and passed over in a boat from the abbey.†

Nor was the zeal of the laity in these relations confined to admonitions; it prompted them to acts corresponding. Ladislaus, King of Hungary, in the year 1404, addressed the governor of the city of Bovinum in these terms:—"Grievous to us are all injuries incurred by any of our faithful people; but those inflicted on the churches and on ecclesiastical persons are so much the more so, as we naturally regard them with a more especial affection." ‡

Charles, Count of Flanders, was a great warrior, and withal a pious and just man. He was so humble and devout towards God, and all ecclesiastical men and monks, that he used often to entreat them that they would tell him of his faults in the proper time and place, and that they would pray to God for him. In his court, he used always to despatch first the causes of ecclesiastics, saying that the servants of God ought not to be detained in the courts of princes. It happened once that John, abbot of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, entered the count's court on the day of the Epiphany, to whom the count said, "My Lord Abbot, who is to sing high mass for us this day, on this holy solemnity, in your church?" The abbot replied, "My Lord, there are an hundred monks in the monastery, so that there will be some good man to celebrate it." The count answered, "On such a festival you ought to have been in your college to chant the psalms with the chanters, to feast with those that feast, and to give recreation to your monks who labour in the service of God; for to this end did our fathers assign revenues to you." "My Lord," said the abbot, "necessity compelled me; for a certain soldier has oppressed us." The count replied, "It would have been sufficient to have informed me of this by a letter or a messenger, for it is my business to defend you, as it is yours to pray to God for me." Then he gave redress, and the abbot returned consoled.*

The devout laity knew how to reprove what was evil in members of the clergy. "Baldwin the Bearded, Count of Flanders, began to build a castle at Bergen, but changing his resolution, he constructed instead of it a monastery, in honour of St. Winoc. The cause of it was this. The canons of St. Martin at that place were reported to be but little devout, and it was said that they neglected the divine offices. The count, desiring to ascertain the truth, disguised himself one night, and when the warden opened the church to strike the signal for matins, he entered as if to pray. The warden having struck the signal for matins, and no one coming, wished to shut the church door, and he obliged the count, whom he mistook for a poor man, to go out; but the count replying that he wished to hear matins, the other told him that it was all finished, and that they never rose for matins. Upon this the count resolved to build the new monastery, and thither he translated the body of St. Winoc, and he richly endowed it, and placed in it monks from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer."†

Gervaise attributes the conversion of the Abbot Suger as much to the admonitions of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, as to the grief which his death occasioned him. Charles, a prince of consummate virtue, was distinguished both by his valour and his piety. He had been offered the kingdom of Jerusalem during the imprisonment of Baldwin II. and the crown of the empire after the death of Henry V. and he refused both through Christian humility. His conversation almost always turned upon piety; and Suger, who had the honour of being often in his company during the campaign of King Louis against the nobles of Clermont, was charmed with his goodness; whereas, on the other hand, the count was pleased with the abilities of

* Historia Vezeliacensis, Lib. I. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.
† Hist. Rameseiensis, Pars II. cap. 62, apud Gale Hist. Brit. Tom. II.
‡ Italia Sacra, Tom. VIII. 266.

* Chronic. S. Bertini, cap. 41, Pars. II. apud Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum, Tom. III.
† Chronic. S. Bertini, cap. 36, Pars 2.

Suger. The count was attached to him from a consideration of his talents, and of his being an abbot; for he loved and respected all churchmen. Meanwhile, the virtue of the prince had made an impression upon the mind of Suger, and had inspired him with a kind of veneration, so that he often styled him blessed and a saint, and herein was not deceived, for he only anticipated the judgment of the Church. This union of hearts being formed, the count returned to Flanders and Suger to Paris, where, immediately on arriving, he heard of the tragical death of the count who was assassinated in the church of St. Donatian, at Bruges. All the circumstances of this detestable murder were full of horror. Being an exact and firm administrator of justice, especially in defending the poor and helpless from all acts of violence, he had resolved to investigate the measures of certain men who had made a fortune during a famine, by availing themselves of the distress of the people, with whom he had sympathized to such a degree as to make himself poor, and even to sell his furniture and clothes to assist them. Two of these wicked rich men resolved to cut him off, and for this purpose selected the church as the proper place. It was on Wednesday after the second Sunday of Lent. The count being risen, distributed his alms according to his constant custom, the first thing each day, barefooted, and kissing the hands of the poor, with a great faith, regarding in them Jesus Christ. Then he went to the church; and as he proceeded thither, a stranger warned him to be on his guard, but he replied, "Our precautions are vain against the misfortunes which menace us. It is enough for our peace if we have the happiness to appertain to God. He is all-powerful and always present, and nothing can happen to us contrary to his will. Nothing can be more glorious to a mortal man, who cannot guard himself against death, than to die for the defence of justice and truth." Thus saying, he proceeded on his way. On entering the church his chaplains left him to sing Prime, and he went to his prayers before the altar of the blessed Virgin. After many genuflections, he prostrated himself wholly on the ground, to say the seven Penitential Psalms. The conspirators now entered with naked swords under their cloaks. They found the prince in that posture, with some money near him, which his chaplain had placed for alms, which he used to give even during his prayers. One of them, named Bouchard, touched him that he might raise his head; but the count, thinking that it was a poor woman whom he had seen near him asking alms, took a piece of money and raised himself a little, at which moment the assassin struck him with his scimitar, so that the brains fell upon the pavement. The others then fell upon his body, and even cut off his arm, which he had stretched out to give alms. The news of his death struck Suger with great force. The count had given him salutary advice: for if Charles the Good loved persons consecrated to God, he wished at the same time that their conduct should be edifying; and he had been constrained to testify more than once to the abbot what he thought of the tumultuous and secular life which he passed at the court of France. The words of this prince now returned to his heart; and this was the second battery used by God to conquer that great soul rebellious to his grace.

In the days of decay of discipline at St. Denis, when Abaillard, though persecuted by the evil monks, could not obtain leave to quit that monastery, the cause being referred to the royal council, Stephen of Garlande, seneschal of France, a man of acute mind, is thought to have contrived, by an ingenious speech, both to urge the claims of Abaillard, and also to give a useful lesson to the religious themselves. "It is for the king's interest," said he, "that this abbey be not reformed, as Abaillard would have it if he remains there, because the greater the irregularity, the more money will the king be able to draw from it. Therefore (he concluded) it was for the interest of all parties, since the monks themselves were unwilling to be reformed, that Abaillard should obtain his dismissal."*

In nothing, however, does the zeal of the laity in these times appear more amiable, than in the love with which it inspired them for the clergy, and in that thirst which seems to have constantly impelled them

"To talk with good men, or come near their haunts."†

Poets, in praise of a king whom they loved, would remind men of the love which he entertained for the clergy, as Martial d'Anvergne, pronouncing the eulogium of King Charles VII. exclaims,

* Vie D'Abell. Liv. II.
† Dante, Purg. XVI.

"Las le feu Roy Charles le Debonnaire
Aymoit les clercs."*

To love clerks and knights was the boast of chivalry. "Mais les clers et les chevaliers en ma jeunesse ay voulu hauter voulentiers," says the historian of du Guesclin, "et souvent et le cueur de moy ferment y trait."†

The Archduke, Leopold William of Austria, is described as evincing a particular affection for all monks of every order. "He took delight in their company; and while a boy, he used to run up to them as soon as he saw them coming. In maturer years he evinced for them the greatest respect: it was his delight to converse familiarly with them, and to hear them speak of spiritual things. He used often to dine with them, and he would kiss their habits, and would always salute them with reverence whenever he met them on the way."

The famous Robert the Strong, Count of Blois, had so singular a devotion for St. Aignan, Bishop of Orleans, that he changed the name of his Castle Hayard, and called it St. Aignan.

Until the fifteenth century, it was the etiquette of courts that a bishop should take the precedence of a prince. It was deemed a noble privilege of illustrious families to have the right of showing the first honours to a bishop on his entrance into his diocese. The seigneurs de Montmorenci, possessing the first fief of the bishopric of Paris, were the first barons who used to support the person of the bishop on his entry, and to hold the dais over his head on his reception.‡

The Bishop of Nantes used to be conducted on horseback from the almonry of St. Clement, where he had slept, to the gate of St. Peter, by the Baron of Châteaubriand, who held the bridle. He was thence borne in a chair to the cathedral by the four first barons of the diocese—the Barons of Pontchâteau, Retz, Ancenes, and Châteaubriand. The noble family of De Thuissy enjoyed similar privileges, in relation to the honour paid to the Archbishop of Rheims.

It is not irrelevant here to make mention of these forms, since they were clearly monuments of the love of the laity for the clergy in early times; the indications of which, however, are undoubtedly beheld in a more interesting point of view, when we proceed to remark its spontaneous action in the various circumstances of life. When St. Aiden first came out of Ireland to Lindisfarne, King Oswald received him with the utmost reverence and humility, and took great delight in hearing his holy discourses. Then was seen that beautiful spectacle of a king serving as an interpreter of a holy priest, while preaching the Gospel to a people whose language was not perfectly known to him: for St. Aidan did not speak English: but the king, during the long period of his exile, had learned the language of the Scots.*

Burchard the Pious, Count of Corbeil, is said by historians to have loved the persons of all ecclesiastics.†—Louis-le-Gros, when a youth, receiving his education in the abbey of St. Denis, used often to leave the company of great lords, who used to come to the abbey from time to time to pay him their respects, in order that he might rejoin the company of Suger, with whom he loved to converse. In the year 1372, Charles le Sage, for the love which he bore to brother Peter of Villars, of the Dominican convent of Troyes, who was then his confessor, ennobled, by letters from the Louvre, his brother Nicolas Champagne of Villiers, and all his posterity.‡

It is recorded of the Abbot Euticius, that he was so much beloved by the Emperor Louis le Debonnaire, that "he built a monastery for him within the walls of his palace:" and of St. Benedict, the Abbot of Ania, we read—"because on many accounts he was necessary to him, it pleased the emperor to provide a suitable place for him, not far from the palace, in which he could rest with a few others." Lewis, in fact, built this monastery of Tuda, near the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he frequently remained.§

In the year 1145, Gui de Vaugrigneuse, son of Burchard Seigneur de Vaugrigneuse, showed such an affection for the monks of Lougpont, that he would not set out for the war in the Holy Land, which began about this time, until he had embraced all the monks of the abbey, in which house his nephew was at the time professed.‖

In all these instances, we may be sure that the motive was the same as that spoken

* Les Vigiles de la Mort du Roi Charles VII.
† Chronique de Du Guesclin.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. 388.

* Petr. Lombard. Archiepiscop. Admach. de Hibernia Commentar. 187.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom XI
‡ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troye, 378.
§ Mabillon, Præfat. in III. Sæcul. S. Benedict. § 8.
‖ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IX. 230.

of by the author of the Chronicles of St. Benign at Dijon, who, after describing how greatly Halynardus, Archbishop of Lyons, in the eleventh century, was loved by Robert and Henry, kings of the Francs, and also by the Emperor Conrad and his son Henry, adds, that he was thus beloved and venerated by them, "pro religiosâ conversatione ac famâ sanctitatis."* It was for the same reason that, when St. Anselm was on the continent, kings and nobles sought with such fervour to show him honour and friendship.†

The proofs of love for holy men, evinced by the laity during the ages of faith, are often contained in episodes of great beauty, from which scenes might be taken that would not be unworthy of the noblest muse.

It was at a paschal solemnity, when the nobles of the whole kingdom, both clergy and laity, were assembled at the court of King Edgar, that Count Aylwyn first met St. Oswald. The count was a devout and brave warrior, venerable and courteous, revering the love of God in others, and adorned with so many graces, that it was doubtful whether one ought most to praise or to wonder, on seeing such virtue in an illiterate man. He was struck with the countenance and air of the holy bishop on seeing him chanting the office of the dead at the funeral of a certain soldier, whose body he was escorting to Glastonbury. No sooner was the office finished than he went up and accosted the holy man. "Long ago, holy father, I was wishing for an opportunity of forming a friendship with you, and of being able to refresh myself by listening to your sweet and learned discourse. I am a man under the power of another, and having others under me, whom nobility of birth, abundance of riches, the sinful wisdom of the world, the gift of speaking, and in short, the public favour of the poor and rich, hath exalted. And since all power is from God, I fear lest I should abuse that power to the destruction of my soul—for I know, that to whom much is committed, much will be required." The holy priest, beholding the faith of the man, admired and replied to him with a serene countenance—"It pleases me to contract a friendship with you, most noble of men—it pleases me to observe this affection of pure liberality, which preventing all my merit, before I had boldness sufficient to demand of you, hath given me such proof of love. I am thankful to God for having sown such seed in your heart, the fruit of which I behold so abundant: and I trust that it may lead you to feel hope rather than security. Consider therefore, dearest son, that in proportion as you are exalted in secular power, so are your life and works beheld by all men. And although some are preferred above others, yet we have all an equal beginning of life, and we are all under the same law of death. We are all alike born in sorrow, and we live in sorrow, and in sorrow we terminate our course, nature constituting to us all one common origin and end, since our only difference can be in the degree of our separation from God. What doth noble birth profit him who is under the dominion of sin? He is truly noble who shines in virtue of mind and manners. In all the Scripture you will find that the poor are commended, and the rich made but little of. It is useful and lawful to have riches, provided you remember that it is the mind which is to govern. It is lawful to have command, but it is safer to be subject—for destruction is near all that is exalted. Witness him whose body we now carry to the tomb, who lately was clothed in silk raiment, and who had such rank and power in the court of kings! —Now all is departed from him, excepting whatever merit he may have laid up in store."—

At these words the duke began to weep, and said, "What then will become of me, holy father, who am involved in so many necessities opposing my good-will—regal affairs, warlike engagements, stipendiary and judicial?" To whom the holy bishop replied, "All these worldly occupations, my dear son, may contribute to your increase in justice, if you preserve equity in all your ways, and mercy in your judgments, and simplicity in your intentions: but since sometimes even a good intention may be darkened by a false species of right, you should redeem your sins by alms to the poor and to the churches. Therefore, if in any part of your territory you should have a place proper for those who profess a religious life, you should build a monastery there in the honour of God, and collect holy men there to celebrate the divine service, by whose prayers your sins may be expiated. I will co-operate with you, and will grant faculties." The count replied, "Venerable father, there is a certain farm on my lands called Ramsey, surrounded by a marsh, and sufficiently adapted for the retreat of such men—for it is solitary and peaceful—it is also adorned with many

* Chronic. S. Benigni Divionensis apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. I.

† Will. Malmes. de Gestis Pontif. Anglor. Lib I.

trees, and contains fertile meadows. Formerly there was no building there but a stable for my flocks, but lately having been admonished by a dream in sickness, I constructed a small wooden cell in that place to lodge monks of St. Benedict, where three at present reside, and where I had proposed to build a church." The bishop approved of this intention, and consented to accompany the count to inspect the place. The result of this journey was the foundation of that abbey—the bishop testifying his joy, and saying, "Be this your place of rest for ever. Here dwell after your death, since you have chosen it. The occasion of building this house will be a bond of everlasting friendship between us; for by a temporal building we shall, if our faith fail not, prepare to ourselves a mansion of eternal safety."*

Indeed, almost every monastery was a monument of the love for holy men which animated the laity during the ages of faith. Gaufrey, the illustrious Count of Poictiers, whose noble ancestors had founded so many religious houses, was a man of the greatest piety and justice. He founded the abbey of Poictiers, and great was his joy when he saw the abbot and his monks established in this noble house, which he had built for them. Whenever he was at Poictiers, he suffered no day to pass without alighting there; and when he came from a distance, he would not go to his palace before he had visited the monks, whom he used to call his lords. He used to go into the kitchen and into the cellar, and ask what the monks were to eat that day; and when he heard that it was some eggs, or a cheese, or some little fish, immediately he would order his purse-bearer to give money, that something better might be prepared. Who could describe with what obedience, liberality, and piety, he would minister to their wants? how benevolent he was to all men, but to them above all, how humble and how devout! When lord of many, he made himself the servant of his monks! Who so greatly honoured, adorned, and edified the church! On one occasion a certain monk who had been injured came before him, at the moment when he was greatly occupied in the care of public affairs, so that he answered rather sharply; when the monk, seeing himself slighted, went away dejected, but the duke soon recollected himself, and was grieved to think that he had dismissed the servant of God sad. He sent after him immediately, and had him brought back. Then he begged his pardon for having made such an unkind answer, and gave him justice as to the cause of his complaint.*

Of the love entertained for Arnulph, the thirteenth abbot of Ville Moutiers, both by monks and seculars, the history of that monastery gives many instances. "By princes," says the chronicle, "he was greatly venerated, especially by Henry, Duke of Brabant, who had a singular affection for him and his convent. Hence, when be had assembled the great lords of his territories in council, he used to invite the man of God to come there; and when the nobles saw him come, they used to say that the key of the council was left with him. When this true pastor had saluted them all, and had been received with worthy honour, he would ask the lord duke for what cause he had called him into his presence, when such arduous affairs were to be arranged, since it was known to him that he was a simple man, and inexperienced in earthly matters: and the duke would say to him, 'My dear father, I have called you here and received you with this honour, that my nobles and judges may see what love I have for you, and for your whole convent; that they may never molest you or yours, but rather nourish and defend you. Do you be the abbot within in the things which pertain to the honour of God and the salvation of souls, and I will be the abbot without, in all things which pertain to the utility of your house, in guarding your possessions, and punishing all who shall presume to disturb you.' This noble prince was in the habit of receiving every year a tunic, made of the cloth of our monastery; and he used to say that he feared no danger when he was armed with such a habit. When he died, he ordered himself to be buried in our monastery, which he so dearly loved and so highly honoured. When his obsequies had been celebrated in Lorraine, and his body was approaching the monastery, the community went out to meet it processionally; but when we first beheld his coffin, our entrails were moved, and our tears flowed, and we could not refrain them, considering our patron, who had so long defended and honoured us.—Who can relate what prayers and psalms and masses were offered for him? He knows them who gave us the will and the power, who is God blessed for ever."†

* Hist. Ramesiensis, Hist. Brit. Tom. III.

* Fragment, Historiæ Monasterii Pictarensis apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

† Hist. Monast. Villariensis, Lib. I. cap. 8, apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

Almost all the monks of Canterbury having been exiled by King John, in consequence of their resisting his resolution to intrude by force an archbishop upon that church, these holy men passed into France, and were received every where by the abbots with all humanity and piety. The count of Gisnen, hearing that they had entered his territories, went out affectionately to meet Gaufry the prior and his monks, and saluting them, he led them with great marks of honour to his castle of Tornehem to his countess, and there he compelled them to dine in his family, and he himself officiously served them at table, and there was a grand and abundant feast for them; and though there were more than eighty monks, he provided a horse, or a conveyance of some kind, for every one of them, and he ordered them to be conducted as far as St. Omer by his own servants, of whom he is said to have had as many as a hundred, some on horseback, and others, as is the custom, attending on foot: and when their coming was announced to the convent of St. Bertin, they were met processionally, and then shown all hospitality, and thus they passed through France and Flanders, till the year 1213, when they were honourably recalled to Canterbury.*

These details are assuredly interesting. What proof do they furnish of the meek filial reverence of the laity, during the middle ages, for persons of holy profession! and what an insight do they yield into the real secret of that spirit of submission to them, for which this period of history is so centaurically blamed by modern writers! Let us take but one example more, and that from any of the letters addressed to St. Hildegard, which are all very remarkable.

* Chronicon Andrensis Monasterii apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX. p. 563.

Philip, Count of Flanders, addresses her in these terms:—"Your holiness should know that I am prepared to do whatever I shall learn may please you, because your holy conversation and virtuous life have often sounded in my ears sweeter than all fame. For although I am a sinner and unworthy, yet I love with my whole heart the servants and friends of Christ, and I gladly honour them in every manner with veneration, remembering that Scripture, 'Multum valet assidua justi deprecatio.' Therefore I send to the grace of your piety the bearer of these presents, my most faithful servant, who will speak with you for me, a wretched sinner. And I desire greatly to speak to you, but my occupations are every day so urgent, that I have not leisure to do this: for the time approaches when I am to go to Jerusalem, for which end I need great preparation, and concerning this design, to intimate your advice to me by letters: for I believe the fame of my name and actions has often reached you, and I am in great need of the mercy of God in many things. Therefore, with great earnestness of entreaty I beseech you to intercede with the Lord for me, who am a miserable and unworthy sinner, and, as far as the Divine mercy shall enable you, to inquire from God what is expedient for me, and to send me your advice by the bearer of these presents, stating in what manner I should act in order that the name of Christianity may be exalted in my times, and the dire ferocity of the Saracens repressed, and whether it will be better for me to remain in that land or to return."

Such, then, was the spirit of reverence and love for holy persons, which animated the laity of the middle ages: such is the testimony which it supplies to the intensity of their thirst after justice. It only remains to close this division of our history with some general reflections, suggested by the facts which have been passed in review.

CHAPTER X.

TO know the character of men, we do not inquire what they believe, or what they hope, but what they love:* which remark of St. Augustin may be verified by referring to Homer, whose expression for the character of a people is always taken from the object of their predominant affection—as where he speaks of the Taphians loving the oar,†—as also in any of the Platonic writers, who assign places to men in relation to philosophy, according to the particular love which they cultivate, in proportion as they are lovers of the body or of the soul.

If we apply this rule to the history of men during the middle ages, we shall not be long at a loss to determine the name which peculiarly suits them. Distinctions, indeed, and exceptions, undoubtedly there were; but the general language held respecting the laity, can leave no doubt on the mind of any impartial investigator. It is not that they loved glory, loved financial speculations, loved the law, loved assemblies, loved society—but we read constantly that they loved justice, loved communion with God, loved tho churches, loved the saints, loved the clergy, loved the monasteries, loved tho poor, that they despised the life of the world, through love of the celestial kingdoms.

Our conclusion must be—not that they surpassed the ancient Romans in strength, or the Gauls in heroism, or the Greeks in arts, or the nations of modern Europe in provision for the material interests of the temporal society, but that they surpassed all nations and people in piety and religion; and as the Roman philosopher says, "in that one wisdom by which they perceived that all things are guided and governed by the providence of Almighty God." Full of zeal and faith, their manners, their language, their deeds, were no doubt prodigiously at variance with the standard which is seen and followed wherever the modern philosophy has created legions.

They were more anxious that their country should be, as the ancient poet said, with greater accuracy of expression than of thought, θεοφιλεστάτην,* than that it should win martial glory or commercial greatness amongst nations. The inscription on a tower of Ens, in Upper Austria, attesting the tradition of Mark and Luke having converted that country, ascribes to it the highest privilege that was then the object of ambition,—

"Aspicis exiguam nec magni nominis urbem,
Quam tamen æternus curat amatque Deus." †

The ancient poet, too, whose verses are still read upon the tomb of Guido, Bishop of Pavia, in the thirteenth century, attests that the inhabitants of that city gloried chiefly in their faith, and in their attachment to ancient manners:—

"Laudibus immensis exultat plebs Papiensis,
Antiquum morem retinens, fideique decorem."

"As Rome," says the ancient writer of the life of St. Zenobius, "is supposed formerly to have rejoiced in the spoils of the slain, so did Florence now exult in the conversion of many to the Giver of eternal victories."‡ Every thing connected with the state bore a Catholic character. On one side of the ancient coin of the Dukes of Florence was seen the lily, as the secular insignia of that city; and on the other, the image of its tutelar saint, with his hand raised in the act of giving his benediction."§ Ughelli describes money in the museum of a knight of St. Stephen at Pisa, of which one side showed the hereditary insignia of the Medici, and tho other a fearful representation of the last judgment.‖

The leaden seal of Boamund, Prince of Antioch, attached to a diploma of the year 1190, in the archives of the canons of Genoa, represented on one side the prince armed cap-à-pie, on horseback, galloping, holding a banner in his hand; and on the other, the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.¶

* Enchirid. cap. 27. † Od. 1. 184.

* Æsch. Eumenid. 869.
† Germania Sacra, I. 16. ‡ Italia Sacra, III. 14.
§ Id. III. ‖ III. 480. ¶ Id. IV. 878.

The men of these ages clung to the glory of the Catholicity of their state, of their institutions, of their history; and exulted in that prerogative in the same manner as Plato,* Sophocles,† Demosthenes,‡ and Æschylus,§ claimed for their nations the honour of being loved by God.

What seemed above every thing admirable in Milan, and worthy of universal praise, was not its wondrous cathedral of marble, nor its venerable Ambrosian basilica, but the devout spirit, the love and reverence for the Divine worship, which, from remote antiquity, had been a characteristic feature in the manners of its citizens.‖ "For eternity," says St. Bernard to the Genoese, "I shall never forget your devout people, your honourable race, your illustrious city."¶ In his days, even the grandeur and renown of Genoa were matters of a secondary consideration to its devotion and Catholicity. Venice enjoyed maratime empire and an immense renown; free from remote ages; powerful, not so much by propagating as by preserving liberty; illustrious, from the concord of its citizens, the wisdom of its senate, the order of its magistracy, the equity of its judges, the reverence inspired by its laws, the gravity of the fathers, the obedience of the people, the eloquence of the aged, the modesty of youth. But all these titles were forgotten, as of no weight in comparison with the glory which belonged to it from having yielded to no city of the world in attachment to the Catholic religion, in which it was born, and in which it grew to that state of magnificence, strength, and felicity, which rendered it the admiration of the world.** "In this, I often considered myself happy," says Simon Majolus, "that I was educated in Asti, that ancient city of Italy, so full of Catholic institutions, and rites, and holy men, and which had been always free from the contagion of heresy."†† Consequently, these were not men corresponding to the type of the poet Ronsard, who could heap his praises equally upon Catholic princes and an Elizabeth of England.‡‡ They had offerings but for one altar.

The Emperor Valentinian was about to subscribe to the expense of Pagan rites. "What will you answer to the priest," said St. Ambrose to him, with holy zeal, "when he will say to you, 'The Church does not desire your gifts, because you have adorned with presents the temples of the Gentiles? The altar of Christ rejects your donations, because you have made altars to idols; for no man can serve two masters. Why do you seek the priests of God, when you prefer to them the profane petitions of the Gentiles?'"*

Neither the honour nor the devotion of the middle ages would have merited the praise which Cardan bestows on the dexterity of the freed men of the ancients: "for when," said he, "they were most faithful to their lords, yet they did not incur the resentment of their lord's enemies. Who was more an enemy to Cicero than Anthony? yet the latter's displeasure was not incurred by Laurea or Tyro, although they were men obedient to Cicero; and in like manner did Epaphroditus survive Galba."† "Vivorum bonorum est, admodum irasci," says Cicero.‡ Men who had smiles for all opinions and all actions, would have been considered as calumniating the Author of nature, who gave it the power of indicating displeasure; and as forgetting what is recorded of the immaculate and Divine Lamb himself, who is said to have looked round upon certain Jews with indignation, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, to whom thus two passions are ascribed in one verse. "Woe to the country in which the Church has enemies, and from which the cry of the poor does not rise to Heaven against them!

The philosophy of the middle ages recognised a legitimate object for the exercise of all the passions, which were given by the Creator, and intended for the noblest purposes, and which, when applied according to the design of God, are so many instruments of the highest good. Heavenly graces, in Catholic times, were grafted even upon human asperities, as gardeners contrive to make roses bud from the stem of briars. This is shown by St. Bonaventura, who says, "Desire belongs to man, that he may long for spiritual and perfect delight; anger, that he may never consent to crime, or to the enemies of God; grief, that he may feel the enormity of sin, and the wretchedness of exile from his heavenly country; joy, that he may rejoice in God, and in the hope of possessing him for ever; love, that he may love

* Meno. † Œdip. Col. ‡ Epist. IV.
§ Eumenid. 869. ‖ Italia Sacra, IV. 9.
¶ Epist. 129. ** Italia Sacra, Tom. V. 1269.
†† Id. IV. 334. ‡‡ In Le Bocage Royal.

* Epist. XXX. † Prudent. Civit. cap. 83.
‡ De Legibus, I. 7.

God above all things, and himself and his neighbour for God and according to God, and all the works of God, because made by him; hope, that he may expect mercy and grace in a future life; fear, that he may dread losing God for ever; shame, that he may never dare to commit sin."*

The zeal of the middle ages would never have permitted men to adopt the line of argument proposed by Symmachus to the Emperor Valentinian, when he says, praying that the ancient worship of idols might be maintained, "Each side has its customs and its rites. The Divine mind hath distributed to cities various guardians and modes of worship. It is right to esteem as one and the same whatever all worship. We behold the same stars: the heaven is common. What doth it matter by what prudence each man seeks the truth? There is no possibility of arriving at so great a secret by one journey. But this is the disputation of the idle." Had such language, which is also that of the moderns, been heard in the middle ages, it would have been met with the words of St. Ambrose, who replies on this occasion:—"You say we cannot arrive at so great a secret by one journey! What you know not, we have known by the voice of God; and what you seek by guesses we have found by the wisdom and truth of God. Therefore, your thoughts agree not with ours.†"

Certain it is that the whole spirit of the middle ages was opposed to the system termed of the just medium, which is advanced, and, as we may say, onthroned in these latter days. But how could it have been otherwise, since they were ages of faith, ages of poetry, ages of honour, ages of profound philosophic meditation on the origin and destiny of man. "In nature, as well as in human life, and in moral relations, light and warmth are inseparable: one power, which gives light, imparts warmth; where this is absent, there is eternal darkness, and also an eternal cold of death."‡ As Sir Philip Sidney admits, in his letters to Queen Elizabeth, "if a Catholic be a man, he must needs have that manlike property, to desire that other men should be of his mind." Our ancestors, in fact could no more suppose that one doctrine could be the result of two contrary principles, than that parallels could ever join.

* De Reformat. Hom. Inter. cap. 20—cap. 36.
† S. Ambrosii Epist. Lib. V. 31.
‡ Fredrich von Schlegel, Philosophie der Geschichte, I. 21.

To say nothing of faith, the spirit of the middle ages was too Platonician to admit it. Socrates speaks of men who are a kind of middle character between a philosopher and a politician, who think themselves to be the wisest of men: σοφοὶ δέ ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, he adds, πάνυ εἰκότως· μετρίως μὲν γὰρ φιλοσοφίας ἔχειν, μετρίως δὲ πολιτικῶν, πάνυ ἐξ εἰκότος λόγου, for they partake of both ὅσον ἔδει, and enjoy the fruits of wisdom, without incurring its dangers and contests. "The position of these men," replies Crito, "must be admitted to be specious and plausible." "It is so, indeed," continues Socrates; "but it has more plausibility than truth: for men, and all other things which are placed between two things, must necessarily partake of the nature of both of them. Those that are between evil and good, must be better than one, and worse than the other. Those that are between two good things, and not the same with them, must be worse than either of them. And those that are between two evils, must exceed each of them in evil, inasmuch as they must partake of the evil of the one, superadded to that of the other. So these men, being, in fact, the third from truth, endeavour to seem to be first." After showing that these proud pretenders to superior wisdom, in consequence of their system of just medium, are, in reality, but the third from truth, he concludes by observing that "they are objects rather of pity than of anger."*

Nor is the doctrine of the moderns sanctioned by the Ethic page. "Things, it is true," says Aristotle, who, in language at least, must always be opposed to Plato, "may be corrupted in two ways: either through excess, ὑπερβολῆς· or through deficiency, ὑπ' ἐνδείας.† The perfect man, therefore, μήτε πλεονάζει, μήτε ἐλλείπει."‡ True, as he admits, every excellency shuns equally excess and deficiency, and seeks the true medium; but, then, this medium he observes, does not consist in the thing, but in ourselves, μέσον δὲ, οὐ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Therefore, this admission is reconcileable with every possible latitude for the development of religion, virtue, and art; because the man whom God has endowed with a great soul and superior ability, may do things which might be excess to another, while to him they constitute the medium. Whereas

* Plato, Euthydemus. † Ethic. Lib. II. c. 2.
‡ Id. c. 6.

the supporters of this system stupidly accuse men of exaggeration, if they see them perform deeds which surpass their own power. Moreover, the Stagyrite concludes that, strictly speaking, there can be no excess or deficiency of virtue; for as this consists in the true medium, whenever this is overpassed or unattained, men altogether sin.*

In regard to political and moral relations, their system is equally erroneous, and renders men guilty of what the poet Agatho condemns:—

> τό μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ἡγούμενοι,
> τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμενοι.†

Neutrality in persons, as well as in states, is generally the worst of all parties: it is generally only a system of indifference, and of an egotism ill-disguised, which generally meets with its proper chastisement. Neutrality never secures either honour or glory: it is always more noble and more useful to show oneself a faithful friend or a declared opponent, than to remain indifferent to all the world, and render service to no one.‡ So thought Tasso:—

> ———————— "Except Tatine, none
> Of all the Greeks went with the Christian host:
> O sin, O shame, O Greece, accurs'd alone!
> Did not this fatal war affront thy coast;
> Yet sattest thou an idle looker-on,
> And glad attendest which side won or lost:
> Now, if thou be a bond slave vile become,
> No wrong is that, but God's most righteous doom."§

This system of worldly wisdom, moderation, and liberality, in all ages, might be typified by the treason of Ganelon, in persuading Charlemagne not to follow the dictates of his own heroic generosity. While "faith," as Tertullian says, "knows of no necessities,"‖ this rule of life admits the necessity of Euripides, to kill one's mother, which the Stagyrite says is only to be laughed at.¶

The Catholic prudence of the middle ages dictated gracious thoughts, and rendered the language of men so amiable, that the Church could exclaim, "From the mouth of the prudent proceedeth honey; the sweetness of honey is under his tongue, and his lips distil sweetness." The reformed prudence of modern times, which has the thoughts of Judas, sanctions and applauds Pilate's motive, who became a deicide, "volens populo satisfacere."* Men call this latter prudence liberality, the just medium: Hell knows it under the name of Atheism. There its wretched victims were seen by the great Dante, when he descended in spirit to those regions of eternal grief:—

> "O master! what is this I hear? What race
> Are these, who seem so overcome with woe?
> He thus to me: 'This miserable fate
> Suffer the wretched souls of those who liv'd
> Without or praise or blame, with that ill band
> Of angels mix'd, who nor rebellious prov'd,
> Nor yet were true to God, but for themselves
> Were only. From his bounds Heaven drove them forth,
> Not to impair his lustre; nor the depth
> Of hell receives them, lest th' accursed tribe
> Should glory thence with exultation vain.'"†

During the ages of faith, this wretched state was known only as a thing that had been weighed and condemned. "There are men," says St. Bonaventura, "who calumniate virtue; who call silence melancholy, gravity pride, the zeal of justice rash judgment, the repose and tranquillity of devotion laziness and indifference, mortification indiscretion, simplicity folly, the fear of God vain scruples, spiritual retreat, the love of singularity, modesty hypocrisy.‡ St. Theresa also describes men who always fear that a good action will cause a great mischief, and who seem as if the demon had taught them to prophesy future evils a thousand years before they arrive. The unerring text does not deem it sufficient to say, in praise of one whom it commends, that prudence is in the word of his mouth, without adding that wisdom rested in his heart. In contradistinction to the fears of prudence without wisdom, the spirit of the middle ages required men to throw themselves upon the sea like St. Peter. "If I were a person who might be desired to give my opinion," says their great representative, in regard of the noble mystic spirit, "I would never advise any person that, when any good inspiration did often move and set upon a soul, it should give it over for fear of not performing the work. For, if one go on merely and purely for

* Ethic. Nicom. Lib. II. c. Magna Moralia, Lib. II. c. 3.
† Clemens Alex. Stromat. Lib. V. 14.
‡ De Haller, Restauration de la Science Politique, Tom. III. 406.
§ I. 51.
‖ De Cor. Mil.
¶ Ethic. Lib. III. c. 1.

* Marc. xv. 15.
† Hell, III.
‡ De Sept. Grad. Vit. Spiritual, cap. 52.

the only love of our Lord, there needs be no fear at all of good success, since the same Lord is powerful enough to prevail in all things; and let him be ever blessed. Amen." *

It is in life, as in many arts with such prudent minds, "Dum satis putant vitio carere, in idipsum incidunt vitium, quod virtutibus carent." St. Bonaventura is of the same opinion:—"O devout soul, in whom Christ is at length spiritually born, fly now from the society of the wicked! Ascend with Mary; seek the counsels of spiritual men; endeavour to follow in the footsteps of the perfect; contemplate the words and actions of the good; fly from the poisonous counsels of the perverse, who always seek to pervert and to hinder, and to quench the new inspirations of the Holy Ghost, and who, under the appearance of good and piety, pour out their venom of impious tepidity into the soul, saying, 'What you begin is too great, too arduous, intolerable, beyond your strength. Such things become not your state: your honour and respect will be diminished by them. 'Heu heu! quot et quantos maledicta mundialium consilia supplantaverunt, et conceptum in eis per Spiritum Sanctum Dei Filium extinxerunt.'' This is that miserable and deadly potion which kills and extinguishes the fixed resolve. But there are others who seem, and perhaps are, good and religious, and yet, 'salvâ eorum reverentia,' who are too timid, not remarking that, as yet, the hand of the Lord has not been shortened; having a zeal towards God, but not according to knowledge, as when, through compassion for corporal affliction, or fear of natural weakness, what they see others perform manfully, and what they judge to be good and holy, they do not dare to begin themselves, and even keep back others from the works of perfection, dissuading them, and saying that these things exceed the state of ordinary life, or that they do not agree with their imperfection, and will, therefore, furnish a just ground for accusing them of hypocrisy. Do you, then, O soul! fly from these unlearned counsels, and ascend the mountain with Mary." †

What is the intelligence which can determine the just medium in religion? Duns Scotus says that there can be no excess in tending to God by desire: ‡ and St. Bernard says, that the measure of the love of God is to have no measure. "If you have an infirm and earthly mind," says St. Bonaventura, and the men who would modify and give laws to the Church are not, in general, men exactly of empyrean conceit, "you will consider the least services as the greatest, and what is as nothing will seem most difficult to you; and those things which you would willingly do for yourself, or for the lowest friend, you will think too grievous to be done for the Highest God. The infirm eye will abhor the irradiations of the true sun of justice, and will desire to walk in darkness; you will triumph over spiritual men, and you will not know that you are yourself triumphed over by demons."*

The steady uncompromising zeal of the piety of the middle ages is obnoxious to the taste of modern philosophers. Little can they understand the constancy of that poor Queen, Mary of Scots, to suffer an imprisonment of nineteen years, and then a cruel death, when, as Stephen Pasquier remarks, if she had renounced the Catholic religion, she knew that her prison doors would have flown open immediately.† They would have men imitate Alcibiades, who used to be seen, when at Athens, jesting, and keeping horses, and adopting an agreeable mode of life; but, when at Sparta, cutting off his hair, and wearing a cloak, and using the cold bath; when in Thrace, fighting and drinking; and when he visited Tissaphernes, assuming the habits of luxury and effeminate refinement, and wherever he went, adopting the manners of those with whom he found himself.

The middle ages, on the contrary, admired Epaminondas or Agesilaus, for, though conversing with many different men, and visiting various cities, they always and every where preserved their own manners and dress, and mode of life. They admired Plato, for being the same at Syracuse as in the academy, and with Dionysius as when with Dion.‡ These former are men "rather point-device in their accoutrements; as loving themselves, than seeming lovers of any other." They fancy that they appear most wise, when they make the greatest outward show of indifference: keeping whatever religious sentiment they may possess buried within their own breast, as if it were a treasure for themselves alone, which no one else might even look at. In truth, however, they are generally men without any

* The Life of the Holy Mother St. Theresa, I. 6.
† S. Bonaventura de quinque Festivitatibus pueri, Tom. I.
‡ In Lib. III. Sentent. Dist. XXVI. 9. 1.

* Stimul. Divin. Amoris, Pars II. cap. 5.
† Recherches de la France, Lib. VI. 15.
‡ Vide Plutarch de Dignos. Ver. Amic. IX.

fixed determined principles: at one moment they are heard eulogizing the Catholic religion; and at another, condemning and scorning it; like the Emperor Adrian, who, at one time, proposes to have Christ adored as God, and at another, persecutes those who worship him. The man of this class is described by Socrates as one who calls anarchy liberty, intemperance grandeur of soul, and insolence the mark of a right education. When grown old, if he should subside into a less troubled state, it will be only to give up the command of himself to whoever shall fall to him, as it were by drawing of lots: one time the slave to this man, and another to that; having an equal respect for all, *οὐδεμίαν ἀτιμάζων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου τρέφων·* and not regarding as true the saying which may be addressed to him, that there are some pleasures proceeding from good and honourable desires, and others from evil; and that it is necessary to pursue and honour the one, but to punish and enslave the other. But from all this he dissents with a throwing up of his head, and says that all are the same, and that they are to be honoured alike, *καὶ ὁμοίας φησὶν ἁπάσας εἶναι, καὶ τιμητέας ἐξ ἴσου.* So he lives every day, indulging graciously in every desire that occurs to him: one time, getting drunk, and playing on the flute; at another, drinking only water, and confining himself to a slender diet; at another, stripping himself for the gymnasium. There is a time when he is indolent and indifferent to every thing; and there is another when he applies diligently to philosophy. Very often he takes part in political affairs; and, as it were by starts and bounds, he says and does whatever happens to please him. If he should ever feel a zeal for certain wars, he is borne in that direction; or for making money, he is carried off in that. And there is never any order or necessity to him through life, but, considering this kind of existence sweet, and liberal, and happy, he continues it to the last. Such is the life of a man enjoying all things equally, corresponding in character to that of the democratical state.*

He who does not recognise in this portrait the opposition between Catholic and modern times, when it is expressly said that ancient manners should be changed for new, corresponding to the political constitutions recently adopted, will have read Plato but to little purpose, or have but marvellous scanty knowledge of the philosophy of these two epochs in the history of man.

* Plato de Repub. Lib. VIII.

If we now consider the zeal and fervour of the ages of faith in relation to that standard of the beatitudes which they endeavoured with all their strength to follow, we shall find still stronger grounds for preferring them to the system which has been created by the indifference of latter times. "It is one thing," says Richard of St. Victor, "to follow good from desire, and another from mere counsel; it is one thing to do good with great delight, and another from deliberation alone. The one is good, like silver; the other is best, like gold."* "What a difference," he exclaims, in another place, "between cold and red-hot iron, between soul and soul, between the tepid and him who is inflamed with Divine love."†

To the gift of strength and courage corresponds the fourth beatitude,—"Beati qui esuriunt;" for it requires great strength, as St. Augustin says, "to labour and obtain the sovereign good, and to leave earthly things." And St. Thomas says, that "it is an arduous thing, not only to do good, but to do it with thirst and avidity." O how majestic and inspiring are the words of St. Bonaventura!—"We must hold the lance of zeal against the assault of vice, against the attacks of the devil, of the flesh, and of the world. Of this lance we read in Jeremiah, 'Polite lanceas, induite vos loricis.' It is with the lance of zeal that we must contend against evil. If you do not hold out the lance of zeal against vice in this world, God will put forth the lance of his wrath against you in judgment."

The zeal of the middle ages had, indeed, nothing to recommend it to the favour of utilitarian philosophers, or of self-interested reformers. "We have in our days," says Fuller, "many who are forward to offer to God such zeal which not only cost them nothing, but wherewith they have gained great estates."‡ Such was not the Catholic zeal; neither did it resemble that of the mother of James and John, who came to adore Jesus, but only to ask that her sons might be promoted to dignity. Still less was it the zeal of Machiavelian sophists and artful rulers, who, like Catherine de Medicis, and Richelieu, Cranmer, and Elizabeth, wrought so many deeds of hypocritical renown. "All that," as Pasquier says, "was done under a different banner from ours;

* R. de S. Victor, de Eruditione Hominis Interioris, Lib. I. 24.
† Id. de Gradibus Violentæ Charitatis.
‡ Thoughts, 345.

for those who were born under the true religion, knew that they had to maintain it Christian by zeal and devotion, not by political discourses, unless they wished to spoil all."* But it was the fervour of a Peter, the affection of a John, the sorrow of a Magdalen, the constancy of an Andrew. It was the zeal which Dante heard commemorated "amidst refining flames, when two spirits of the swiftly-moving crowd, which overtook him, cried, weeping, 'Blessed Mary,' sought with haste the hilly region." † It was the zeal of the shepherds and of the magi, who, came to Bethlehem:—"You see how the shepherds hasten," says St. Ambrose, "for no one with indifference seeks Christ."‡ It was the compliment of that character which the Church ascribes to her lay confessors, when she exclaims, "Ecce homo sine querela, verus Dei cultor, abstinens se ab omni malo, et permanens in innocentia sua."

By the law of nature, by the command of God, and by the consent of all nations, is the reasonable creature bound to evince zeal for the honour of the Creator. Hear, O ye supporters of the just medium! how a heathen sage reasoned within himself, when he heard men attack a mere abstract question, which involved, according to his judgment, the interests of Divine truth:—"For I was afraid," he says, "lest it would not be holy, having been present when justice was reproached, and when it was said to be less than injustice, a source of happiness, to give up καί μὴ βοηθεῖν, ἔτι ἐμπνέοντα, καὶ δυνάμενον φθέγγεσθαι."§

It was not strange, therefore, that those who hungered and thirsted after justice, should have been always ready to say, with holy Israel's king. "Zelus domus tuæ comedit me:" evincing the zeal of an Ignatius for the glory of God, the zeal of a St. Louis for the exaltation of the Church, the zeal of the knight templar for the defence of oppressed brethren, the zeal of an Eligius for the salvation of men's souls, and for the reducing all things to the obedience of faith.

Men must needs possess hearts but little alive to the holy delicacy of the faith, who are unable to comprehend or justly appreciate the form of expression which the zeal of the middle age frequently adopted. What more beautiful offerings could they have made to Heaven, than their trust, their reverence, their love, the overflowing sentiments of their souls? Lewis of Grenada points out this zeal in contrast with the admonitions of human prudence. "Penitent Magdalen comes to Jesus: rightly," saith he, "but yet, O woman! you should wait for a proper time, that you may find the Physician alone, that you may not make your conversion a fable to the world. No time is less proper for tears and confession of sins than the moment of a feast. Wait a little, then, till the guests depart, and then you may have a fitting season for weeping and penitence. 'I cannot,' she replies, 'endure the horrible face of sin, even for this short space.' And so we behold this prudent woman fearing neither the number of the guests, nor the judgment of men, nor the contempt of the Pharisees, and coming instantly into the presence of Jesus, when, not content with watering his feet with her tears, she wipes them with the hairs of her head. Who ever heard of such service offered to any king or emperor, that his feet should be wiped with the golden hair of women? Such, however, is the zeal of true disciples to consecrate every thing beautiful to Christ."*

The moderns, if we judge from their general manner of philosophizing, would discover in an act of this kind superstition or hypocrisy, and the device of a sensual unenlightened piety: our Lord has, however, decided against them:—"Propter quod dico tibi, remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum." The lily, which is seen in so many of the old devout paintings of saints, was, in fact, a symbol of the delicate susceptibility belonging to the zeal of the middle ages. "The lily," as Christine de Pisan says, "is a tender flower, 'et de moult petit hurt est froissié et taché.'" Such was the affectionate devotion of men, that they would have shunned the least indication of neglect and indifference as a crime. Moderate in their expression, guarded and timid in their judgment, "jure videri" being their strongest sentence, always did those who had imbibed the genuine influence of the Catholic religion, take in the visage the stamp of that right zeal, which, with due temperature, glows in the bosom.†

The faith of the middle ages was, in a

* Recherches de la France, III. 38.
† Purg. XVIII.
‡ Lib. II. in cap. 2. Lucæ.
§ Plato de Repub. II.

* Ludovic. Grantens. in Festo B. Mariæ Magdal. Concio. I.
† Dante, Purg. VIII.

certain degree, the fruit of their zeal, as Lewis of Grenada observed, "For faith," said he, "is lost, when a man leads an idle useless life; in accordance with that sentence of our Lord, 'Qui habet, dabitur ei et abundabit: ab eo autem qui non habet, et quod videtur habere auferetur ab eo.'" And St. Ambrose likewise says, that "faith unexercised quickly withers away, dries up, and passes into perfidy or heresy."

In conclusion, one may observe, that to the eye of faith the character of the middle ages appears most admirable, when viewed in contrast with the materiality and indifference to all interests of a spiritual nature which have superseded it in the society of later times. From the dawn of the religious revolution, the progress of human minds in this direction became perceptible. Shakspeare himself, who is seated so near Dante, may occasionally furnish an example; for in what does he fall short of the great master, unless in that impressive zeal and constancy and lofty grandeur, which distinguish the fervent disciple? It is that he has the wavering of an age of criticism or of transition. One perceives that the spirit of Luther had already breathed upon Europe, and that clouds of doubt had collected upon the horizon, threatening to darken by degrees the beautiful sky of the old Catholic poesy. Accordingly one, who has drank deep of the spirit of antiquity, proceeds now through the fields of modern literature like Dante through the region of ice in hell, of which he says, "and I, trembling, went through that eternal chillness." When exposed to the influence of the books of modern sophists, the minds of men appear to become frost-bound and contracted: these pestilential streams are sure of their effect, however warm and generous may be the natural disposition of the nation they may ravage; like those Alpine waters of the Po, in the rich Lombardian plain, which astonish the traveller under the resplendant sun of Italy, by their cold and savage paleness.

"It would be in vain to dissemble," says Pelisson, "it is to an indifference and to a general uncertainty of doctrines and religion, that the confused ideas of our brethren lead us insensibly, but quite straight; they cannot even themselves stop it where they would wish, however they may talk about fundamental points."*

* Reflections sur les Differends de la Religion, Sect. VI.

During the middle ages, men the farthest removed from ecclesiastical influence, like Cardan, were ready to admit the proposition which he lays down in his work on wisdom, that "no manner of governing a republic can be useful which is disjoined from religion."* But, in the general shock given to ancient principles, those which related to the stability of empire were also questioned or set aside. In the reign of the last Valois, a party was formed in France, among the great, under the name of "the Political," which chose a middle place between the Catholics and Protestants; and thus opened the way to that social materialism, of which we live to see the development.

Francis I., through hostility to Charles V., calling the Turks into Europe, and Don Pedro II., of Arragon, joining the party of the Albigenses in France, Henry II. persecuting the religious innovators in France, and encouraging them in Germany, Philip II. of Spain, secretly fomenting the internal wars of France, and making religion an instrument of his ambition, Henry III., a Machiavelian scholar and disciple of Catherine, who carried religious indifference to the greatest length, endeavouring to find a balance between faith and heresy, Henry IV. forming an alliance with all the Protestant sovereigns of the north, in order to injure the house of Austria, Richelien pursuing his reasons of state, with utter indifference to the vital interests of religion, transferring the government of the Valteline, which was Catholic, from Spain to the Protestant Grisons, exciting the Protestant princes of Germany to carry devastation into the Catholic countries of the south, and seeking every occasion to strengthen their force, Mazarine following in his footsteps, the Congress of Munster sanctioning the doctrine that the interests of the earth were totally foreign from those of Heaven, and that, in matters of religion, every thing was true which suited the purpose of kings, who were independent of the law of God,—publicly establishing the principle of government, that there was nothing real in society but its material interests, and that truth and error could no longer be distinguished, rulers, and often tyrants, employing the ceremonies of faith for a worldly end, as Thucydides says of the Lacedæmonians, that their armies marched to the sound of many

* De Sapientia, Lib. V.

flutes, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν, but that by means of the rythm, they might be kept from falling into disorder,* France, supporting the pretensions of Sweden, and every concession to the most determined enemies of the Catholics, her government taking offence at the cry from the pulpits which resounded with the persecutions of the Catholics in England, and when the poet, Louis Dorleans, warning the French to beware of heresy and tyranny, lest they should suffer the same persecution, published a discourse to that end, which De Thou ascribes to his fanaticism, ordering the work to be burnt, and banishing the printer from France,†—all these men thus, as Pasquier says, Machiavelizing, in order to gain the reputation of ability, and ascribing every devout act to the subtilty of worldly wisdom, using the pitiful shifts of policy, and professing to follow the royal road of those saintly potentates who defended the Church of God in former times, while even the unreflecting people could clearly enough discern that they were only treading in the dark and confused labyrinths of human malice—prepared the way for the establishment of that purely earthly republic, in which the thirst after justice is superseded by the thirst for advancement, and the authority of highest God made subservient to that of man; as if the popular notions of the day were the sentence of a supreme, almighty tribunal—final and irresistible. For have you not marked the reply which is on every tongue when there is mention of sanctity and justice? Is it not always made in such terms as these—"Who can resist the spirit of the age, the force of public opinion, the will of the people?" Such was the language of those foul worshippers in the Apocalypse of blessed John, who were heard crying out, in their stupid admiration, "Quis similis bestiæ?" That is, "Who can do such great things, and who can fight against him?" that is, resist his will? "For," says Richard of St. Victor, "with such admiration will the reprobate regard anti-Christ, that they will think it impossible for any one, by retaining his faith, to resist him."‡ The wisest of men acknowledge that it will be difficult. "We must do as others do—it is the custom of the world." "Væ tibi flumen maris humani," cries St. Augustin; "quis resistit tibi? quamdin non siccaberis?"*

There is no point against which the holy Fathers warn men more repeatedly than this. "Beware," says St. Eucherius to Valerian, "of the maxim, that we should do and think with the multitude. What will it serve us to have followed this multitude, when we shall appear at the tribunal of God? Will it be there to defend us? Will its folly justify ours? Let us beware of such a delusion. Let us not renounce salvation and happiness because such a multitude lose themselves: let us not cease to watch because they sleep: let us not harden our hearts because they are insensible."

We read of the Jews, infected by the manners of the Gentiles, that the holy places were profaned and the solemn festivals no longer observed: "Nec simpliciter Judæum se esse qnisquam confitebatur."† So it was in Catholic society when the atmosphere of the new opinions began to encompass it. No one had courage simply to confess himself a Catholic, but either he was one more liberal or discerning, or in some way distinguished so as to recommend himself to the favour of those who had practically or avowedly renounced the faith: he criticized, objected, modified, conceded—till at length, weak man! he experienced what is described by Plato, that, "yielding step by step a little, these small concessions all accumulating, at last there was a great deception; and opposite to what he had at first contemplated, and like those who play at the game of peteia without sufficient skill, who find themselves at length excluded from the line without having wherewithal to resume their place in it, so this man in the end was excluded, and had not wherewith to answer in this other kind of peteia, which consisted not in pegs, but in reasons."‡

Ah! these cavils of the moderns, calling out for modification, indicated a spirit widely at contrast with that of the lovers of justice during the ages of faith, when men regarded the Church with lovers' eyes, as Thucydides says of the Athenians in regard to their city—contemplating, day by day, its power and grandeur, and being as it were its suitors, καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς.†

Philosophy herself might have prevented

* Lib. V. 10.
† Gouget, Bibliotheq. Française, Tom. XV. 269.
‡ Super Apocalypsium, Lib. IV. c. 4.

* S. August. Confess. Lib. XVI.
† Lib. II. Machab. 6.
‡ De Repub. Lib. VI.
§ Thucyd. Lib. II. 43.

men from being deceived here. "If," says Socrates, "we affirm of a person, that he loves any thing, it is necessary that he should show if we affirm truly concerning him, that he does not love one part of the object, and not another, but that he loves it all, οὐ τὸ μὲν φιλοῦντα ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ πᾶν στέργοντα. Witness the disposition of men in the love which binds them to their dearest friends. In these they love even what might seem defects. They have praise even for every variety of feature. Are they of dark complexion? they have a manly aspect. Are they fair? they are the children of the gods: and so with every thing, in such a manner, that none are excluded from favour. They that love wine too have an excuse for every sort that might be inferior, loving all wine: and men that are ambitious of honour, if they cannot have the command of armies, accept that of a company; and if they are not honoured by the greater and more noble class, they love to receive homage from the lesser and baser, being altogether lovers of honour. So that when we say that any one loves something, we mean to imply, that he loves it in every form. In like manner, then, the philosopher is said to be a lover of wisdom; not a lover of one part only and not of another, but of all wisdom."*

How then could it be said that a man loved the Church—and without that love, what was he in the eyes of Heaven?—if he were continually objecting to some part or other of its discipline, or even perhaps of its doctrine, according to the delusion of the moment, instead of evincing a universal and generous effusion of heart, in tenderest love for every thing that had relation to the mysterious mother of faith and sanctity?

* De Repub. V.

I know indeed the censure to which such reflections will expose those who utter them from the men who have the words liberality and moderation ever on their tongue. As this is not the moment to meet them in close combat, it will be better for the present to fly than to await their impetuous onset; for the modern disputant comes upon the Catholic like Scamander when she rushed against Achilles, calling out to her sister Simous, thinking to vanquish him by means of a flood of waters, to wash him away, as a shepherd boy when caught by the wintry torrent. It was a fire which the poet summoned to the assistance of his hero; and it will be well to remember that it is the fire of divine charity which will furnish the most effectual means of repelling the mortal influence of that cold and desolating flood, hitherto unnamed by human tongues, which is directed to overwhelm all that is divine and heroic, under one uniform and cheerless waste.

But it is time to bring this Fifth Book to a close. We have seen what was the thirst for justice during the ages of faith: we have seen how it was indicated in the recognised vanity of earthly possessions, in the unwearied voice of the Church night and day, supplicating—in the solemn and beautiful order of the festivals, in the love and fervour with which they were every where celebrated, and finally, in the devout spirit and holy practices of even that class of men, who were the farthest removed from the sanctifying influence of the Christian altars.

It remains to inquire, what is the evidence of history respecting the temporal verification of the Divine sentence, that those who experienced that thirst should be filled: and a review of its visible effects and consequences shall therefore be our occupation in the next Book.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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